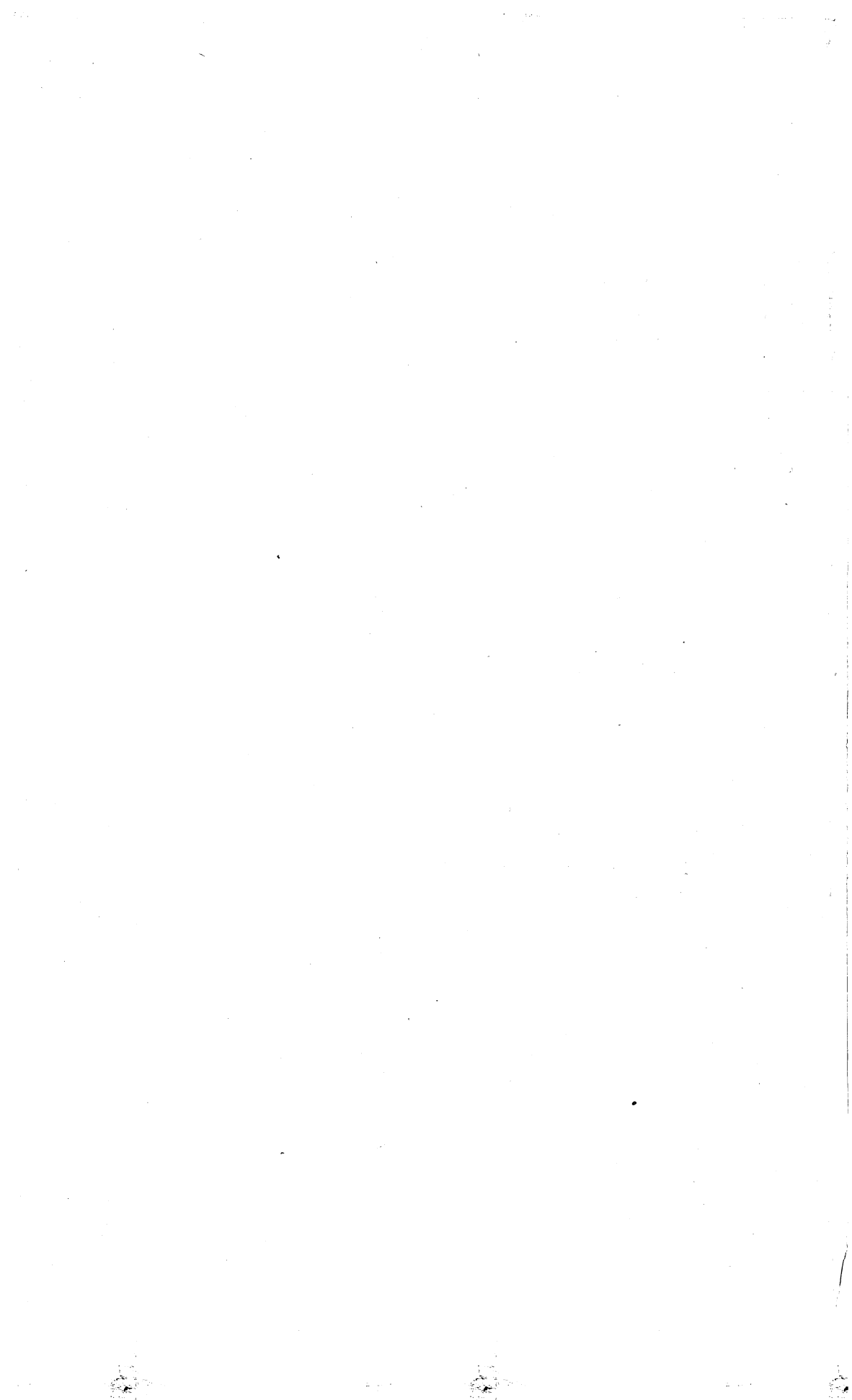


**A Socio-Intellectual History
of the Isnā 'Asharī Shī'is
in India**

Vol. II



A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isnā 'Asharī Shī'is in India

(16th to 19th century A.D.)

Vol. II

by

SAIYID ATHAR ABBAS RIZVI
M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. F.A.H. (Australia)

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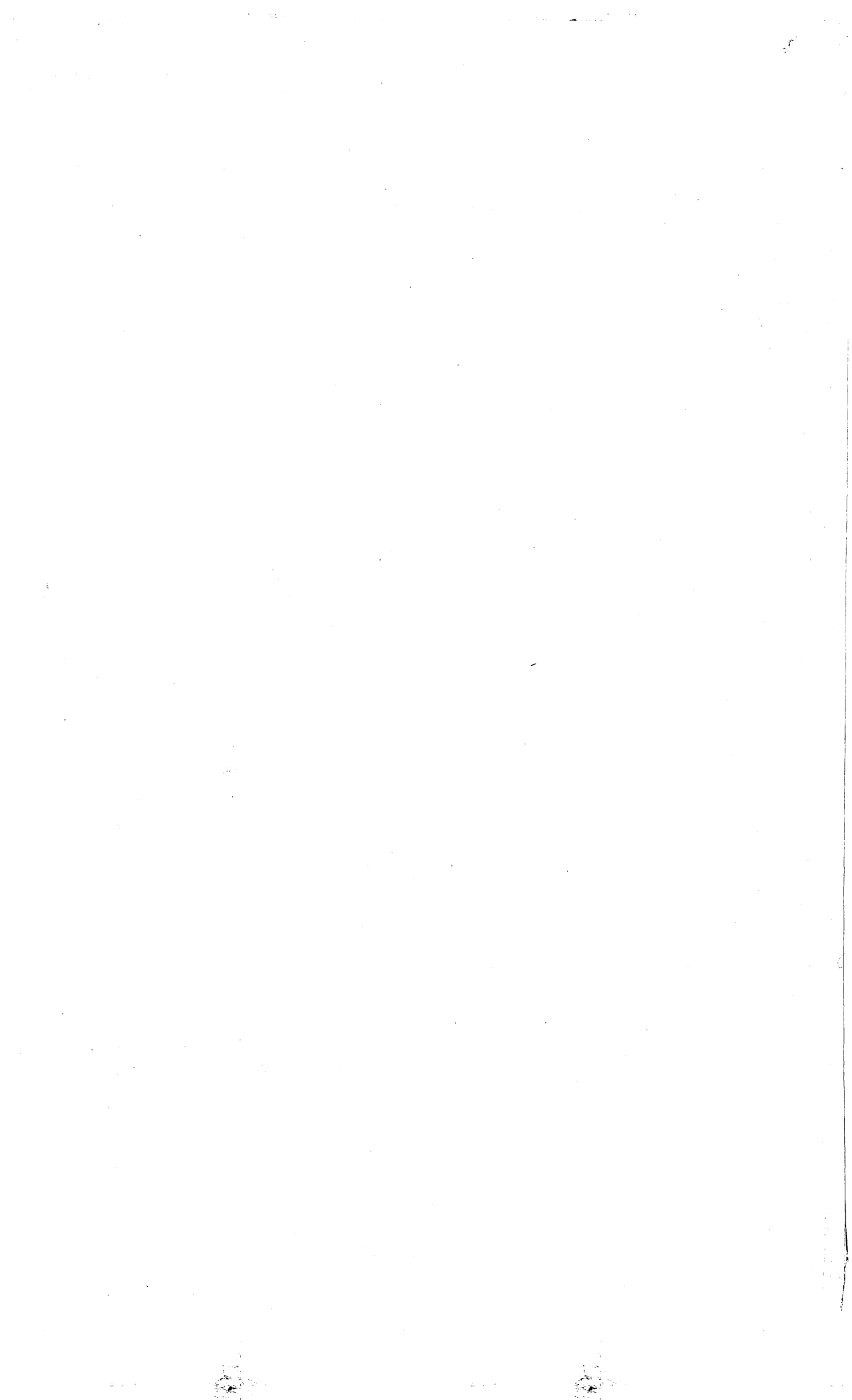
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To
The memory of the
MARTYRS OF KARBALĀ



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Aligarh Ms.	Manuscript in Mawlānā Āzād Library, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, India.
Āsafiya Ms.	Manuscript in the former Āsafiya Library, now in the Andhra Pradesh Archives, Hyderabad Deccan, India.
b.	<i>bin</i> (son of).
b.	born, followed by date.
Balāzuri	<i>Ansābu'l-ashraf.</i>
Bānkipūr	Manuscripts in the <i>Catalogue of Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Library at Bankipore, Patna, India.</i>
Bi-Bahā'	<i>Tazkira-i bi-bahā'</i> by Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Nawgānwi.
Brockelmann	<i>Geschichte der arabischen literatur.</i>
Buhār	Manuscripts in the Buhār Collections, National Library, Calcutta.
d.	died.
D. P.	Delhi Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library, London.
E. I. ²	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 2nd edition.
Ethé	<i>Manuscripts in the Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library, London</i> , by H. E. Ethé.
Haig	English translation of the <i>Muntakhab ut-tawārikh</i> , by T. W. Haig.
I. O.	India Office Library, London.
Ibn Abi'l Hadid	<i>Sharh Nahj al-balāgha.</i>
Ibn Asir	<i>Al-Kāmil fi't-tārikh.</i>
Ibn Hishām	<i>Sirat an-Nabi.</i>
Ibn Nadīm	<i>Kitāb al fihrist.</i>
Ibn Sa'd	<i>Kitāb al tabaqāt al kabir.</i>
I'jāz Husayn	<i>Kashfu'l-hujub wa'l-astār.</i>
Ivanow	Manuscripts in <i>Concise descriptive catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the collection of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.</i>

Kh.	Khwāja.
Kashshī	<i>Ma'rifa akhbār ar-rijāl.</i>
Kulayni	<i>Al-usūl min a'l-Kāfi</i> , Tehran n.d. with Persian translation.
Lowe	English translation of the <i>Muntakhab ut-tawārikh</i> , vol. II, by W. H. Lowe.
M.	Muhammad.
Ms.	Manuscript.
Mufid	<i>Kitāb al-irshād</i> by Shaykh al-Mufīd, English translation by I. K. A. Howard.
n.d.	undated.
Najāshī	<i>Kitābu'r-rijāl.</i>
Nuzha	<i>Nuzhatu'l-khawātir</i> by 'Abdul-Hayy.
Rampur	Manuscripts in the Raza Library, Rampur.
Rieu	Manuscripts in the <i>Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum</i> , London.
S.	Sayyid.
Sh.	Shaykh.
Sālār Jang	Manuscripts in the Sālār Jang Museum, Hyderabad, Deccan, India, M. Ashraf, <i>Concise catalogue of manuscripts</i> , Hyderabad.
Siyar	<i>Siyaru'l-muta'akhhirin.</i>
Storey	<i>Persian literature, a bio-bibliographical survey</i> by C. A. Storey.
at-Tabari	<i>Tārikh ar-rusūl wa'l-mulūk.</i>
<i>Takmila-i Nujūm</i>	<i>Takmila-i Nujūmu's Samā'</i> by Mirzā Muhammad Mahdi.
Tūsi	<i>al Fihrist.</i>
Ya'qūbi	<i>at-Tārikh.</i>

NOTES ON DATES

Muslim dates are given according to the Hijra era or the event marking Prophet Muhammad's emigration from Mecca to Medina. Although he arrived in Medina on 24 September 622, seventeen years later the Second Caliph 'Umar (634-44) instituted Muslim dating on the basis of the lunar months, beginning with Muharram. Thus the first Muharram was calculated to have fallen on 16 July 622. The adoption of the lunar calendar leads to the loss of one year every thirty-three years of the Roman calendar. Hence 1407 Hijra (H) or *Anno Hegirae* (AH) begins in September 1986 AD and not in 2029. Of the two dates separated by an oblique in this book, the first is the Hijra (H) or *Anno Hegirae* (AH) and the second is AD. Where neither H nor AD is mentioned alongwith dates, AD is invariably implied.

All equivalent dates have been taken from *Wustefeld-Mahler's* *sche Vergleichungs-Tabellen*.

NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION

The limitations of the press forbid our using the full range of diacritical marks, which alone would have ensured perfect accuracy and consistency. Persian transliteration system in the *Persian-English Dictionary* by F. Steingass has been largely followed but only long vowels carry a macron, thus ā, ī, ū. The Hindi diphthong in such words as Rā'o or Badā'ūnī is marked by the sign ' an apostrophe. Undotted *ayn* is marked by the sign ' and ' represents the *hamzah*. Place names of India in particular have not been marked and generally modern spellings have been preferred.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

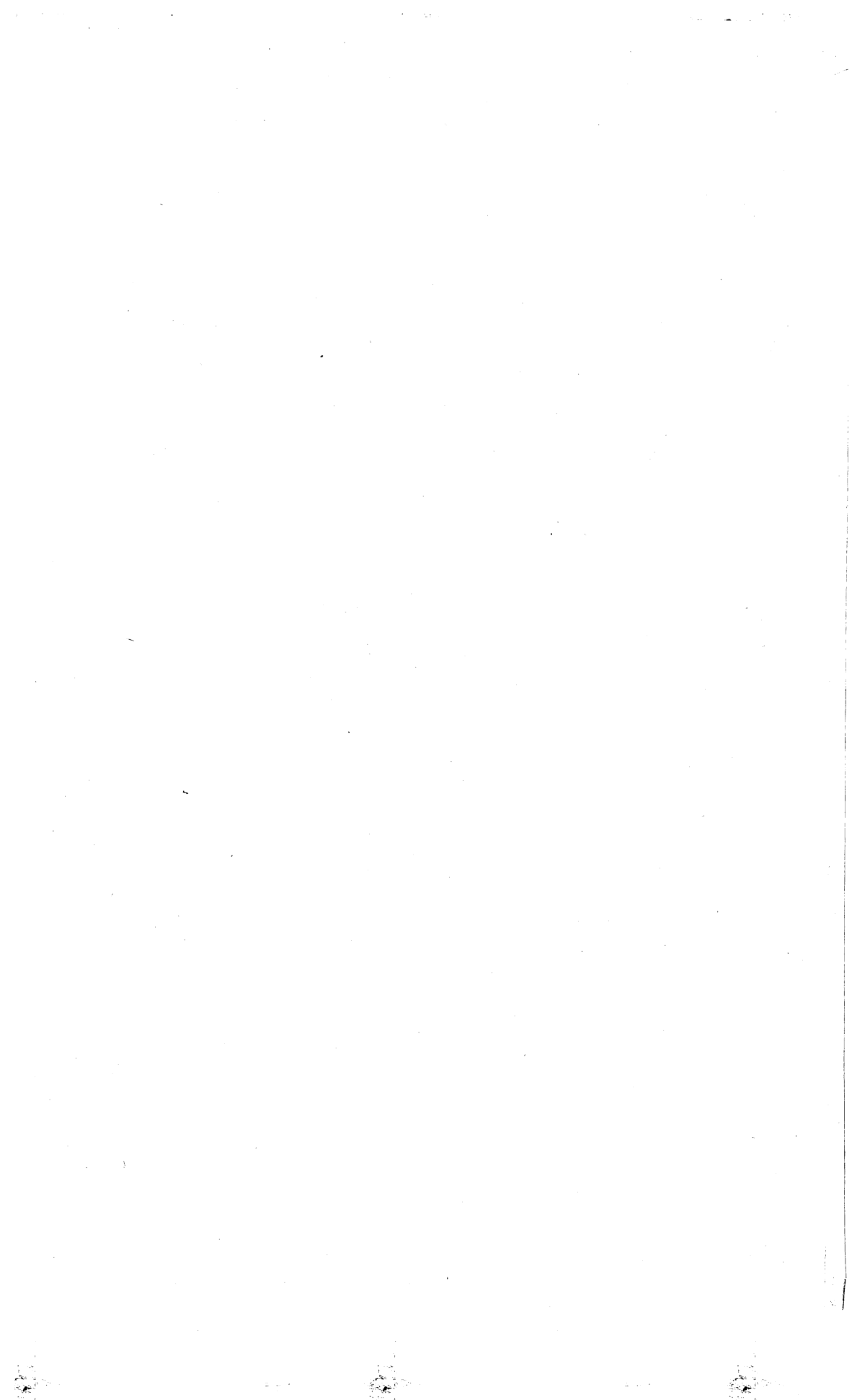
In 1981 the Australian Research Grants Committee made a grant to the author to appoint a part-time research assistant to assist him in the writing of a history of the Shi'is in India. The grant was extended for two more years and Mrs. T. Lavers worked with the author. The author wishes to express his deep gratitude to ARGC for their help. The author is thankful to Mrs. T. Lavers, appointed to help the author, for painstakingly finalizing his draft, and for helping him throughout her stay in innumerable ways.

The author wishes to express his deep sense of gratitude to the librarians of the libraries and museums in U. K., Europe, Iran, India and Pakistan who gave him access to their valuable collections and supplied microfilm copies of important works drawn upon in this book. Special thanks are due to Mawlānā Sayyid 'Alī Nāsir Sa'id 'Abaqāti who placed at the disposal of the author some rare manuscripts in his Nāsiriyya Library, Lucknow containing works written and collected by his ancestors.

Mr. S. K. Srivastava, M. A., P. E. S. (I) (retired), managed to find time to correct the proofs and Mr. Gopal N. Bhargava, Proprietor of the Prem Printing Press in Lucknow expeditiously printed the work. The author wishes to thank them with a large number of unnamed people without whose help the work would not have seen the light of the day.

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Centre of Asian History,
Australian National University,
Box 4, P. O. Canberra,
A. C. T., 2600
Australia

S. A. A. Rizvi



Preface

The first volume of the *Socio-Intellectual History of the Isnā 'Ashari Shi'is in India* outlined the early history of the Shi'is and the Shi'i intellectual and social life in India from the seventh to the end of the sixteenth century. It discussed the life and intellectual contributions of Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustari at some length. The present volume deals with the Shi'i struggle for existence in the Northern India from the seventeenth to the end of the nineteenth century. Beginning with an account of the Shi'i 'ulamā' during the reign of Shāhjahān and Awrangzīb, the work goes on to discuss the contributions of the Shi'i 'ulamā' of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Delhi, the Panjab, Kashmir, Bihar and Bengal. The contributions of Shaykh 'Alī Hazīn, Ghufrān Ma'āb, his descendants and disciples have been thoroughly discussed. The legacy of Ghufrān Ma'āb has also been analysed. The chapter on the 'ulamā' concludes with a detailed note on the Kintūrī family. The chapter on Shi'i contributions to philosophy and science discusses Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzī and his impact on the philosophy and science in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in India. Aspects of the impact of Shaykh Bahā'ud-Dīn Muhammad 'Āmili and the Iranian Shi'i philosophers on Sunnī scholars and Sunnī seminaries have also been analysed. The most unique was the interest of Dānishmand Khān of the court of Shāhjahān and Awrangzīb in the Western philosophy and sciences. In the eighteenth century 'Allāma Tafazzul Husayn and Abū Tālib Landanī re-invigorated Dānishmand Khān's traditions. The creativity of the Shi'i poets of the Mughal court went a long way to making the history of literature in the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries most profound.

The novelties introduced by the Indian Shi'is to the commemoration of the tragedy of Karbalā called for a detailed discussion on the mourning ceremonies of Imām Husayn's martyrdom. The legacy of 'Allāma Tafazzul Husayn was handed down to Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān, by his maternal uncle Khwāja Farīdu'd-Dīn who sat at the feet of the 'Allāma. Mawālānā Sirāj Husayn the son of the great *mujtahid* Mufti Muhammad Quli forestalled the works of the eminent modernist of India in the realm of mathematics. In Calcutta Mawlānā Karam Husayn Bilgarāmi and Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī of Jaunpur were the precursors of Justice Amīr

'Ali and Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān. The Shi'i contributions to popularising the English education in the Mohammedan Anglo Oriental College, Aligarh have been placed in a new perspective.

The present work tends to show that although the Shi'is could not revolutionize the existing political system, they left an indelible mark on the intellectual and social history of India. It is based on contemporary Persian and Arabic sources. Works in Indian and European languages have also been thoroughly examined. They are mentioned in the bibliography published at the end of the first volume of the present work.

Shi'ī Struggle for Existence in the Northern India

(Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries)

On 18 Jumāda II 1019/7 September 1610 Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustari was martyred. It is possible that his dead body lay unattended for a day or two far from the fort where he was flogged. It is also possible that he was flogged near the fort, that his corpse was thrown far away from the town and that fanatical Sunnis dishonoured it. After a few days, permission to inter his corpse was obtained and his sons buried him. Some Iranian merchants who were independent of the Emperor and some courageous Shi'īs from Agra might have joined the Qāzi's sons in burying the remains of the great sage and scholar. The Qāzi's sons, however, were not persecuted by the Mughal Emperors. In fact, two of them, as we will soon see, rose to considerable eminence during Shāhjahān's reign.¹

Qāzi Nūru'llāh's Sons

The Qāzi had five sons. His eldest son 'Allāma Sayyid Sharif became an eminent scholar. He was born on 19 Rabi' I 992/31 March 1584. Sayyid Sharif received his early education from his father. He then studied higher text-books under Muhaqqiq Mir Taqiu'd-Din Muhammad Nassāba Shīrāzi and other learned academics. Some portions of the *Sharh Ishārāt* were taught him by Mirzā Ibrāhīm Hamadāni. He specialised in *hadīs* under Mullā 'Abdu'llāh Shustari. Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Din 'Āmili instructed him in *fiqh* and also authorised him to teach his works on *fiqh* and *hadīs* to students of higher learning.

Sayyid Sharif left for Iran at a very early age. Qāzi Nūru'llāh regularly urged him in his letters to attain perfection in knowledge. Before the Qāzi left Lahore he was informed that Sayyid Sharif had attracted the attention of Shāh 'Abbās Safawī and had been presented to his court.

1 *History of the Isnā 'Ashari Shi'īs in India*, Canberra 1986, I, pp. 376-84.

2 History of Isnā 'Ashari Shi'is in India

The Qāzi was delighted and thanked God for his son's intellectual and worldly progress. By 1012/1603, Sayyid Sharif had attained the status of *mujtahid*. Qāzi Nūru'llāh urged him not to enter employment at court but to devote two more years to higher studies and intellectual debates. This separation from Sayyid Sharif, however, was deeply distressing to the Qāzi and his letters and poems on the subject are very painful.² Possibly Sayyid Sharif, following his father's advice, remained two years longer in Iran. His father's mounting difficulties, however, prompted him to return to Agra sometime before the Qāzi's martyrdom. He was greatly disturbed at his father's murder and he died at the early age of twenty-eight on 5 Rabi' II 1020/17 June 1611. He wrote the following books:

Hāshiya Tafsir Bayzāwi [A commentary on the *Tafsir Bayzāwi*]
Hāshiya on Hāshiya-i Qadima on the chapter relating to *Jawāhir* (Essence)
Hāshiya Sharh Mukhtasar 'Azudi
Hāshiya on Hāshiya-i Mut'ali'.

Sayyid Sharif also composed a treatise on nine different religions and other topics. None of these works survive but, as their titles indicate, they were intended as textbooks for higher study. He also wrote poetry.³

Qāzi Nūru'llāh's second son Sayyid Muhammad Yūsuf was a poet but no details of his life are available. Possibly he moved to Iran and died there.⁴ The Qāzi's remaining three sons made a deep impact on seventeenth century India. The date of the birth of the third son, 'Alā'u'l-Mulk, the author of *Firdaws*, is not known, but he received his early education from his father. After Sayyid Sharif's death he seems to have left for Iran and possibly the whole family moved from India. 'Alā'u'l-Mulk obtained higher education in Shirāz and then returned to India. He took up a teaching career in Agra. Later on he was appointed as tutor to Prince Shāh Shujā', the second son of Shāhjahān. The *Subh-i Sādiq*, our earliest source on him, does not tell us who assigned the position to him.

Shujā' was born on 14 Jumāda I 1025/30 May 1616 and was adopted by Nūr Jahān as her son. In his account of 1027-28 in his *Tuzuk*, Jahāngir says that Shujā' was "brought up in the chaste lap of Nūr Jahān Begum" and Jahāngir considered him dearer to him than his own life.⁵ Shujā' lived under Nūr Jahān's care until Jahāngir's death. Early in Rajab 1037/ March 1628, the Prince was brought to his father's Court by Āsaf Khān along with his two brothers, Princes Dārā Shukōh and Awrangzīb. They had been taken as hostages for their father's good conduct. Shujā' was

2 Nawwāb 'Ināyat Khān Rāsikh, *Bayāz*, ff. 92a-93a.

3 'Alā'u'l-Mulk Husaynī Shustarī, *Firdaws*, Qum n.d., pp. 37-39.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

5 *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, Aligarh 1864, p. 248.

then twelve years old and it is probable that Nūr Jahān appointed Sayyid 'Alā'u'l-Mulk as the Prince's tutor. It is remarkable that Shāhjahān did not change her choice and 'Alā'u'l-Mulk remained the Prince's teacher even when he was Governor of Bengal. Mirzā Muhammad Sādiq Sādiqī, the author of *Subh-i Sādiq*, met 'Alā'u'l-Mulk and his younger brother (d. 1046/1636) in Jahāngīrnagar (Dacca) and enjoyed his patronage there. According to Mirzā Muhammad Sādiq, 'Alā'u'l-Mulk was endowed with the attributes of prophets and saints. He was head and shoulders above the 'ulamā' of his time. 'Alā'u'l-Mulk's influence seems to have impregnated Shāh Shujā' with Shi'i ideals and popularised the importance of love for Ahl-i Bayt among the Bengali Sunnis. He was the author of the following books:

Anwārul-Hudā, on Divine Reality
al-Sirātul Wāsil fī asbātul wājib, on Divine Reality
Muhazzabi'l-mantiq, on logic
Firdaws, the history of Shīrāz.⁶

Of these, only the *Firdaws* survives. It has recently been published in Iran. The titles of his other works indicate his profound interest in the gnostic intuition of Reality.

Sayyid Abu'l-Ma'ālī, the fourth son of Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī, was born on 3 Zu'lqā'da 1004/29 June 1596. He also seems to have been educated by his father and returned to India with his brother. For some time he lived in the Qutb-Shāhī kingdom of the Deccan where he translated the *Masā'ibun-Nawāsib* at the instigation of Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shāh (1020-1035/1612-1626) into Persian. After the Sultan's death he also moved to Bengal where Mirzā Muhammad Sādiq met him. In Rabi' II 1046/September 1636 he died. He was the author of the following works:

Sharh alfiyya
Risāla fī'l-'adl [Divine Justice]
Risāla nafī ru'at Wājib Ta'āla [Rejection of Sunni theory of the Divine vision]
Tafsīr 'alā' sūratul-akhlās [Exegesis of the Unity chapter]
A treatise on miscellaneous topics.⁷

These works also do not survive but the titles indicate that Sayyid Abu'l-Ma'ālī contributed to the Shi'i-Sunni controversies. He asserted the Shi'i beliefs of 'adl (justice) and boldly rejected the Sunni concepts of a visible

6 *Subh-i Sādiq*, Aligarh Muslim University Ms., ff. 529a.

7 *Firdaws*, pp. 40-43; *Subh-i Sādiq*, f. 529a.

4 History of Isnā 'Ashari Shi'is in India

God. He also seems to have helped his brother 'Alā'u'l-Mulk impress Shi'i ideals on Shāh Shujā'.

Qāzi Nūru'llāh's fifth son Mir 'Alā'u'd-Dawla was born in Rabi' I 1012/August 1603. 'Alā'u'l-Mulk quotes some verses composed by 'Alā'u'd-Dawla in his *Firdaws*. He was still alive when the *Firdaws* was written and known to the author of *Subh-i Sādiq*.⁸ The dates of the death of both 'Alā'u'l-Mulk and 'Alā'u'd-Dawla are, however, not known. The *Latā'ifu'l-khayāl* by Muhammad bin Muhammad al Dārābi, completed in 1076/1665-66, says that despite his worldly duties, 'Alā'u'd-Dawla did not neglect the traditional accomplishments of his ancestors. He also wrote poetry.

'Alā'u'd-Dawla's son Mirzā Muhammad Ja'far was a scholar too. He wrote the foreword to the second volume of the *Latā'ifu'l-khayāl*. Sayyid 'Alī was also one of 'Alā'u'd-Dawla's sons. He seems to have made considerable efforts to preserve copies of his grandfather's works. Generally they were concerned with Shi'i 'irfān (gnosis) and propagated the Shi'i theory of Divine Justice.⁹

The descendants of 'Alā'u'l-Mulk and 'Alā'u'd-Dawla were assigned positions under the Bengal government. They lived in Murshidābād and 'Azimābād. The most senior among them were Mir Jamālu'd-Dīn Husayn bin Nūru'llāh and his son Muhammad Rizā alias Mir Mahdī. They seem to have promoted Shi'ism in Murshidābād and Patna.

The earliest reference to Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustari's works can be seen in the *Shāhid-i Sādiq* and *Subh-i Sādiq* by Mirzā Muhammad Sādiq "Sādiqī" bin Muhammad Sālih Zubayri Isfahānī Āzādānī. He was born at Surat in 1018/1609, where his father was in 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Khān-i Khānān's service. Shāhjahān appointed him the official news-writer (*wāqi'a-nawīs*) and, soon after his accession in 1037/1627, gave him a *jāgīr* in Bengal. In Jahāngīrnagar his talents were developed in the company of Sayyid 'Alā'u'l-Mulk and Sayyid Abu'l-Ma'ālī.¹⁰ A large number of the biographies in the *Subh-i Sādiq* have been borrowed directly from the *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn* and most scholars would hardly realise that they were reading a different book. This is also the case with the anecdotes, proverbs and extracts on different scholarly subjects reproduced in the *Shāhid-i Sādiq*.¹¹

The Leading Shi'is at the Mughal Court

The freedom enjoyed by the Shi'is during Akbar's reign did not last into that of his successors. According to Mullā 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badā'ūnī, in Akbar's reign all Iranians classified themselves as Shi'is and all Indian

8 *Firdaws*, pp. 44-46.

9 *Latā'ifu'l-khayāl*, Shīrānī Collections, Panjab University, Lahore.

10 *Subh-i Sādiq*, ff. 534a-b.

11 Khudā Bakhsh Library, Bankipur, Patna, IX, no. 913.

Muslims as Sunnis.¹² This categorisation was not necessarily correct. Indian Shi'is preferred not to disclose their identity and among the Iranians, there were probably a considerable number of Sunnis. During the reign of Jahāngir and his successors most of them practised *taqiyya*. Jahāngir's order to Bandigi Miyān Sayyid Jalāl Gujarāti, the son of Mir Sayyid Muhammad Bukhāri Rizawi to renounce the Imāmiyya faith is a case in point.

Sayyid Jalāl was a descendant of the Suhrawardiyya *pir* Shāh-i 'Ālam of Gujarat (d. Jumāda II 880/October 1475) who in turn was descended from Makhdūm-i Jahāniyān Sayyid Jalāl Bukhāri (d. 785/1384) of Uch.¹³ Early in 1619, Jahāngir visited Ahmadabad and Sayyid Muhammad called on him. He was treated with respect and was invited to the Emperor's private assemblies of *Ghusl Khāna*. When Jahāngir left Ahmadabad, Shāh Jalāl accompanied him to Agra. In September 1619, the Shāh was given leave to return to Gujarat.¹⁴ Shāh Jalāl, his father and grandfather were Shi'is. Sayyid Muhammad had composed the chronogram of his own birth, *man wa dast o dāman Āl-i Rasūl* (My hands hold fast skirt of the Prophet Muhammad's Āl—progeny. The chronogram of Mir Sayyid Jalāl's birth was *wāris-i rasūl* (heir of the Prophet).¹⁵ His teacher was Mullā Muhammad Sūfi of Māzandarān who had settled at Ahmadabad. Once Jahāngir told Sayyid Jalāl that if he was really an Imāmiyya, he should renounce (*tawba*) his faith.¹⁶ Mir Sayyid Jalāl, however, was observing *taqiyya*, as had his father, grandfather and great grandfather done in order to remain custodians of Shāh 'Ālam's tomb.

When Shāhjahān ascended the throne Sayyid Jalāl's father sent him to Agra to congratulate the new Emperor. He was given an honourable reception and returned to Ahmadabad loaded with gifts. In Sha'bān 1052/October-November 1642, Shāhjahān forced Sayyid Jalāl to accept the position of *sadrū's-sudūr* in place of Mūsawī Khān. The Khān's services were terminated because of allegations of mal-administration against him.¹⁷ Sayyid Jalāl reported that Mūsawī Khān had carelessly granted maintenance land to non-deserving people and that many others had seized land by forged documents. An imperial order was issued to the provinces that maintenance lands were, in general, confiscated until an inquiry into these grants had been finalised. Shāhnawāz Khān, himself a distinguished administrator, says, that although such enquiries were essential for a loyal servant and were commendable, they made Sayyid

12 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhabū't-tawārikh*, Calcutta 1864-69, II, pp. 327.

13 S. S. A. Rizvi, *History of Sūfism in India*, New Delhi 1978, I, pp. 293-84, 312.

14 *Tuzuk-i Jahāngiri*, p. 243.

15 Shāhnawāz Khān, *Mā'āsiru'l-umarā'*, Calcutta 1881-91, III, pp. 447-49.

16 Farid Bhakkari, *Zakhīratu'l-khawānīn*, Karachi 1970 III, p. 31.

17 'Abdu'l Hamīd Lahori, *Bādshāh-nāma*, Calcutta, II, p. 365.

Jalāl unpopular with the public. Sayyid Jalāl, however, held his position until his death at Lahore on 1 Jumāda I 1057/4 June 1647. He had started his career as a *mansabdār* of 4000 *zāt*/700 *sawār*. In April 1644, he was promoted to the rank of 6000 *zāt*/6000 *sawār*.¹⁸

His predecessor Mūsawī Khān, who worked as *sadrū's-sudūr* for about twenty to twenty-five years during both Jahāngīr's and Shāhjahān's reigns, attained a *mansab* of only 4,000 *zāt*/750 *sawār*. He was also probably a Shi'a.¹⁹ His predecessor, Mirān Sadr-i Jahān, who started as *sadrū's-sudūr* after Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzi's death in 1589 and died deeply loved and respected by Jahāngīr sometime after 1611, finally reached the rank of 5000 *zāt*/1500 *sawār*. Shāhnawāz rightly says that if death had spared Sayyid Jalāl he would have gained still greater promotions.

The marriage of Mihru'n-Nisā' (Nūr Jahān), the widow of Sher Afgan Khān, whom the Emperor saw on New Year's day (21 March 1611) and married at the end of May 1611, makes the history of Shi'is at the Mughal court very complex. Contemporary and even later sources do not tell us about her religion. Some records, however, in passing, give us the impression that the family was Shi'i. For example when describing Ahmad Beg Khān's atrocities as Governor of Sihwān, Yūsuf Mirak bin Mir Abu'l-Qāsim Namkīn, the author of the *Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī* says that, according to the Shi'i religion, the molestation of Sunnis was equivalent to Divine worship.²⁰ Ahmad Beg Khān was the son of Nūr Jahān's brother, Muhammad Sharif.²¹ In Awrangzib's reign, his *wazīr* Asad Khān (Āsafu'd-Dawla), his son Muhammad Ismā'il Zu'lfaqār Khān and the son of a son-in-law of Mirzā Abu'l-Hasan Āsaf Khān were known as Shi'is. On the other hand, according to the *Rawzatul-Qayyūmiyya*, Nūr Jahān supported the Mujaddid Alf-i Sāni Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī while her brother, Mirzā Abu'l-Hasan Āsaf Khān, was a Shi'i and an enemy of the Mujaddid.²² Modern scholars consider her a Shi'i, however, and according to Bazmee Ansāri, she was an orthodox Shi'i.

In fact Nūr Jahān belonged to a distinguished Irānī family. Her grandfather Khwāja Muhammad Sharif Hijri was the prime minister of Muhammad Khān Sharafu'd-Dīn Ughlū Taklū, the Beglar Begi of Khurāsān. Later on Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī made Khwāja Muhammad Sharif a governor of Yazd. Amīn Ahmad Rāzi, who in 1002/1593-94 wrote the famous geographical work the *Haft Iqlīm*, was one of Khwāja Muhammad Sharif's brothers. Khwāja Muhammad Sharif Hijri died in

18 *Ma'āsiru'l-umarā'*, III, pp. 449-51.

19 *Ibid.*, III, pp. 441-42.

20 Yūsuf Mirak, *Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī*, Hyderabad Sind, 1962, p. 156.

21 *Ma'āsiru'l-umarā'*, I, pp. 194-95.

22 *Isnā 'Ashari Shi'is in India*, I, pp. 381-82.

984/1576-77. After his death, his son Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn, known as Mīrzā Ghiyās Beg, like other Īrānī adventurers moved to India in search of better prospects. By that time he had four sons Muhammad Sharīf, Abu'l-Hasan, Ibrāhīm Khān, Shāhpūr Mīrzā and a daughter. He left Iran with his pregnant wife who also belonged to a distinguished family. Muhammad Sharīf, Abu'l-Hasan and a daughter accompanied them. On their way they were robbed and left with two mules. When they reached Qandahār, Ghiyās Beg's wife gave birth to Mīhru'n-Nisā' who later became Nūr Jahān. Subsequently Malik Mas'ūd, the head of the caravan introduced Ghiyās Beg to Akbar. He did not obtain rapid promotions. By 1595 he held a *mansab* of 300 and was the *dīwān* of Kābul. He was later promoted to the position of the *dīwān-i buyūtāt* and given a *mansab* of 700.²³

Mīhru'n-Nisā' grew to be an attractive and talented girl. On the authority of late seventeenth century historians it is wrongly believed that when Jahāngīr was only a prince he saw her in a fancy bazaar gathering or in the palace accompanied by her mother and that Akbar, to avoid scandal, married her to 'Alī Qulī. The fact is that Mīhru'n-Nisā' was married to 'Alī Qulī according to normal Mughal court practices. 'Alī Qulī was a *sufarachi* or a table attendant to Shāh Ismā'il II. After the Shāh's death, he had also left Iran via Qandahār. At Multān he joined the army of 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Khān-i Khānān, who was preparing to march against Thatta. He greatly impressed the Khān-i Khānān with his intrepidity and valour. After his victory over Thatta, the Khān-i Khānān brought him to Lahore where he introduced him to high *mansabdārs* and to Akbar. In c. 1595 he was married to Mīhru'n-Nisā'. The legend of Prince Salīm's love for Mīhru'n-Nisā' while she was a young girl are baseless. For, Akbar certainly would not have placed 'Alī Qulī on Prince Salīm's staff had that been the case. Prince Salīm was impressed by the courage displayed by 'Alī Qulī during a tiger hunt and gave him the title *Sher Afgan* (slayer of a tiger). When, however, the Prince rebelled against his father, Sher Afgan surreptitiously retired from the Prince's service. Nevertheless, after his accession, Jahāngīr magnanimously gave him a *jāgīr* in Bardwan in Bengal. There he was suspected of conspiring with the local Afghān rebels against the Emperor. The local governor, Qutbu'd-Dīn Khān, Prince Salīm's foster-brother, subsequently visited Bardwan. Sher Afgan went to receive him but his suspicions of the reason for the visit were strengthened and he attacked the governor with his sword. A Kashmirī retainer struck Sher Afgan on the head with his sword but Sher Afgan killed him. The governor's staff rushed to their master's rescue and cut Sher Afgan to pieces. The governor also died after about

23 *Zakhīratu'l-khawānīn*, II, pp. 13-14.

twelve hours. His death deeply distressed Jahāngīr.²⁴ No contemporary Persian or European sources blame Jahāngīr or suggest he organised Sher Afgan's assassination. Nevertheless the later seventeenth century historians, influenced by the legend of an earlier meeting between Nūr Jahān and Jahāngīr, referred to a romance between them from her very childhood to their marriage.

After her husband's death, Mīhru'n-Nisā' and her daughter were sent to court where her father, I'timādu'd-Dawla (formerly Mirzā Ghiyās Beg) now held a very senior post. After his accession to the throne, Jahāngīr had appointed him a joint *wazīr* (finance minister) mainly because of his literary, mathematical and organisational abilities. The involvement of his son Muhammad Sharif in the conspiracy to release Jahāngīr's son Khusraw from prison did not merely cost Sharif his life in Jumāda I 1016/August-September 1607, but led to I'timādu'd-Dawla's removal from office.²⁵ He was, however, soon restored to favour as joint *wazīr*. It was on the New Year's Day of the sixth year of his reign (1611-1612) that Jahāngīr saw Mīhru'n-Nisā' in the vernal fancy bazaar and fell in love with her. He arranged for her to be appointed as a lady-in-waiting to one of Akbar's favourite wives, Sultan Salīma Begum. At the end of May 1611 he married her.²⁶ I'timādu'd-Dawla, who was already joint *wazīr*, would have been promoted to the position of *wazīr* in any case, but his daughter's marriage increased his influence and accelerated the promotions of his son Āsaf Khān.

Both I'timādu'd-Dawla and Āsaf Khān had specialised in mathematics and accountancy (*siyāq*) but they also possessed great literary talents. Āsaf Khān was expert in the rational sciences too while Shaykh Farīd Bhakkārī specifically mentions that I'timādu'd-Dawla was devoted to *Sulh-i kul* (peace with all). He received his grounding in this belief during Akbar's reign and perhaps was outwardly a Sunnī. Farīd Bhakkārī found I'timādu'd-Dawla the embodiment of the humanity of Prophet Muhammad and munificence of Murtazā 'Alī. His wife was an equally talented lady. Nūr Jahān's education and training took place in India. Possibly she was outwardly brought up as a Sunnī but was taught to venerate 'Alī and the Prophet's Ahl-i Bayt. As she grew up, her poetical gifts made her interested in *sūfī* poetry and *sulh-i kul* also. Nūr Jahān's first husband 'Alī Qulī, as a protege of Shāh Ismā'il II, was most probably a Sunnī. In short, from her early education to her marriage to Jahāngīr, Nūr Jahān like her father, was devoted to *sulh-i kul* but was secretly a Shī'i.

24 *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, pp. 54-55; *Zakhīratu'l-khawānīn*, II, pp. 246-50, 47; *Ma'āsiru'l umarā'*, II, pp. 622-25.

25 *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, pp. 58-59

26 *Zakhīratu'l-khawānīn*, II, pp. 14-18.

Nūr Jahān's siblings, particularly Mirzā Abu'l-Hasan Yamīnu'd-Dawla Āsaf Khān, and their descendants were important architects of the glory of the Mughal empire. They filled most of the positions of *wakil*, *wazīr*, *bakhshī* and provincial governors. After her marriage to Jahāngīr, Nūr Jahān's political control increased rapidly. From 1622 when Prince Khurram (later Shāhjahān) rebelled against his father, Nūr Jahān dominated both the civil and military administration.²⁷ Unfortunately for her she had no child by Jahāngīr, and Shahryār, the husband of her daughter Lādīlī Begum by Sher Afgan, was a worthless creature. Her attempts to make Shahryār the Emperor were a failure. After Shāhjahān's accession to the throne in Jumāda II 1036/February 1627, she retired on a pension from him. She had once made him the most powerful man in the empire but, when their interests diverged, had been unable to destroy him. On 29 Shawwāl 1055/18 December 1645, she died. She was buried in the tomb she had erected for herself near the one she had built for Jahāngīr in Lahore. Neither can be compared with the tomb she built for her father in Agra at the height of her power.

Her brother, Āsaf Khān, whose daughter Arjumand Bānū Begum was married to Shāhjahān, managed to retain his important position at Jahāngīr's court during his son-in-law's rebellion and was even made the *wakil*. Shāhjahān promoted him to a *mansab* of 9000 *zāt* and *sawār*, *du-aspā-sih aspā*. His daughter Arjumand Bānū Begum, to whom Shāhjahān gave the title Mumtāz Mahal, died on 17 Zu'lqā'da 1040/17 June 1631. The Tāj Mahal in Agra is the everlasting memorial of their love. Āsaf Khān remained *wakil* until his death on 17 Sha'bān 1051/21 November 1641.²⁸

Nūr Jahān's elder sister was married to Sādiq Khān, the son of Āqā Tāhīr Waslī and a grandson of Muhammad Sharīf Hījri. In 1614-15 he was appointed *bakhshī* by Jahāngīr and later was made governor of the Panjab and *mīr bakhshī*. Although he had been hostile to Shāhjahān, Āsaf Khān's influence saved him from harm. In 1043/1633 he died.²⁹ His gifted son Ja'far Khān was given rapid promotions. In the twentieth year of his reign Shāhjahān made him *mīr bakhshī*. He was given the title 'Umdatul-Mulk. Ja'far Khān was also favoured by Awrangzīb who appointed him *wazīr* in 1074/1663-64. Seven years later he died.³⁰ Ja'far Khān's elder sister was married to an Īrānī adventurer, Zu'lfaqār Khān Qaramānlū. He held senior positions under Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān.³¹ His son Muhammad Ibrāhīm, entitled Amīru'l-Umarā' Asad Khān, was a favourite of both Shāhjahān and Awrangzīb who regularly promoted

27 *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, pp. 341-42.

28 *Zakhīratul-khawānīn*, II, pp. 32-46.

29 *Mā'āsīru'l-Umarā'*, II, pp. 719-31.

30 *Ibid.*, I, pp. 531-35.

31 *Ibid.*, II, pp. 85-89.

him. In 1097/1686, he was made *wazir*. His son Zu'lfqār Khān was equally competent and also a favourite of Awrangzib. Qaramānlū, Asad Khān and Zu'lfqār Khān were known Shi'is.

When Mahābat Khān held Jahāngir prisoner, Zafar Khān Khwāja Ahsānu'llāh, the son of Khwāja Abu'l Hasan of Turbat, ardently supported Nūr Jahān. He was married to Buzurg Khānam the daughter of Malika Bānū, the elder sister of Mumtāz Mahal and wife of Mirzā Sayf Khān Jahāngiri (d. 1049/1639-40). In 1624-25 Zafar Khān's father Khwāja Abu'l-Hasan was appointed to succeed Mahābat Khān as Governor of Kābul. Ahsānu'llāh was made his deputy and given the title Zafar Khān. By the end of Jahāngir's reign he had attained the rank of 2,500/1200. After his father's death, he was appointed Governor of Kashmir in the sixth year of Shāhjahān's reign. Four years later he conquered Tibet. In the eleventh year of his reign Shāhjahān commissioned him to suppress the Hazāra's rebellion but three years later he was again transferred to Kashmir. He laid out the Zafarābād garden which was greatly admired by the Emperor. In the twenty-sixth year of Shāhjahān's reign he was appointed Governor of Thatta. Twice he was placed on the list of retired *mansabdārs* but each time he was reinstated. At the beginning of Awrangzib's reign he was pensioned off. He died at Lahore in 1073/1662-63.

Zafar Khān's father was known as a Sunni but both he and Zafar Khān were Shi'is. He gave donations to the Iranians and was very generous to poets.³² Although during his tenure of governorship at Kashmir Sunni-Shi'i riots frequently broke out on petty personal disputes, Zafar Khān's tact and munificence made Kashmir prosperous.³³

The girls in Nūr Jahān's family were invariably married to talented Irāni immigrants. Some of them, like Zafar Khān, were Shi'is. For example Hamīda Bānū Begum, the daughter of Malika Bānū (d. 1050/1640-41) and the granddaughter of Yamīnu'd-Dawla Āsaf Khān, was married to Khalīlu'llāh Khān Yazdi bin Mir Mirān Yazdi. Hamīda Bānū and Khalīlu'llāh's son was Rūhu'llāh Khān. In the second year of Awrangzib's reign he was married to the daughter of Amīru'l-Umarā' Abū Tālib Shāyasta Khān, the brother of Mumtāz Mahal. In the sixth year of his reign Awrangzib appointed Rūhu'llāh Khān *mīr bakhshī* of the *ahādīs*. Except for a short period in the sixteenth year of the Emperor's reign, when he was deprived of his *mansab*, Rūhu'llāh Khān continued to gain promotions. Rūhu'llāh Khān's mother died in the twenty-sixth year of Awrangzib's reign and the Emperor sent his favourite daughter Zibu'n-Nisā' and Prince Muhammad Kām Bakhsh to offer condolences. When the Emperor visited Hyderabad, he raised Rūhu'llāh to the rank of 5000/

32 *Ibid.*, II, pp. 756-60.

33 *Tārīkh-i A'zamī*, pp. 137-40.

4000 and commissioned him to establish imperial control over the disaffected areas of the conquered regions of Bijapur. Later, he was ordered to besiege Golkonda. He captured it by bribing the guards and made Sultan Abu'l-Hasan his prisoner. For some years he served as Governor of Golkonda and was subsequently ordered to seize Raichur. At the beginning of the thirty-sixth year of Awrangzib's reign, his daughter 'Ā'isha Begum was married to Prince Muhammad 'Azim, the second son of Prince Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur. Rūhu'llāh died in 1103/1692.³⁴ Before his death, he made a will in the presence of Qāzi 'Abdu'llāh. The *Ahkām-i 'Ālamgiri* says, "One clause of his will was this: 'I am a Sunnī, and have withdrawn from the practice of my Shi'a ancestors. Please wed my two daughters to Sunnis'. The qāzi reported the matter to the Emperor, who wrote "*Taqiyya* (prudent concealment of one's religious beliefs) is practised in one's lifetime; but it is a novelty to play the hypocrite on the death bed! Probably (he has acted thus) out of regard for his sons and surviving relatives. This hypocritical step will benefit him only if his sons also assent to it. At all events you ought to act according to his last will. Give his elder daughter to Prince Muhammad 'Azim and the younger to Siādat Khān." Next day Siādat Khān submitted "This hereditary servant is unwilling (to marry Rūhu'llāh Khān's daughter). How do we know that she too holds the creed of the Sunnis? In case she perseveres in her own faith, what can I do?"³⁵ The Prince raised no objections.

The same *Ahkām-i 'Ālamgiri* goes on to say, "When the Emperor went to visit Rūhu'llāh Khān in his (last) illness, he was not in his senses. On regaining consciousness he made a *salām* and recited the following couplet:

"With what pride will this supplicant leave the world,
As you have come to his head at the time of his death."

The Emperor burst into tears and said, "In no condition whatever should one despair of God's grace. Recovery and hope are not remote from His mercy (i.e. beyond His power). But as death is inevitable to every man, tell me your heart's wish, and I shall certainly grant it." Rūhu'llāh Khān stretched out his hand, rubbed it on His Majesty's feet, and said, "Through the blessing of these feet all my wishes in my lifetime were gratified. I now pray for this only that your Majesty may not mind the incompetence of my sons, but keep them under the shadow of your training, appoint those that are fit for any office to that post, and, in the case of those that are incompetent, remember the services of their forefathers."

The Emperor replied, "I agree with all my heart and life." Then the

34 *Ma'āsiri'l-Umarā'*, II, pp. 309-15.

35 J. N. Sarkār, *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, Calcutta, 1963, 4th edition, p. 122.

Khān submitted, "Concerning the marriage of my two daughters, I have already sent a petition to your Majesty through the *nāzir*, stating that I have been spiritually guided to the Sunnī creed, and given up the practices of my (Shi'a) ancestors, and requesting that both of them may be married to well-born members of the Sunnī sect. I now orally pray that your Majesty may order Qāzi Muhammad Akram to come and carry out the washing and shrouding of my corpse." The Emperor bowed his head down, smiled, and said, "Verily, love for his children has rendered this man helpless. There is no falling off in your wisdom and power of contrivance. Most probably you have made this plan in the hope that out of respect for the pure soul of a Sunnī I shall look graciously at and show kindness to your children. But this plan will succeed only if every one of them too says the same thing (i.e., accepts the Sunnī creed). There is no probability at all that they would lay this shame (i.e., apostasy) on themselves. However, I ought to carry out your last will publicly according to the Canon Law." Saying this he repeated the prayer from the Qur'ān (*fātiha*) and came away.

After the Khān's death, the Qāzi came according to the will of the deceased. One Āqā Beg, a confidential servant of Rūhu'llāh Khān, showed the Qāzi a letter written by the Khān and sealed with his own seal, which stated, "If at the time of washing and shrouding my body, the Qāzi comes according to the will of the humble person and the order of the Emperor, Āqā Beg should be appointed the Qāzi's deputy for doing this work. This poor man does not venture to give trouble to His Holiness the Qāzi (for this work). The mere fact of the Qāzi coming to my house will be the cause of the salvation of this sinner."

This Āqā Beg had outwardly assumed the titles of Āqā and Beg but he was (really) one of the expert Shi'a theologians. The Qāzi had discovered his scholarship from his having often in assemblies entered into discussions fearlessly and promptly when face to face with learned men. The Qāzi, on reading the letter, became aware of the real fact of the matter, *viz.*, the invitation of the Qāzi and the delegation of the work (of washing) to Āqā Beg was a mere form of pleasantry (*shakl-i-khush-taba'i*). So, being displeased he told Muhammad Ghaws, the news-writer of the Qāzi's court, to put it at once in a letter and send the letter to the Emperor quickly by means of a slave, so that an answer might be brought.

When the sheet of the news-letter was presented to the Emperor, he wrote, 'At the time of his death he has cast disgrace on the whole of his past life, and spread a covering over the face of his work. It is not necessary for the Qāzi to stay there. The late Khān during his lifetime had made deception his characteristic. And at his death too, he pursued this detestable habit to the end! What concern have I with anybody's faith? Let Jesus follow his own religion and Moses his own. The proposal

for the marriage of his daughters to Sunnis was also a kind of strategem (employed in the hope) that the poor simplewitted young nobles who should be involved in this misfortune (i.e. would marry these Shi'a girls) would necessarily, out of love for their wives, withdraw from the long-standing faith of their ancestors and become new converts to Shi'ism. *God protect us from the wickedness of our passions and the sinfulness of our actions.*³⁶

Shi'i influence under the Mughals was not confined to those Irānis linked with Nūr Jahān's family but was far reaching. In Jahāngīr's reign Zamāna Beg Mahābat Khān Khān-i Khānān had, by a *coup de main*, seized Jahāngīr while he was crossing the river Jhelum. He kept him and Nūr Jahān under his control for about six months. He was a most formidable general. Until his death in 1044/1634, in Shāhjahān's reign, he fought with remarkable bravery. His ancestors had descended from Imām Rizā'. His father Ghayyūr Beg had moved from Shirāz to Kābul and was known as Kābuli (of Kābul). In his youth Mahābat Khān did not adhere to any religion but towards the end of his life he embraced the Isnā 'Ashari faith. He had twelve costly jewels engraved with the names of the twelve Imāms and wore them round his neck. He also placed on his head a costly woollen scarf embroidered with their names. If some defaulter swore by their names, no action was taken to recover the debt, even though it amounted to 100,000 rupees. According to Farid Bhakkari, he was not strict about fasting or saying his prayers. Possibly he did not attend the Sunni congregational prayers. He had made a will that no tomb should be built over his grave. He believed that as he himself had demolished the tombs of earlier rulers of Delhi and converted them into houses, his own tomb might similarly be treated. He was buried in Delhi below the foot print of Imām 'Alī and a simple platform was built over his grave.³⁷

His son Mahābat Khān Mīrzā Lahrāsp was also an enterprising general and served with merit under both Shāhjahān and Awrangzib. Like his father he had also acquired inimitable experience in fighting both in the Deccan and Afghān regions. Possibly also, like his father, he was a Shi'i. He did not approve of Awrangzib's orthodox Sunni policy and let no opportunity slip to humiliate the Emperor's favourite Qāzi 'l-Quzāt 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb who was notorious for the huge fortune he had amassed. Other noblemen were also disillusioned with Qāzi 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb but all were helpless because of the Emperor's high regard for him. Mahābat Khān Lahrāsp, however, did not care. At one time, when he was commissioned to proceed to the Deccan campaign, he halted for some days in the vicinity of the capital to obtain a salary advance (*musā'ada*) for the troops. He discovered that three or four lacs of rupees worth of

36 *Ibid.*, pp. 123-25.

37 *Zakhīratu'l-khawānīn*, pp. 171-73.

Kashmir and Agra goods, which had been surreptitiously purchased by the Qāzi, were being sent along with the goods of merchants to Ahmadabad. He therefore seized these goods and distributed them among his soldiers for their maintenance. When the Emperor called for an explanation, he replied that only out of necessity had he borrowed the merchants' goods and that he would return them with interest. The Qāzi realised that he could do nothing as he could not claim that some of the goods belonged to him. He, therefore, decided to forget about the money.³⁸

When Shīvāji's aggression exceeded acceptable bounds, the Emperor decided to send Mahābat Khān Lahrāsp to chastise him. He described some of Shīvāji's tyrannical acts and turning to Mahābat Khān said, "It is necessary for the protection of Islam that this bandit be extirpated." Mahābat Khān at once replied ironically, "It is not necessary to appoint an army, a *fatwa* from the Qāzi will be sufficient." The Emperor was very annoyed and ordered Ja'far Khān to tell Mahābat Khān that it was not proper to jest in the Imperial Presence.³⁹ Mahābat Khān Lahrāsp died in Shawwāl 1085/January 1675.

In Jahāngir's reign, the Shī'is gained moral support from the sympathy of Pir Khān, son of Dawlat Khān Lodī Shāhūkhayl, entitled Khān-i Jahān Lodī. In 1607 Jahāngir gave him the rare distinction of calling him a son. In the account of the second year of his reign (1607-8), Jahāngir writes:

"After my succession I summoned Pir Khān to court. As I discovered in him a good disposition and natural abilities, I raised the pedestal of regard for him to the point that has been described. Today there is not in my government any person of greater influence than he, so much so that on his representation I pass over faults which are not pardoned at the intercession of any of the other servants of the court. In short, he is a young man of good disposition, brave, and worthy of favour, and what I have done for him has been done rightly, and he will be exalted by further favours."⁴⁰

In the nineteenth year of his reign Jahāngir appointed him the governor of Gujarat; two years later the governorship of the entire Mughal territory of the Deccan was assigned to him. After Shāhjahān's accession to the throne, however, the intrigues of the other nobles against him mounted. On 26 Safar 1039/15 October 1629, he fled from Agra in order "to save his honour with no ideas of rebellion in his heart" as he himself said. The imperial army pursued him but he managed to reach Ahmadnagar. There

38 *Mā'āsirū'l-Umarā'*, I, pp. 237-39.

39 *Muntakhabū'l-Jubāb*, II, pp. 216-17.

40 *Tuzuk-i Jahāngiri*, Rogers and Beveridge, I, p. 89.

he was warmly welcomed by Nizāmu'l-Mulk. After Shāhjahān's arrival in Burhanpur, however Nizāmu'l-Mulk, concerned about his own future, changed his attitude. Khān-i Jahān left Ahmadnagar and entered Bundela territory. Relentlessly pursued by the Mughal army he fell fighting in Rajab 1040/February 1631.

Khān-i Jahān's ancestors, like other Afghāns, were Sunnis but his father Dawlat Khān was known to have embraced the Isnā 'Asharī Shi'i faith. He often remarked that courage could not be gained without slavery to 'Alī. Khān-i Jahān himself was a Sunni but his friends were mostly the Īrānis.⁴¹ He wrote a letter to Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi Mujaddid Alf-i Sāni (971/1564-1034/1624) regarding religious questions. The Mujaddid took the opportunity to explain to him the fundamentals of the Sunni faith and to condemn the philosophers, Mu'tazila and the Shi'is. The Mujaddid's letter reiterates that Abū Bakr and 'Umar were superior to the rest of the members of the *umma*. It also mentions that 'Alī himself accused those who considered him superior to Abū Bakr of being liars. He goes on to say that Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jilāni (d. 561/1166) in his *al-Ghunya fi-Tālibī Tariq al-Haqq* wrote that the Prophet was told by angels that after his death Abū Bakr was destined to succeed him. The same work claimed that 'Ā'isha the Prophet's wife and Abū Bakr's daughter, was superior to the Prophet's daughter Fātima. The Mujaddid, however, himself believed that in knowledge and *ijtihād*, 'Ā'isha was superior to Fātima but that Fātima surpassed 'Ā'isha in asceticism and piety. The Muslims should not take sides in the wars between Prophet Muhammad's companions. Consequently the battle of Jamal (between 'Ā'isha and 'Alī) and that of Siffin (between Mu'āwiya and 'Alī) should be ascribed to pious motives and no bigotry should be shown in interpreting it.⁴²

The Mujaddid's reply mirrors the doubts in Khān-i Jahān's mind which he probably expressed in his letter but it has not survived. It also answers the burning questions of the day. For example even in Shāhjahān's court the question of 'Ā'isha's superiority over Fātima was being debated. Once someone asserted this in Mīr Muhammad Amīn Mīr Jumla Shahrastāni's hearing. He had moved from Shāh 'Abbās' court and entered Jahāngīr's service in 1027/1618. The Mīr lost his temper and sternly urged the speaker to refrain from making such statements. Shāhjahān remarked that the people of Isfahān were generally rude, hence Mīr Muhammad's behaviour was not objectionable.⁴³

During Shāhjahān's reign, although all the Shi'is were not as outspoken as Mīr Jumla, some of them did not fail to assert their Shi'i beliefs. For

41 *Zakhtratu'l-khawānīn*, II, pp. 114-15.

42 *Maktūbāt-i Imām-i Rabbāni*, II, Letter no. 67.

43 *Zakhtratu'l-khawānīn*, II, pp. 219-20.

example, when the ambassador from the Sharif of Mecca arrived at court, Shāhjahān appointed Mullā Haydar 'Alī Shustari to act as host. One day the envoy's party remarked that they had not seen any verses indicating 'Ā'isha's superiority over Fātima. Mullā Haydar 'Alī said he had seen one and quoted the following verse:

“Unto each Allāh hath promised good, but He hath bestowed on those who strive for a great reward above the sedentary.”⁴⁴

Commenting on the verse he remarked that 'Ā'isha fought a *jihād* (war) but Fātima never left her house. The ambassador did not, however, press the question further. He understood that the Mullā intended to criticise 'Ā'isha.⁴⁵

In Shāhjahān's reign, the most important addition to the Shī'i group in India was Amīru'l-Umarā' 'Alī Mardān Khān. His father, Ganj 'Alī Khān Zig of a Kurdish tribe, was Shāh 'Abbās' favourite. He worked as Governor of Kirmān for nearly thirty years. After the conquest of Qandahār in 1622, Shāh 'Abbās transferred him there as governor. Three years later he died and Shāh 'Abbās appointed his son, 'Alī Mardān Khān, his successor in Qandahār. After Shāh 'Abbās' death, however, 'Alī Mardān Khān's future seemed bleak as the conspiracies against him escalated in the court of Shāh 'Abbās' successor, Shāh Safī (1038-1052/1629-1642). When 'Alī Mardān Khān strengthened the walls and bastions of the Qandahār fort and built another one on a nearby hill in forty days, his enemies accused him of rebellious designs. The Shāh despatched a formidable army against him. In 1047/1637-38, 'Alī Mardān, however, surrendered Qandahār to Shāhjahān's generals, and joined the Emperor's court at Lahore. He was given a *mansab* of 6000/6000 and I'timādu'd-Dawla's mansion for his residence. Ten of his leading servants received suitable positions. 'Alī Mardān was made governor of Kashmir. In 1049/1639-40, he was given the Panjab as well, so that he might lead a comfortable life both in summer and winter.⁴⁶ He also led the Balkh and Badakhshān campaigns. In 1061/1650-51 he was again appointed the governor of Kashmir where he remained for about six years.

'Alī Mardān constructed many canals, gardens and palaces. Immediately after taking over as governor of the Panjab in 1049/1639-40, he had a canal dug from the debouchement of the Ravi to Lahore. It was known as the Shāhī canal. In 1050/1640-41, a garden was laid out on high ground

44 Qur'ān, IV, 95.

45 *Bayāz-i Ibrāhīmī*, Nāsiriyya Library Lucknow Ms., Volume dealing with *matā'in* (indictments) of 'Ā'isha. The volumes are not numbered.

46 *Bādshāh-nāma*, II, pp. 31, 43, 45.

after a similar garden in Srinagar laid in Jahāngir's reign. It was known as Shālāmār garden and took two years to complete. The Shāhī canal was also further improved.

During his second term as governor of Kashmir he erected several mansions, a palatial building for his own residence and had innumerable water channels and fountains made. Since he spent his winters in the Panjab he improved the road from Srinagar to Lahore. In the village Til of Phag *pargana* he constructed a big garden with four stone walls. A large channel brought water from the back of the mountains to irrigate the garden. He gave the income from the fruit of the gardens for expenditure on Imām Rizā's tomb in Mashhad. In the middle of the Pir Panjal, he constructed a caravanserai in the name of the twelve Imāms. At the exit of the Baramula pass he founded two villages named Aliabad. 'Alī Mardān Khān died in 1067/1656-57.⁴⁷

His military and administrative legacy was consolidated by his daughter known as Sāhibji. She was the wife of Rūhu'llāh Khān's elder brother, Mir Mirān Amīr Khān Yazdī. Amīr Khān started his military cum administrative career in the 29th year of Shāhjahān's reign. He served as governor of Jammu, fought valiantly against the Yūsufzais and was made governor of Allahabad. Subsequently for about two years he was deprived of his *mansab* but, in 1088/1677, he was made governor of Kābul. By a combination of military strength, tact and conciliation he ruled the region and kept the unruly Afghān tribes completely subdued, until his death on 27 Shawwāl 1109/8 May 1698. His wife Sāhibji took an active part in the political and military administration. In fact, it was generally believed that she ruled the country. Shāhnawāz Khān says that one night news came to Awrangzib of the death of Amīr Khān. Immediately he sent for Irshād Khān, who for a while was *diwān* of Kābul, and at this time was *diwān* of the *khālsa*, and said to him that a heavy misfortune had occurred, viz., the death of Amīr Khān. A country which was prepared for any amount of tumult and disaffection was left unguarded, and it was to be feared that there would be a rebellion before another governor could arrive. Irshād Khān insisted upon it that Amīr Khān was alive; who said he was dead? The King put the official report into his hands, and he replied, "I admit it, but the administration of that country is bound up with Sāhibji. As long as she is alive, there is no probability of a disturbance." Awrangzib immediately wrote to that able administratrix, and told her to conduct affairs until the arrival of prince Shāh 'Ālam, the successor designate of Amīr Khān.

As the movements of governors in that turbulent country were not devoid

47 *Zakhīratu'l-khawānīn*, III, pp. 27-29; *Ma'āsiru'l-Umarā'*, II, pp. 795-807; *Tārīkh-i A'zamī*, pp. 140-42.

of danger, it seemed impossible that the camp of a deceased governor could depart in safety. Sāhibjī so concealed the death of Amīr Khān that there was absolutely no rumour of it. She got a person who resembled Amīr Khān to sit in an *āyīnadār* palanquin and so made the journey, stage by stage. Every day the soldiers saluted him and took leave. When the cortege emerged from the hill-country, she performed the mourning rites.

Shāh 'Ālam took a long time to arrive at Kābul. Until then Sāhibjī made arrangements for the administration of the country. As most of the chiefs had come to mourn for Amīr Khān she kept them honourably near her, and sent messages to the Afghāns to the effect that they should act according to their customs and abstain from tumult and highway robbery, and not exceed their position. "Otherwise the ball and the field were ready (metaphor from polo). If I win, my name will remain till the judgement-day. They felt the justice of this, and renewed their oaths and promises, and did not in any way prove disobedient." Shāhnawāz goes on to say, "Amīr Khān had no children by Sāhibjī, and as she fully ruled over him, he in great secrecy kept mistresses and had many children by them. At last this came to Sāhibjī's knowledge, and she behaved kindly to them and brought them up. Two years after Amīr Khān's death and after she had administered the affairs of Kābul she came to Burhanpur. As permission had been given to her to go to Mecca she sent off Amīr Khān's sons to court and hastened to the port of Surat. Afterwards, when Amīr Khān's property had been examined, an order was sent that Sāhibjī herself should come to court, but her ship had sailed before the order reached her. As she spent large sums of money at Mecca, the Sherif and others treated her with honour."⁴⁸

Sāhibjī's brother Ibrāhīm Khān the eldest son of 'Alī Mardān Khān was no match to her in administrative competence. Like his father he was not interested in engineering. He preferred religious polemics. After 'Alī Mardān's death he was granted the rank of 4000/3000. In the battle of Samugarh he was in the right wing of Dārā-Shukōh's army. After the Prince's defeat he joined Murād Bakhsh. He warned Murād against trusting Awrangzīb but the Prince fell into his brother's net and was imprisoned. Ibrāhīm had no alternative but to submit to Awrangzīb. For about a year he lived on a pension but, in the second year of his reign, Awrangzīb raised him to the rank of 5000/5000 and appointed him governor of Kashmir. After the death of Khalilu'llāh Khān, Amīr Khān's father, in Rajab 1072/February 1662, he was made governor of the Panjab. According to A'zamī, during his tenure as governor of Kashmir, the Sunnis and Shi'is fought each other desperately for the possession of a

48 *Mā'āsirū'l-umarā'*, I, pp. 284-87, English translation by H. Beveridge and Bains Prasad, Patna, 1979, reprinted, I, pp. 250-53.

mosque. The Sunnis were victorious. Six years later Ibrāhīm Khān was transferred as governor of Bihar. In 1667 he resigned and went into retirement but two years later was again appointed governor of Kashmir. He had not served there for more than a year when he was made governor of Bengal. In 1699 he was appointed governor of Allahabad and then of Lahore. In 1701 he was again made governor of Kashmir. Before Awrangzib's death he was transferred yet again, this time as governor of Gujarat. When Bahādur Shāh became emperor, Ibrāhīm Khān thought his career was finished as he had ousted the new ruler's son as governor. The *wazir* Mun'im Khān came to his rescue and he was appointed governor of Kābul out of respect for his father and the title 'Alī Mardān Khān was conferred on him. He was unable to control the turbulent region and retired to Sodhra on the west bank of the Chanab near Lahore, which he had named Ibrahimabad Sodhra. He died in 1122/1710.⁴⁹

It was between 1701 and 1706, when he was governor of Kashmir, that he appointed a board of Shī'i 'ulamā' to compile the *Bayāz-i Ibrāhīmī*, comprising Shī'i-Sunnī polemical literature. A most active member of the board was Mullā 'Abdu'l-Hamid Sāmūnī. Ibrāhīm Khān himself supervised the compilation and rare manuscripts on the subject were collected from different sources. The acquisition of some important works, the names of their suppliers and the dates of purchase are noted in the *Bayāz-i Ibrāhīmī* at different places. These notes indicate that the books were carefully preserved in Ibrāhīm's library. The *Bayāz* devotes separate volumes to the *matā'in* (indictment) of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Usmān, 'Ā'isha and Mu'āwiya. Other volumes deal with inconsistencies in Sunnī *fiqh* and *ahādīs*.

The compilers quote extracts mainly from Sunnī works in both Arabic and Persian in order to accuse the Prophet's first three successors, 'Ā'isha and Mu'āwiya. Special efforts were made to collect excerpts from the works of Sunnī 'ulamā' and *sūfis*. The writings of Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawī were very heavily drawn upon. Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustari's works were also of great help to the authors.

The *Bayāz-i Ibrāhīmī* seeks to show that Timūr was deeply devoted to the Prophet's family and considered 'Alī superior to the first three caliphs. It contended that he held the Sayyids in great respect and was favourably inclined towards Shī'ism. A letter from Timūr is quoted which lists the *mujaddids* (those who renew) at the end of each century of Islam. It says that the Umayyad Caliph 'Umar bin 'Abd al-'Azīz (99-101/717-720) was the *mujaddid* (renewer of faith) in political matters but the *mujaddid* of the faith was the fifth Imām Muhammad Bāqir (57-114/676-732). It continues that the *mujaddid* of the second century in politics was al-Ma'mūn

49 *Mā'āsiru'l-umarā'*, I, pp. 295-301; *Tārīkh-i A'zamī*, pp. 163-64.

India

nts of view were received attentively in

with Shaykh 'Alī Hazīn.⁵⁶ Hazīn was
etence in writing prose and poetry and
posed poems. It would seem that when
nies' machinations, Hazīn would urge
mplete trust in God. Nawwāb Sa'ādāt
r of Sadru'd-Dīn's friends.

ar 1151/May-June 1738. The following
stant:⁵⁷

principles of the Shi'i faith. The manu-
library which was transcribed in 1132/
ru'd-Dīn's own library.

on the fundamentals of the Shi'i faith.
Library in Delhi is dated 20 Jumāda

'i beliefs in the most simple form. The
iversity Library was copied from the
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s relating to the twelfth Imām. The
rsity Library was copied from Sadru'd-

ādīs on visions of the Divine. The
s but the *Mu'tazila* reject them. The
from both schools and asserts the Shi'i
ne manuscript in the Panjab University
quired by the author's library on 11
722.

apters designed to be recited in the
ten days of Muharram. Each chapter
deals with the death of the personalities
(*h I*) concerns the fate of the prophets,
tima, IV- Imām 'Alī, V-Imām Hasan,
the son of Muslim bin 'Aqīl. Chapter
he life of Imām Husayn and the spiri-
mourning his martyrdom. Chapter
of Karbalā, the atrocities perpetrated
(nies) and the martyrdom of the Imām.
ersecution of Ahl-i Bayt and the Imām's

India

d of the faith was the eighth Imām 'Alī
third, fourth and seventh centuries the
i 'ulamā' are mentioned as sharing the

in Ya'qūb Kulayni
if] Murtazā 'Alamu'l-Hudā
ilu'd-Dīn Mutahhar Hilli.

hal patronage, the *Bayāz-i Ibrāhīmī* also
he eighth century *hijra* to Timūr.⁵⁰

'qūb Khān, Fidā'i Khān and Zabardast
ign, Ya'qūb Khān was appointed the
f 'Asafu'd Dawla Asad Khān. After his
brāhīm Khān" was conferred on him.
dur Shāh a ring from the Yemen whose
etters of the words: God, Muhammad

ositions during Awrangzib's reign. In
m to command an expedition against
ccess. In 1112/1700 he was appointed
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vernor of Bengal, Zabardast Khān was
Khān Afghān who had seized Burdwan
had assumed the title "Rahīm Shāh".
wjdar of Jaunpur and, in the following
ip of Awadh. In 1116/1704 he was,
his real name was Muhammad Khālid;
his grandfather's title of "'Alī Mardān
He died in 1125/1713 at Lahore.⁵²

utions to Shi'ism by Ibrāhīm Khān's
e had the same intellectual and religious
dfather. Zabardast Khān's daughter,
l composed verses praising the twelve
reign, Zabardast Khān's three sons
hdi Khān and Muhammad Taqī Khān,

. 177b, 179a.

ngīrī, Calcutta, pp. 236, 397; *Ma'āsiru'l-umarā'*,

, *Fā'iz Dihlawī aur dīwān-i Fā'iz*, Aligarh, 1965,

family after Imām Husayn's martyrdom till their presentation to the court of (the Caliph) Yazid.

The manuscript copy in the Panjab University Library was transcribed by Sadru'd-Din for his library in early Jumāda I 1125/ May 1713.

7. *Ihyau'l-qulūb* is a detailed biography of the Prophet Muhammad based on authentic sources. The concluding chapter deals with the *Imāma*. The manuscript copy in the Lucknow University Library belonged to the author's library.
8. *Risāla-i munāzirāt* contains an account of seven different assemblies of Shi'i-Sunni polemical discussions held at the mansion of Amīru'l-Umarā' Samsāmu'd-Dawla Khān-i Dawrān. These conferences were attended by Sadru'd-Din also and he played an active role in the discussions. The manuscript copy in the Riza Library, Rampur originally belonged to Sadru'd-Din's own library.
9. *Anīsū'l-wuzarā'* is an abridgment of the *Akhlāq-i Nāsiri* by Nasīru'd-Dīn Tūsī. A manuscript copy of the work is available in the Mawlānā Āzād Library, Aligarh Muslim University.⁵⁸
10. *Irshādu'l-wuzarā'* comprises short notes on some celebrated viziers. It is divided into twelve sections. The first deals with Pythagoras, Jāmāsp, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. The second section contains an account of the viziers of the Umayyad caliphs. The third section discusses the viziers of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs. The fourth to the tenth sections deal with the viziers of the Iranian ruling dynasties. The eleventh section concentrates on the viziers of Tīmūr and the twelfth gives an account of the viziers of the Tīmūrīds in India. Sadru'd-Din's evaluation of their competence and achievements is well-informed but he considered a noble ancestry as indispensable for a vizier. He found that a large number of viziers of the Indian Tīmūrīds lacked that quality. Sadru'd-Din believed that, as Akbar's vizier, Shaykh Abu'l-Fazl acted competently despite not belonging to a noble family. He comments that although I'timādu'd-Dawla did not occupy any senior posts in Iran, his talented son Āsaf Khān became vizier under Jahāngīr and *wakīl* under Shāhjahān. Sadru'd-Din was full of praise for Sa'du'llāh Khān whose only defect was his Panjābi origin. He tells us that early in Awrangzīb's reign Mir Jumla achieved marvellous successes while in Iran he had been a very mediocre person. Āsaf Khān's son-in-law, Ja'far Khān, who was a most efficient vizier during the early years of Awrangzīb's reign, also had not held any high positions in Iran. Asad Khān, the successor to Ja'far Khān, was, according to Sadru'd-Din, endowed with ability and a noble ancestry

58 *Ibid.*, pp. 81-89.

in Iran. Shāh 'Ālam's vizier, the Khān-i Khānān Mun'im Khān, was both good-natured and competent but did not belong to a noble family. Sadru'd-Dīn admits that although Zu'lfaqār Khān was descended from a noble family and was a competent general, he had not performed well as vizier. Sadru'd-Dīn continues that of the two Sayyid brothers, Husayn 'Alī Khān was more competent than his brother 'Abdu'llāh Khān, who was given the title *Qutbu'l-Mulk* and made vizier because he was the elder. According to Sadru'd-Dīn, Qutbu'l-Mulk's incompetence, dissipation, corruption and meanness were responsible for their fall. He credits Muhammad Amīn Khān with courage and bravery but considers him devoid of the qualities necessary for a vizier. 'Ināyatu'llāh Khān Kashmīri, Sadru'd-Dīn states, was competent in office work and known for his integrity but his partiality to his own kinsmen and his intrinsic meanness prevented him from obtaining a firm hold over the work. The book ends with a description of Nizāmu'l-Mulk, who had been vizier for the last four months. According to Sadru'd-Dīn, Nizāmu'l-Mulk was talented, dignified and prudent but the mutual jealousy between the dignitaries and noblemen would prove the greatest obstacle to his success. It was impossible for Sadru'd-Dīn to foresee the outcome when he completed this work.⁵⁹

11. *Tahrīrū's-Sudūr*. A short treatise on elementary mathematics based on Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn 'Āmīlī's works. The manuscript belonging to the author is available in the Panjab University Library.
12. *Najmu's-Sadr* deals with astronomical tables. The copy in the Panjab University Library belonged to the author.
13. *Hidāyatū's-Sadr*. A short treatise on *qiyāfa* (geomancy).
14. *Risāla-i mālikhūliya*. This contains an account of melancholy, its causes, symptoms and treatment. The manuscript copy in the Panjab University Library belonged to Sadru'd-Dīn's library.
15. *Zīnatū'l-basātīn* deals with agriculture and horticulture. It draws upon about a dozen works. The manuscript copy in the Panjab University belonged to Sadru'd-Dīn's son.
16. *Tuhfatū's-Sadr*. A work dealing extensively with horses, their diseases and treatment. The last three chapters discuss asses, mules, camels and elephants. The work provides many casual glimpses of the author and his father. In 1911 it was published by the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta with notes in English by D. C. Phillot.
17. *Ruqa'ātū's-Sadr*. A collection of 114 selected letters by Sadru'd-Dīn with an introduction. Only eight letters give the names of the addressees; one is addressed to Mīr Kalān, another to Mahābat Khān, a

59 *Irshādū'l-Wuzarā'*, Aligarh Muslim University Library Ms. ff. 61b-66a.

third to Lattū Miyān and a fourth to Hakimu'l-Mulk; the remaining four are addressed to Hakim Mu'min 'Alī Khān. A copy of the work is available in the Jāmi'a Millia, New Delhi.⁶⁰

18. *Khutba-i Kulliyāt*. A detailed preface by Sadru'd-Dīn Fā'iz to a collection of his verses and prose works. The preface comments on the verses by Iranian poets and the characteristics of his own poetry and its inspiration. The *Kulliyāt* contains Fā'iz's Persian and Urdu *Diwāns*. The Urdu *Diwān* has been edited by Sayyid Mas'ūd Hasan Rizawī Adīb. A second edition was published in 1965 by the Anjuman Taraqqi-i Urdu, Aligarh. Sadru'd-Dīn's Persian *Diwān* contains 344 couplets of *marsiyas* (elegies). There are eighteen *qasidas*, one praises God, three are panegyrics on the Prophet Muhammad and fourteen extoll the virtues of Imām 'Alī. Sadru'd-Dīn said that *qasidas* should only be written to praise spiritual leaders. He states:

“I have not written verses in praise of worldly people. Only beggars indulge in this habit. The classical poets were helpless for they wrote poetry at the instigation of kings and their objective was to praise them. None of these motives is in my mind. I write poems only to make them a memorial to my name. Only the Real King (God) deserves to be praised or else the verses should be written in praise of Imāms in order to earn spiritual merits and a lofty position in paradise. There is no sense in praising people who like me depend on others for worldly needs.”⁶¹

Sadru'd-Dīn's Urdu *Diwān* is a pioneering work in North Indian Urdu literature. He had completed the *Kulliyāt* containing the Urdu *Diwān* by 1127/1715 while Shāh Hātim (d. 1197/1782-83), credited with writing the earliest North Indian Urdu poetry, did not commence composing Urdu poetry until 1132/1719-20.⁶² According to Adīb, Fā'iz's Urdu *Diwān* comprises predominantly Hindī names and adjectives. Similes from Hindu folklore have also been borrowed. The first *masnawī* is an invocation to God, the second praises 'Alī on the basis of the standard Sunnī and Shi'i *ahādīs*. The other *masnawīs* eulogize a river bank, the Hindu festival of Holī, Nigambod on the river Jamuna, Bhatta fair, the beauty of a *yoginī*, a girl selling vegetables, a girl selling betel leaf, a girl addicted to Indian hemp near the *dargāh* of Qutbu'd-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kāki and a Gūjar girl. The description of the rural beauties does not reflect licentiousness in Sadru'd-Dīn. When a young man, he seems to have

60 *Fā'iz Dihlawī*, pp. 91-97.

61 *Ibid.*, pp. 104-5.

62 *Ibid.*, pp. 76-81.

led a gay life but later on he was devoted to piety and spiritual pursuits.⁶³

No detailed information about Sadru'd-Din's sons is available. One of them, Mirzā Hasan 'Alī Khān, entitled Sharafu'd-Dawla, was, like his father, in touch with Hazīn. Sharafu'd-Dawla's enemies gave him no rest but Hazīn consoled him and urged him to obtain higher education and seek perfection. Hazīn also wrote letters to the dignitaries of Delhi recommending them to help Sharafu'd-Dawla. In one of them Hazīn urged Sharafu'd-Dawla to obtain the Emperor's permission through some friends and move from Delhi to Lahore. It would seem that Sharafu'd-Dawla and his descendants were unable to make their mark at court.⁶⁴ The contributions by 'Alī Mardān Khān and his family to the development of Shi'ism in Delhi, Kashmir and the Panjab are, however, immortal.

Not only 'Alī Mardān Khān's sons and grandsons but some of his officers also made distinctive contributions to the consolidation of the Mughal empire. Such a one was Murshid Qulī Khān Khurāsānī. At first he was an officer under 'Alī Mardān Khān, the governor of Qandahār. When 'Alī Mardān surrendered Qandahār to Shāhjahān, some of his best servants including Murshid Qulī Khān found service under the Mughals. In the nineteenth year of his reign Shāhjahān appointed him as *fawjdār* of the hilly region of Kangra.⁶⁵ When Prince Awrangzib was appointed governor of Balkh and Badakhshān he was made *bakhshī* of the forces sent under the Prince.⁶⁶ When Shāhjahān transferred Awrangzib to the Deccan in the twenty-sixth year of his reign Murshid Qulī was raised to the rank of 1,500/500 and was appointed the *diwān* of Balāghat⁶⁷ and later promoted as the *diwān* of the Deccan. Although he was a very brave soldier and a farsighted commandar he gained immortality in the sphere of revenue administration. Shāhnawāz Khān says that he settled the land with skill and care, and arranged to take one fourth of the produce as its revenue. He also prepared a code of regulations. It is stated that out of caution, and lest fear or favour should influence him he often took the measuring chain (*Jarib*) in his own hand and measured out the land. His name on account of this code would long be remembered. He goes on to say, "It should be borne in mind that in the spacious, fertile and opulent countries of the Deccan, revenue was not assessed on the *biḡha* basis, by measurements or on the different classes of land and their produce, or even

63 *Ibid.*, pp. 226-46.

64 *Ibid.*, pp. 64-68.

65 *Bādshāh-nāma*, II, p. 471.

66 *Ibid.*, p. 688.

67 *'Amal-i Sālih*, III, p. 151.

upon mutual arrangements. Cultivation was assessed on the basis of a plough and a yoke of bullocks. A small portion of whatever crop was produced, and this varied in different centres and *parganas*, was handed over to the ruler (the *Hākīm*) as the revenue. No enquiries were made in regard to increases or decreases. Later, when the country for some time was trodden by the armies of the Emperors of India, the peasantry on hearing the name of the Mughals and the new arrangements feared and trembled, and left their homes. Further, a great decrease in rainfall was followed by famine for several years. So great was the desolation that in spite of Emperor Shāhjahān in the fourth year of his reign, reducing the revenues of Khāndesh by 30 to 40 *krors* of *dāms*,¹ the country did not recover its normal condition till Murshid Quli Khān was appointed. He on his own initiative carefully and energetically introduced the revenue system of Rāja Todar Mal, which, since the time of Emperor Akbar, had prevailed in Upper India. In the first place he did everything possible to bring back the run-away peasantry, and appointed intelligent officials (*amīns*) and honest collectors to measure the lands, known as the *raqba*. They were instructed to differentiate between land fit for cultivation, and hilly areas and riparian tracts which could not be ploughed. Wherever there was no headman in a village, and his heirs had disappeared as a result of the conditions that had prevailed, a new headman well qualified to look after the cultivators and protect the peasantry, was appointed. For the purchase of cattle and other requisites of cultivation advances known as *taqāwī* were made, and collectors were instructed to recover these advances at harvest time. Three regulations were instituted in regard to cultivation. Firstly, as was customary in former times, agreements were to be executed. Secondly, the crop was to be divided—this was known as *batā'ī*, and this was to be carried out in three ways: (i) crops raised by rainfall were to be divided half and half (*viz.*, half to the cultivator and half to the State); (ii) of crops irrigated by well-water; if it was same kind of corn two-thirds to the cultivator and one-third to the State, if the crop consisted of grapes, sugarcane, cummin or *ispaghūl* the shares were to be assessed according to the expenses incurred in irrigation and the time required for ripening—the State share varied from one-ninth to one-fourth, and the balance was to be retained by the cultivators; and (iii) in areas cultivated by underground channels (*kāriz*), or by canals from rivers—which are known as *pāt*, the division varied more or less against the rates of the well-irrigated lands. The third regulation was in respect of measurements of *raqba*. Every kind of crop was inspected in view of the previously executed agreements and enquiries were made as to the rates and cultivation from sowing to harvest and it was possible to decide after measurements as to what share should be taken. These regulations were introduced in the three or four provinces of the Deccan—which was the extent of the territory under

the imperial rule at the time—and they were known as the *dhārā* of Murshid Qulī Khān.⁶⁸

In 1688 Murshid Qulī's son Fazl 'Ali Beg was appointed as the *wāqa'-i nigār* (reporter) of the chief *diwān* by Awrangzīb. The Emperor ordered, "Ask him if he wants to have 'Khān' added to his name or his father's title?" Fazl 'Ali chose to retain his father's title but the Emperor said, "I and my mother and father were the gifts (*qurbān*) of 'Ali. Tell the ignorant fellow that he should not become Qulī in place of 'Ali. Fazl 'Ali Khān is better." The suggestion exhibits Awrangzīb's deep devotion to Imām 'Ali.⁶⁹

Mīr Jumla Sa'id Khān

The history of Shī'i contributions to the glorification of the Mughal empire would remain incomplete without special reference to Muhammad Sa'id Mīr Jumla, later known as Mu'azzam Khān Khān-i Khānān. The circumstances that led him to desert the Qutb Shāhī court and join the Mughals have already been given.⁷⁰ His disloyalty to the Qutb-Shāhīs is incredible but, in the interest of self-preservation, he had no alternative when faced with the court intrigues and subsequent alienation of 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh from him.

Right from his arrival at Shāhjahān's court, Mīr Jumla became the spokesman for Awrangzīb's cause. He discouraged the Emperor from wasting his energies on recovering Qandahār and instead aroused his interest in the annexation of the Deccan. Dārā Shukōh was, however, hostile to Mīr Jumla for the Mīr's plans were designed to strengthen Awrangzīb and consequently undermined his chances of succession to the throne. The death of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh offered Mīr Jumla an opportunity to invade Bijapur under Awrangzīb. Other outstanding generals such as Mahābat Khān and Najābat Khān Mīrzā Shujā' were commissioned to collaborate with him. Awrangzīb and Mīr Jumla seized Bidar and marched against Kalyani arriving there in the middle of May 1657. The Bijāpūrīs stoutly defended the fort but Mīr Jumla's attacks smashed their defences and, on 11 August 1657, the fort was seized. The Emperor was delighted. Dārā Shukōh intervened, however, and saved Bijapur from destruction. Subsequently the Emperor concluded peace with 'Ali 'Adil Shāh.⁷¹

Shāhjahān's sudden illness on 7 Zu'l-hijja 1067/16 September 1657 sparked off a war of succession for the throne. Dārā Shukōh recalled the generals commissioned to conquer Bijapur. Mīr Jumla had already besieged

68 *Mā'āsirū'l-umarā'*, III, pp. 496-98, English translation by H. Beveridge and Baini Prasad, pp. 306-308.

69 *Mā'āsirū'l-umarā'*, III, pp. 499-500, English translation, pp. 308-9.

70 *Isnā 'Asharī Shī'is in India*, I, pp. 330-336.

71 *'Amal-i Sālih*, Lahore, III, pp. 246-260; *Muntakhabū'l-lubāb*; *Ādāb-i 'Alamgīrī*.

ed Parenda but Awrangzib urged him to settle affairs in the region according to his discretion and then join him. Dārā, however, arranged for Shāhjahān to issue peremptory orders commanding the Mir to return to court. The order was sent through Awrangzib and compliance with it was unavoidable. Mir Jumla could not risk the life of his family who were at Shāhjahān's court but he yielded to Awrangzib's repeated requests to visit him first. Early in January 1658 Mir Jumla reached Awrangzib's camp at Awrangabad but the Prince had him arrested and sent as a prisoner to Dawlatabad. Manucci says:⁹

"Upon Mir Jumlah's arrival, Prince Awrangzib made a false display of affection, using to him phrases of the greatest possible endearment, styling him "baba" (*bābā*) and "babagi" (*bābā jī*)—that is to say, 'father' and 'lord father'—and embracing him repeatedly. He prayed him most earnestly to come with him to take part in his enterprise and to adopt his cause. Mir Jumlah appeared to be much incensed and said that he was a most loyal subject of King Shāhjahān. In public he reprehended him (Aurangzib); all this being a comedy, to the end that the spies might write to King Shāhjahān and Prince Dārā of his apparent loyalty.

"Foreseeing what might happen, and wishing to show his zeal in the Prince's service, Mir Jumlah, in order to be able to succour Prince Awrangzib if he failed in his first attempts, allowed by consent the fortress of Doltabad (Daulatabad) to be occupied (by Awrangzib). His reflection was that in case Prince Awrangzib lost the battle that he had resolved to fight against Prince Dārā and was routed, it was probable that King Shāhjahān would send him (Mir Jumla) in pursuit to wreak vengeance for the affront done to him, if so, he could once more be of some assistance to Awrangzib.

"The latter took possession of all his (Mir Jumla's) treasure, cavalry, and artillery. Mir Jumlah had given secret orders to the generals and officers of his army to dissemble and make boastful demonstrations without injuring anyone. These orders were executed. Both sides had recourse to their arms; many matchlocks were discharged, but nobody was hurt. To everyone of the generals of King Shāhjahān, who lay at half a league's distance from the force of Mir Jumlah, Awrangzib sent an envoy saying that King Shāhjahān being dead, if they would adopt his (Aurangzib's) side, he promised them higher rank than they already held. As otherwise they would now come into the service of Dārā, they ought to prefer to serve him (Aurangzib), who was also a son of King Shāhjahān. It was not fitting for such high-minded captains to serve an infidel prince, an enemy of the Mahomedan faith, of which he (Aurangzib) was a true observer."⁷²

72 Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor*, London, 1907, pp. 240-41.

Manucci's statement cannot be doubted for Mir Jumla could very easily have avoided visiting Awrangzib and the Prince could not have imprisoned him without his consent. Mahābat Khān, who did not wish to support Awrangzib left for the court without any difficulty. Manucci says that Mahābat Khān would have nothing to do with such arguments, but thereupon beat his drums for a march, and took the road for Agra. Awrangzib used considerable efforts to make him come back, sending him several messages with presents. But Mahābat Khān, holding faithfully to the cause of King Shāhjahān, continued his march, and on his arrival at Agra the king at once made him governor of the kingdom of Kābul.

Awangzib ignored Shāhjahān's command to release Mir Jumla, whom the Emperor referred to as the helpless (Sayyid), and Shāhjahān's warning "to beware of the day of retribution".⁷³ After his victory over Dārā and first seizure of the throne on 1 Zu'lqā'da 1068/31 July 1658, Awrangzib released Mir Jumla and appointed him governor of Khāndesh. When Awrangzib marched against his brother Shāh Shujā', the only serious threat left to his rule, he summoned Mir Jumla from Khāndesh.⁷⁴ On 13 January 1659, Mir Jumla joined Awrangzib who had reached Kora near Allahabad. At Mir Jumla's suggestion, Awrangzib wrote a letter to Shāh Shujā's leading general Allāhwirdi Khān requesting him to urge Shāh Shujā' to dismount from his elephant in the thick of battle. In return the Emperor promised him great rewards. When the battle against Shāh Shujā' started at Khajwa, Awrangzib ordered Mir Jumla to bring his elephant near the royal elephant so that he could consult him easily. When Awrangzib's elephant driver was killed, and, he became the target of enemy arrows, he decided to dismount. Mir Jumla who was quite near, says Manucci "doing his duty as a good leader (and from him nothing else could be expected), when he noticed Awrangzib's movements, shouted in a loud voice: 'Kaem! Kaem! (Qā'im! Qā'im!)—that is to say, 'Stand fast! stand fast!' Dārā lost the empire by getting off his elephant. He called out: 'Kaem! Kaem!' (Qā'im! Qā'im) in reliance on the note sent to Allāhwirdi Khān."

"Already Awrangzib was, in the last extremity, abandoned by all, fearful of capture, and Fortune seemed to have deserted him. He thought he could never escape from his enemy's hands. But such was his lucky star, that he stopped upon his elephant and endured the severe assault. He remembered the battle he had fought against Dārā at Samugarh, and believed that by sitting patiently on his elephant he would conquer.

"Allāhwirdi Khān, when he received the note from Awrangzib, went to Shāh Shujā' and resorted to the same tactics as Khalilu'llāh Khān

73 Ibid. p. 241.

74 Qābil Khān, *Ādāb-i 'Ālamgīrī*, Lahore, 1971, I, pp. 442-450

used with Dārā, calling out to him: 'Congratulations to my sovereign on the victory the Most High has given your Majesty! All that is left to do is to take the coward Awrangzib before he can escape. Why do we delay thus? Let us advance with more speed; and to do this, let your Majesty descend from your elephant and mount on horseback, and in a single charge we can seize our prey.' Here we can see how eagerly Fortune favoured Awrangzib. For by this time the Prince Shāh Shujā' had won the day, and Awrangzib was without hope and utterly lost. She changed the hands they held, so that Awrangzib came out the winner, and Shāh Shujā' the loser.

"All this came to pass, notwithstanding Shāh Shujā' knew what had happened to his brother Dārā, who by quitting his elephant became a lost man. In spite of this, he followed the advice of Allāhwirdī Khān, left his elephant, got upon his horse, and started for an attack on Awrangzib. But the evil-minded traitor, Allāhwirdī Khān, in place of going on with his prince, turned back, and, displaying great terror, began to ask everybody anxiously what had become of Shāh Shujā'; he could not be seen on his elephant. All the army looked in that direction, and not perceiving him, fell into confusion and dismay. They imagined that he must be dead, and they began to take to flight—above all, the division of Shāh Shujā'; this was just as it had happened to Dārā. Thus Shāh Shujā', finding that there was no longer any hope, was forced hurriedly to join the fugitives. Meanwhile Awrangzib sat unmoved on his elephant, with no more than five hundred horsemen round him. Perceiving that Sultan Shāh Shujā' was no longer on his elephant, he advanced with vigour to the attack, beating his drums to make it appear as if the victory was already his. By this manoeuvre he increased the hesitation of Shāh Shujā's army, which, losing hope entirely took to flight."⁷⁵

Awangzib commissioned Mīr Jumla, who had turned a lost battle into victory, to pursue Shāh Shujā'. He was appointed as tutor to Prince Muhammad Sultan, the Emperor's eldest son, who was also ordered to join Mīr Jumla in pursuing his uncle. Mīr Jumla chased Shāh Shujā' relentlessly. He tactfully obtained the support of the leading *zamīndārs* and seized Rajmahal. There he was balked down, however, as Shāh Shujā' had ruled Bengal for more than seventeen years and commanded strong support.

Shujā' now succeeded in winning over Prince Muhammad Sultan who had earlier been betrothed by Awrangzib to his youngest daughter Gulrukh. Prince Muhammad realised that it was only by deserting his father that he could hope to marry his uncle's daughter. The Prince also resented his father taking credit for the victory at Khajwa as sycophants

75 *Storia Do Mogor*, pp. 313-14.

had convinced him that it was due to his efforts. He was bored too by Mīr Jumla's strict discipline. Consequently in the middle of June 1659 he slipped over to his uncle's camp near Dogachi, 21 kilometres south of Rajmahal. Terror and confusion reigned in the Mughal camp but Mīr Jumla did not lose heart. He re-organised his army and encamped near Makhsusabad (Murshidabad) but the imperialists lost Rajmahal.⁷⁶ In December 1659, Shujā' gained the day in several skirmishes but the arrival of Dāwūd Khān, the governor of Bihar with reinforcements, strengthened Mīr Jumla's hand. Shujā' fled towards Tanda but Mīr Jumla swooped down upon his forces from an unexpected direction after taking a hazardous route. Shujā' was defeated and fled again. Prince Muhammad Sultan realised his uncle was doomed and sneaked back into the Mughal camp on 19 February 1660. He spent the rest of his life first in Gwalior fort and then in Salimgarh (Delhi) prison. Shujā' fled to Dacca and, in May 1660, to Arracan with his family and less than forty followers, ten being the Sayyids of Barha known for their courage and loyalty to their masters. It is said that he perished at the hands of the Māgh tribe in the jungle.⁷⁷

Setting out from Dacca in November 1661, Mīr Jumla who was appointed viceroy of Bengal, entered into Kuch Bihar by an obscure route and captured it. In January 1662 he marched up the Brahmaputra. Seizing fort after fort, the invaders occupied the Ahom capital, Garhgaon at the end of March 1662. The Ahoms of Assam, who originally came from the hilly region lying north and east of Upper Burma, refused, however, to surrender. They started guerrilla wars in the rainy season which lasted from May to the end of October. They seized the Mughal outposts and only Garhgaon and Mathurapur remained in imperial hands. In November Mīr Jumla resumed the offensive and once more the Mughal cavalry proved superior to the Ahoms. By way of Solaguri the Mughal army arrived at Tipam. In December, Mīr Jumla exhausted by arduous marches and unhealthy climates fell seriously ill. Nevertheless he forced the Ahom Raja to conclude a humiliating treaty with the Mughals. Despite serious illness, he marched back to Bengal showing no signs of despair or pessimism. The vassal rajas were commanded to call on him and received instructions for the maintenance of law and order. While travelling by boat to Dacca, the great general and statesman died on 2 Ramazān 1073/10 April 1663. Paying tribute to his greatness, Sir Jadu Nāth Sarkār says:

“He (Mīr Jumla) did nothing which does not reflect the highest credit on him. No other general of that age conducted war with so much

76 Jadunāth Sarkār, *History of Aurangzib*, Bombay, 1973, reprint, II, pp. 364-66.

77 *Ibid.*, pp. 378-79.

humanity and justice, nor kept his soldiers, privates and captains alike, under such discipline; no other general could have retained to the last the confidence and even affection of his subordinates amidst such appalling sufferings and dangers. The owner of 20 maunds of diamonds, viceroy of the rich province of Bengal, he shared with the meanest soldier the privations of the march and brought premature death on himself by scorning delights and living laborious days. On the day when he crossed the Kuch Bihar frontier, he issued stern orders forbidding plunder, rape and oppression on the people, and saw to it that his orders were obeyed. The stern punishment which he meted out to the first few offenders had a salutary effect.”⁷⁸

Mir Jumla's son Muhammad Amin was a drunkard and arrogant but he was a competent general and administrator. In the second year of Awrangzib's reign his rank was 5000/4000 and in the fifth year he had an increase of 1,000 horses. In the 10th year of Awrangzib's reign he fought against Yūsufza'is. He succeeded Ibrāhīm Khān as the governor of Lahore. In the 13th year he was appointed governor of Kābul. His arrogance prevented him from rising to the position of the *wazīr*. In 1672 he recklessly fought against Yūsufza'is but his troops suffered catastrophic defeat. With great difficulty he was prevented from sacrificing his life. He volunteered to avenge the defeat but Amīr Khān represented that like a wounded boar, Muhammad Amin would fling himself against the enemy whether it were feasible or not. His *mansab* was reduced from 6000/5000 to 5000/5000 and he was made the governor of Gujarat. On 8 Jumāda II 1093/14 June 1682 he died in Ahmadabad, leaving behind an enormous property. Before his death he committed the Qur'ān to memory and became a *hāfiz*. According to Shāhnavāz Khān he was a very puritanical Shi'i. Whenever the circumstances forced him to receive a Hindu rāja, he after his departure had the house washed, the carpet removed and changed his own clothes.⁷⁹

During Awrangzib's reign some of the disciples of Bahā'u'd-Dīn 'Āmilī (d. 1031/1622) including Āqā Husayn Khwānsārī (d. 1098/1686), Taqī Majlisī (d. 1070/1659-60) and Bāqir Majlisī (d. 1111/1699-1700) also arrived in India from Iran. Mūsawī Khān Mirzā Mu'izz was the most prominent among them. He was the son of Mir Muhammad Zamān of Mashhad, an eminent 'ālim of the region. In his early youth he had moved to Qum and studied under Āqā Husayn Khwānsārī. In 1082/1671-72 he migrated to India and was married to a sister of Awrangzib's wife, Dīl-rās Bānū Begum, the daughter of Shāhnavāz Khān Safawī. When he was posted

78 Sarkār, *History of Aurangzeb*, III, p. 118.

79 *Ma'āsiru'l-umarā'*, III, pp. 613-20.

to Hasan Abdāl he had a discussion about theology with the Sunni 'alim, Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz. The discussion was prolonged. The Shaykh asked him about his teachers. Mūsawī Khān replied that he had studied under Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn 'Āmili. The Shaykh remarked that he had found fault in his teacher at twenty-two different places. Mir's replies made the Shaykh very angry and he enquired why Shi'is fixed a ramrod to the corpse when they washed it before burial. The Mir smiled and replied that he had been asked this question by the pimps of the Lahore dancing-girls, and again on that day the Shaykh had asked for an explanation.

Mūsawī Khān was an expert in financial administration and held the position of *diwān*. In the 32nd year of the Emperor's reign he was appointed the *diwān-i tan*. His strict regulations, designed to promote savings, however, alienated the *mansabdārs* from him. Two years later he was appointed *diwān* of the Deccan but he died in 1101/1690. He was an excellent poet. He used '*Fitrat*' as his *nom de plume*.⁸⁰

A distinguished Shi'i during Awrangzib's reign was Mustafā Khān Kāshi of Afghān descent. When he was fourteen years old, his father, who was destitute, died. Mustafā moved to India with an Afghān caravan and gradually rose to an important position in the service of Awrangzib's son Muhammad A'zam. His financial reforms put the Prince's establishment on a stable footing. As a result of Mustafā's careful attention to details ten to twelve thousand horsemen were readily available to the Prince. Awrangzib blamed Mustafā Khān for the Prince's excessive military establishment and, finding fault with him, deprived him of his position. He was sent to Mecca from where he returned to Awrangabad in the 39th year of the Emperor's reign. He waited on the Emperor in the garb of a dervish. The Emperor recited the following hemistich:

“I recognise you in whatever form you may come!”

He was not allowed to rejoin Muhammad A'zam's service. Mustafā then composed an index of the Qur'ānic verses entitled *Imārāt al-kalām*. The Prince brought it to the Emperor's notice but, after reading it, Awrangzib remarked that it was not a composition but a compilation. The Prince replied that no similar work had come to his notice, and so it was entitled to be regarded as a composition. The Emperor was provoked. He ordered the royal librarian to bring a book written by a certain author on the subject and to hand it over to the Prince.

Earlier Awrangzib had been deeply impressed with Mustafā Khān's abilities. In a letter he had written to the Prince that if he recommended an increase in the *mansab* or *jāgīr* and the award of the title of “Khān” to

Mustafā Qulī, the *diwān-i khālisa*, it would be approved. It was, however, Prince A'zam's growing interest in Shi'ism that had prompted Awrangzib to terminate Mustafā Khān's services. Mustafā spent the rest of his life in the mansion he had built in Awrangabad.⁸¹

As had been the case with Mustafā Khān, Awrangzib believed that an Arab Sayyid had aroused the interest of his eldest son, Shāh 'Ālam, in Shi'ism. In a letter reprimanding the Prince, Awrangzib wrote:

"An objective report reveals that this year you celebrated the Nawrūz festival like the Īrānis who resemble *ghūl-i biyābāni* (demons of the waste). Rectify your beliefs by Divine grace. Who taught you this new *bid'at* (sinful innovation)? Possibly that Arab who calls himself a Sayyid might be responsible. Since Nawrūz is the Zoroastrian day of festivity and to the Hindus it is the day of the coronation of the accursed Vikramāditya, the ancient Hindu rāja, it should never be celebrated."⁸²

Shi'i-Sunni Tensions

The Transoxianian *mansabdārs*, generally known as Tūrānis, refused to allow the Īrānis to occupy powerful positions. To them it invariably meant the beginning of Shi'i domination. As coreligionists of the Emperors and hailing from the ancestral homeland of the Mughals, they claimed their own preferment. The Emperors, however, were realistic when awarding promotions and choosing talented hands or positions of trust and responsibility. Even Awrangzib, who from the very beginning of his reign had embarked upon strengthening Sunni orthodoxy, was not influenced by religious or sectarian considerations when promoting his *mansabdārs* to higher positions.

The Emperor's remarks on the application of Muhammad Amīn Khān Chīn Bahādur, the son of 'Ābid Khān's brother Bahā'u'd-Dīn, deserve special mention. In September 1687, after his father's execution by the ruler of Bukhāra, Muhammad Amīn Khān moved to Awrangzib's court. In 1698 he was appointed *sadr* and was then promoted to *sadrū's-sudūr*. He played an active role in the siege of the Mahratta forts in the Deccan and was adequately rewarded for his bravery.⁸³ Encouraged by the Emperor's favour, he submitted the following petition:

"Hail! saint and spiritual guide of the world and its people! Both the paymasterships (*bakhshīs*) have been conferred on heretical demon-natured Persians. If one of the paymasterships be given to this old and

81 *Ibid.*, III, pp. 637-41.

82 *Ruqa'āt-i 'Ālamgīrī*, Letter to Shāh 'Ālam.

83 *Mā'āsirū'l-umarā'*, I, pp. 346-48.

devoted servant, it would be a means of strengthening the (Sunni) faith and of snatching away employment from accursed misbelievers. *O, ye faithful! do not take as friends your own and our enemies."*

Aurangzib wrote across the sheet of the petition:

"What you have stated about your long service is true. It is being appreciated as far as possible. As for what you have written about the false creed of the Persians, [I answer],—"What connection have worldly affairs with religion? and what right have matters of religion to enter into bigotry? *For you is your religion and for me is mine.*" If this rule [suggested by you] were established, it would be my duty to extirpate all the (Hindu) Rajahs and their followers. Wise men disapprove of the removal from office of able officers. Your request for a paymastership is appropriate, as you hold a rank suited to the post. The reason that acts as a hindrance is that the Tūrāni people, your followers, who are clansmen from the same city as that of my ancestors,—according to the saying '*Don't throw yourself into destruction with your own hands*'—do not think it a shame to retreat in the very thick of the battle. It would not be a great harm if this sort of thing took place in a foraging expedition, but it would cause a terrible difficulty if it occurred in the midst of a [regular] battle. *If, God forbid it!* the attendants of the Emperor were to act thus, then in a moment all would be over [with him].

If you have [ever] declined to perform this actually experienced and tested business [viz. retreat], write to me in detail [about it]. The Persians, whether born in *Wilāyet* or in Hindustan—who [the last] are noted for their gross stupidity,—are a hundred stages removed from this sort of movement [i.e. flight]."⁸⁴

The Emperor, however, did try to discourage Shi'ism whenever he could. Despite A'zam Khān's requests he dismissed Mustafā Khān Kāshī from the Prince's service. To the Emperor, Indian Muslims with the name of 'Alī, Hasan or Husayn, were invariably Shi'is. For example, a courtier of Indian origin submitted that two domestic slaves had memorised the Qur'ān and hoped to be allowed to recite it to the Emperor. The Emperor ordered they appear before him at night-time. They arrived and the courtier introducing them said, "The sons of so-and-so are present." Aurangzib replied, "Don't utter the name of a heretic (Shi'i)." Surprised the courtier remarked, "I was speaking of so-and-so." The Emperor replied, "Well, if you don't believe me, ask the names of both." The courtier did so and reported, "They are called Hasan

84 *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, pp. 88-89.

'Ali and Husayn 'Ali." The Emperor commented, "My parents and I are the sacrifice of 'Ali. What connection have Hindustānis with this name? Through evil desires they are afflicted with friendship for the heretical Shi'as, leave the right path and go astray. May God awaken us from the drowsiness of the negligent!"⁸⁵

The Emperor tolerated the Iranians but not the Indian Shi'is. He was fiercely hostile to the *taqiyya* and his posture towards the Isnā' Ashari Bohras was very repressive. Naturally they did not reveal their faith and posed as Sunnis. The Emperor ordered them to break their Ramazān fasts hurriedly at sunset and did not allow them to wait a little like the Shi'is. He appointed Sunni Imāms to lead their congregational prayers and to teach them the rules of Sunni prayers and forms of worship.⁸⁶

The *Fatāwā-i 'Alamgiriyya*, compiled under him, reiterates the traditional anti-Shi'i theories. According to it the *Rāfizī* (Shi'i) who cursed Abū Bakr and 'Umar was a heretic. Even if he refrained from cursing them, he was a *bid'atī* (innovator). Those Shi'is who abused 'Ā'isha were also heretics. The *Fatāwā-i 'Alamgiriyya* denied that the Rawāfiz were Muslims. They were subject therefore to the rules relating to *murtadd* (apostates).⁸⁷

Sunni-Shi'i riots did not occur in the Mughal empire mainly because the Shi'is, as a small minority, practised *taqiyya* for their own survival. According to Tavernier, "to please the Emperor and advance their own fortunes", the Iranians, "made no scruple about conforming themselves outwardly to the cult and customs of the Sunnis".⁸⁸ In Kashmir, however, the Shi'is maintained their separate identity, although they did not hold any senior posts in the state service. By 1620, the Shi'is were generally employed as soldiers. In all personal disputes with the Sunnis, however, they were invariably accused of cursing the Sahāba and were mercilessly persecuted but they did not lose courage. The great Naqshbandiyya leaders, Khwāja Khāwand Mahmūd and his son, Mu'īnu'd-Dīn, were sworn enemies of the Shi'is. The Mujaddid's disciples, Shaykh Mahdī 'Ali of Supūr and Khwāja Sādiq Sūd, also worked against them. Another Sunni, Mullā Habib Kana'i, who had access to Jahāngir's court, was a past-master in persecuting the Shi'is.⁸⁹

During Zafar Khān's first governorship a Sunni-Shi'i riot erupted in Kashmir. A large crowd had assembled near Srinagar to eat mulberries. According to A'zamī, the Shi'is there recklessly cursed the Sahāba. The angry Sunnis obtained orders from the *Qāzi* for their punishment. The

85 *Mā'āsir-i 'Alamgiri*.

86 'Ali Muhammad Khān, *Mir'āt-l Ahmadī*, Supplement, Baroda 1930, p. 131.

87 Quoted in *Fatāwā-i Shāh 'Abdu'l 'Azīz*, I, p. 92

88 Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, II, p. 139.

39 *Tārīkh-i A'zamī*, pp. 132, 143, 167-69.

governor delayed taking action, however, so the common people accused the *Qāzi* of conniving with the Shī'i offence. The Naqshbandiyya leader Khwāja Khāwand Mahmūd sent messages to the *Qāzi* and the Governor demanding immediate action, and sat down under a plane-tree to make sure that there was no further delay. In response the Governor visited the Khwāja and, with great difficulty, succeeded in persuading him to leave. The Shī'is were punished, but subsequently on Zafar Khān's complaints, Khwāja Khāwand Mahmūd was expelled to Lahore. His son Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn was allowed to stay in Kashmir.⁹⁰

Sayf Khān took over the position of governor of Kashmir in 1665, and during his rule, a *sūfi pīr*, Shaykh 'Abdu'r-Rashīd Chaknī, came into conflict with a Shī'i, Husayn Malik Chādrū ibn Haydar Malik. A'zamī's narrative of the event shows that it was a personal quarrel but the Shaykh complained to the Governor that Malik had cursed the Sahāba. The Governor hesitated to sentence Husayn Malik on evidence from the parties involved. Instead, he submitted a report to the Emperor who summoned them to court. Despite the support of the Shī'i noblemen, Awrangzīb, influenced by the judgement of the army *qāzi*, sentenced Husayn Malik to death. The dissatisfied Shī'is composed the following verse to commemorate the event:

“Because of the atrocities of Yazid's community,
Husayn son of Haydar has been martyred again.”⁹¹

During the governorship of Ibrāhīm Khān, son of 'Alī Mardān Khān, Kashmir was torn by more serious Shī'i-Sunni riots. This time the dispute erupted in the Shī'i quarter of Hasanabad where a Sunni was said to have been maltreated by a Shī'i. According to A'zamī, the Shī'is violated the *shari'a* and abused the Sahāba. Ibrāhīm Khān took no action. The Sunni mob set fire to the Hasanabad quarters. The Shī'is there decided to retaliate. The Sunni *mansabdārs* and citizens organised their own forces. A large number of people were killed and wounded on both sides. The riots went out of the *qāzi's* control. Finding no other way out of the impasse, Ibrāhīm Khān surrendered the Shī'i leaders accused of cursing the Sahāba to the Sunni mob. They were taken to a police station and executed. The Sunni mob was, however, not satisfied and many Shī'i peacemakers were also killed. Ultimately Ibrāhīm Khān's palace was set on fire. The Governor ordered the military to suppress the riot and the Sunni leaders were arrested. Terror reigned in the town and peace was restored only after Ibrāhīm Khān's transfer from Kashmir.⁹²

The death of Awrangzīb on 28 Zu'lqā'da 1118/3 March 1707, marked

90 *Ibid.*, pp. 138-39.

91 *Ibid.*, pp. 164-65.

92 *Ibid.*, pp. 163-64.

the end of the glory of the Mughal empire. He had destroyed the Bijapur and Golkonda sultanates, and conquered the Mahratta forts one by one by bribing their leaders. His failures are generally attributed to bigotry and his narrow-minded religious policy. The domination of the theologians in the formulations of his administrative policies resulted in many difficulties and complications. The real cause of the breakdown, however, was his unrealistic assessment of the Deccan situation. His obstinate stay there after the destruction of Bijapur, Golkonda and Shivaji's successor made him a helpless victim of unfavourable circumstances.

The Emperor lived a very austere life. Although he presided over the court of justice twice daily the stream of complainants was never-ending. On one occasion he cried out bitterly to an intensely dissatisfied complainant: "If you don't find your grievances redressed, pray the Almighty to grant you some other ruler."⁹³ His nobles and sons did not appreciate his piety, punctiliousness and austerity. The sycophants continually praised his rare ability to combine the externals of a ruler with the soul of an ascetic; the Emperor himself promoted this belief by issuing amulets. Some of the eminent *sūfis* with large followings, like Shāh Kalimu'llāh Jahānābādī (d. 1142/1729), ridiculed his austerity and orthodoxy and condemned him as a hypocrite.

Awrangzib's son and successor, Muhammad Mu'azzam (Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh, born 30 Rajab 1053/14 October 1643), was already sixty-four years old when he ascended the throne. He was unable to formulate any firm Mahratta or Rājput policy. At the suggestion of the *wazīr* Mun'im Khān, he ordered that *Sayyid* should be added to his titles in the *khutba*. The historian Khāfi Khān says that no ruler except Khizr Khān had assumed the title of *Sayyid*. Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh took it on the following grounds: It is said that *Sayyid* Shāh Mīr, a descendant of 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jilāni, the founder of the Qādiriyya order, left his ancestral land of the Tīmūrīds and moved to the Kashmir hills. There the local Rāja gave his daughter to the *Sayyid*. The *Sayyid* Islamized her and married her. She gave birth to a daughter and a son. Sometime later the *Sayyid* left on a pilgrimage to Mecca and was never heard of again. The Rāja brought up the *Sayyid*'s children himself and told no one of their existence. When Shāhjahān pressed him to pay tributes and land revenue, he sent the girl with gifts to the Emperor. Appointing a tutoress to educate the girl, the Emperor married her to Awrangzib. She was entitled Nawwāb Bā'ī Begum and gave birth to Prince Mu'azzam Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh. Khāfi Khān sneers that Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh's *Sayyid*ship was thus derived from his mother's side.⁹⁴ Bahādur Shāh's *Sayyid* descent is traced by

93 *Muntakhabu'l-lubāb*, II, p. 550.

94 *Ibid.*, II, pp. 604-5.

Dānishmand Khān to his mother Rahīm Bānū and her great grand ancestor, 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jilāni.⁹⁵

Bahādur Shāh then ordered that the form of the *khutba* recited until Awrangzīb's reign be changed. The new *khutba*, dated 1120/1709 retained such traditional Sunni titles as *siddiq* (a faithful witness of the truth) for Abū Bakr, and *Fārūq* (a discerner) for 'Umar. The usual titles given to 'Usmān were omitted but lofty titles such as *wasi* (executor of The Prophet Muhammad's will or 'chosen heir'), 'son of the uncle of the Prophet', 'father of the two offspring' (Hasan and Husayn) and 'leader of the great *Imāms*' were added after Imām 'Alī's name. The new Emperor did not expect that this *khutba* would in any way offend orthodox Sunnī feelings for it did not omit the Sahāba. Nevertheless, the orthodox Sunnis considered that the Emperor had embraced Shi'ism. Although the *wazīr*, Mun'im Khān, who was also a *sūfi*, appears to have supported the Emperor on this occasion, the Shi'i, Asad Khān, forbade its recitation in Delhi. He claimed that India was not Shi'i Iran. The Sunnī governor at Ahmadabad, Ghāziu'd-Dīn Firūz-Jang strictly implemented the Emperor's orders. The Sunnis, however, rebelled and a *Panjābī* killed the *khatīb* (reciter of *khutba*) of Ahmadabad. In August 1711 the Emperor arrived in Lahore and held an audience with Hājji Yār Muhammad and three or four other members of the '*ulamā*' to discuss the changes he had made. He used statements from *ahādīs* and Imām Abū Hanifa and other leading Sunnī jurists to prove that the addition of the title *wasi* to the name of Imām 'Alī was not contrary to Sunnī traditions. The Hājji refused to be cowed by these arguments and the accompanying threats. The citizens of Lahore and the Afghān troops stationed there (together numbering about 100,000) came out in support of the Hājji.

Preparations for battle ensued. The mosque was surrounded with canons ready for battle with the imperial forces. The Emperor ordered his son, Prince 'Azīmu'sh-Shān, to crush the rebellion by force. The Prince, however, pleaded that war against the '*ulamā*' would bring about the destruction of the mosque and the defamation of the Emperor, the son of Awrangzīb, known by the people as *din-panāh* (refuge of the faith). If war occurred the Emperor's name would be changed and the people would denounce him as the destroyer of the faith. The Emperor capitulated on 2 October 1711 and the traditional Sunnī *khutba* was read aloud in the Lahore Jāmi' mosque. The Sunnis were jubilant. According to Khayru'd-Dīn-Ilāhābādī Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh invited Shi'i '*ulamā*' from Isfahān and Shirāz and Sunnī '*ulamā*' from Qandahār, Kābul and Ghaznī to hold polemical discussions on Sunni-ism and Shi'ism. Their respective state-

95 *Tārīkh-i Bahādur Shāhī*, British Museum Ms., Or 693, ff. 17a-18b.

ments were checked with authentic sources. The Emperor himself acted as a judge but his death left the disputes undecided.⁹⁶

Shāh 'Ālam had considered that his innovations were innocent. He had failed to realize that Lahore, which had been developing into a significantly orthodox Sunni town following Muslim migrations from Sirhind and other towns overrun by the Sikhs, were strongly opposed to any attacks on orthodox practices. This was evident from an incident which occurred during Jahāngīr's reign. A *khatīb* from Sāmānā deliberately omitted the names of the first four caliphs when reading the *khutba*. No action was taken against him. Mujaddid Alf-i sānī admitted that it was not an indispensable part of the *khutba* but as reference to the names of the orthodox caliphs was a sensitive issue to the Sunnis and as it was a much practised Sunni custom he said, the offender should have been taken to task.⁹⁷ Shāh 'Ālam should have learnt a lesson from this incident. Prince 'Azīmu'sh-Shān seems to have understood the situation better. His support of the Sunni cause, however, did not arise solely from his concern for his father. He hoped to curry favour with the Lahore Sunnis and gain their assistance in the impending war of succession.

With Shāh 'Ālam's death the era of the dominance of the Mughal emperors came to an end. A new period of rule by king-makers ensued with the Emperors being relegated to puppet roles only. The period from 1712 to the invasion by Nādir Shāh in 1739, was marked by a scramble for a monopoly of the posts of *wazīr* and *bakhshīu'l-mamālik* either by one leader or in association with a close relative. The *wazīrs* appointed their own kinsmen to govern the important provinces and granted high *mansabs* only to their favourites. Racial and religious considerations did play some role in achieving group solidarity but the struggle was not dictated merely by the proverbial Īrānī-Tūrānī, Sunni-Shi'ī or Hindu-Muslim conflicts. Selfish motives and personal considerations played the decisive role in the formation of these factions.⁹⁸

After Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh's death, Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Jahāndār Shāh emerged victorious in the struggle for the throne against his brothers. Zu'lfāqār Khān, who was responsible for his victory, was made both *wazīr* and *bakhshīu'l-mamālik*. Shāh 'Ālam had spared the lives of his rivals' supporters but Jahāndār Shāh launched a campaign of ruthless massacres of the Mughal princes. Palace intrigues now became the decisive factor in eighteenth century politics.

Husayn 'Alī Khān a Bārḥā Sayyid, the deputy governor of Bihar and

96 Khayru'd-Dīn Muhammad Ilāhābādī, *Armughān-i 'Azīz*, Riza Library, Rampur Ms., ff. 74a-b.

97 *Maktūbāt-i Imām-i Rabbānī*, II, Letter no. 15.

98 S. A. A. Rizvi, *Shāh Walī-Allāh and his times*, Canberra, 1980, pp. 123-32.

his elder brother, 'Abdu'llāh Khān, the deputy governor of Allahabad threw their lot with 'Azīmu'sh-Shān's son Farrukhsiyar who proclaimed himself Emperor at Patna in Safar 1124/March 1712. Farrukhsiyar and Husayn 'Alī left Patna, obtaining the adherence of the *zamīndārs* on the route to Delhi. They defeated Jahāndār Shāh and Zu'lfaqār Khān at Samugarh near Agra, where the fates of Dārā Shukōh and Awrangzīb had been decided before them. On 11 February 1713, Farrukhsiyar executed both Zu'lfaqār Khān and Jahāndār Shāh, sparing only Asad Khān, to mourn for the death of his talented son. 'Abdu'llāh Khān was given the titles, *Qutbu'l-Mulk*, *Yamīnu'd-Dawla*, *Sayyid 'Abdu'llāh Khān*, *Bahādur*, *Zafar Jang*, *Yār-i wafādār* and made *wazīr*. Sayyid Husayn 'Alī Khān was entitled '*Umdatul-Mulk*, *Amīru'l-Umarā'*, *Bahādur*, *Firūz jang* and was made *Bakhshīu'l-mamālik*. Muhammad Amin Khān Chīn Bahādur, who since the last years of Awrangzīb's reign had hoped for this position, was made second *bakhshī*. The Sayyid brothers controlled both the positions of *wazīr* and *bakhshīu'l-mamālik* and this made them the virtual rulers of the country. Naturally Farrukhsiyar was unable to accept their dominance. Farrukhsiyar appointed 'Ināyatu'llāh Kashmīrī, who had been trained in financial administration by Awrangzīb, as absolute governor of Kashmir and the *diwān-i tan*. In order to strengthen orthodox Sunni support, 'Ināyatu'llāh re-imposed *jizya* on the Hindus although, after Awrangzīb's death, it had been abolished. Ratan Chand, the Sayyid brothers' greedy and arrogant *diwān* strongly opposed 'Ināyatu'llāh's reforms. The division widened but the Sayyid brothers succeeded in winning over some important Hindu and Muslim nobles to their side. Attempts at reconciliation were fruitless. The Sayyid brothers thereupon deposed Farrukhsiyar and blinded him in Rabi' II 1131/February 1729. In less than six months they raised three rulers to the throne one after the other. All were mere puppets in their hands. Early in the reign of the fourth ruler, Roshan Akhtar, a grandson of the Emperor Bahādur Shāh, however, they were outwitted by Muhammad Amin who, although he apparently supported them, secretly hatched plots for their overthrow. Nizāmu'l-Mulk (Mir Qamaru'd-Dīn Chīn Qulīch Khān) son of Mir Shihābu'd-Dīn Ghāziu'd-Dīn Khān and grandson of 'Ābid Khān, the dedicated Tūrānī leader, became the spokesman for the Tūrānī families. According to the orthodox Sunnis, the Hinduizing policy of the Sayyid brothers had practically destroyed the Tūrānī leadership. Mir Muhammad Nāsir Nishāpūrī Husaynī Mūsawī, who had been appointed *fawjdār* of Hindaun and Bayana by the Sayyid brothers, also joined the ranks of his patrons' enemies. On 6 Zu'lhijja 1132/9 October 1720, Sayyid Husayn 'Alī was assassinated near Agra. In Delhi Sayyid 'Abdu'llāh raised another puppet ruler to the throne but the imperial army defeated his hastily collected forces. On 14 November he was captured and was killed in prison two years later.

Some contemporary historians accuse the Sayyid brothers of treachery and perfidy. Others consider that they deposed Farrukhsiyar in the interest of their own survival. Some historians believe that they were Shī'as. Mīr 'Abdu'l-Jalīl Husaynī Wāsītī Bilgarāmī, an eminent Sunni Sayyid who composed an elegy on Husayn 'Alī, says:

“The signs of the Karbalā are apparent from the forehead of India,
The blood of the descendants of the Nabī (the Prophet) is gushing out
of the soil of India.

Mourning for Husayn 'Alī is current all over the world,
The Sayyids are oppressed in India.”

The Mīr knew the Sayyid brothers very intimately. Although his elegy borrows similes and metaphors from Karbalā and Imām Husayn, not a single word can be interpreted to mean that they were Shī'as. Their contemporaries believed that the brothers were endowed with all the virtues of the Sayyids as related by Qāzī Shihābu'd-Dīn Dawlatābādī in *Munāqibū's-Sādāt*. These qualities included the demeanour (*khulq*) of Prophet Muhammad; the generosity of Hāshim (Prophet Muhammad's ancestor) and the courage of 'Alī.⁹⁹

During Farrukhsiyar's reign, the most ardent devotee of the Ahl-i Bayt was Khān-i Dawrān's (Khwāja Muhammad 'Āsim's) brother, Khwāja Muhammad Ja'far. Their grandfather Khwāja Abu'l-Muhsin had migrated from Rustāq in Badakhshān to Agra. Khwāja 'Āsim's loyalty to Farrukhsiyar had won for him a *mansab* of 6000/6000 and the title of Khān-i Dawrān. Khwāja Ja'far, however, was not interested in politics. He was a scholar who was enamoured of Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustari's works and frequently discussed the subjects in the *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*. He was a reputable *sūfi pīr*. In his *samā'* gatherings, verses in praise of the Prophet Muhammad and the twelve Shī'i Imāms were recited. One Shaykh Muhammad 'Alī Wā'iz was enamoured of these verses and in his sermons would also acclaim the Imāms. Shaykh 'Abdu'llāh, a preacher from Multan, visited Khwāja Muhammad Ja'far. He was shocked when he saw the Shaykh's disciples kiss the ground before their *pīr*, instead of greeting him simply with the customary 'Peace be upon you'. He was scandalized to hear *qawwāls* singing the praises of the twelve Imāms. Shaykh 'Abdu'llāh asserted that prostration should be made before God and that only music, accompanying songs referring to the Prophet and his eminent companions, was lawful. The Khwāja, basing his ideas on the *Wahdāt al-Wujūd*, argued that as *sūfis* admitted only the presence of Being, they were not prostrating themselves before non-Being. The musicians, moreover, recited only what

99 Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabū'l-lubāb*, Calcutta, 1874, II, p. 944.

they had learned traditionally from their teachers. The Khwāja continued that if Shaykh 'Abdu'llāh knew any verses in honour of the great companions he should teach them to the *qawwāls* so that they could recite them. This reply convinced Shaykh 'Abdu'llāh of the Khwāja's sincere Shi'i tendencies.

Shaykh 'Abdu'llāh in a sermon at Delhi's Jāmi' mosque began to preach statements by bigoted Sunni scholars. For example he claimed that 'Ali was not included in Āl-i 'Abā¹⁰⁰ and the 'Alwis, or descendants of 'Ali, were not Sayyids ('descendants of the Prophet Muhammad'). It was against Sunni beliefs, the Shaykh asserted, to call *Panjtan* (Muhammad, 'Ali, Fātima, Hasan and Husayn) holy for it implied that the Prophet's companions were correspondingly unholy. He also condemned the Shi'is. When the contents of these sermons were reported to Khwāja Muhammad Ja'far, he sent a message to the Shaykh that the controversial matters he had raised were contrary to Sunni traditions. They might lead to the misunderstanding that the preacher was a Khārijī. He also asked the Shaykh to discuss such matters only in the assemblies of the '*ulamā'* or at his house.

The following Friday, some vagabond Mughal youths with Karbalā rosaries around their necks and arms, sat in on a sermon given by the Shaykh. The two to three thousand people present presumed that Khwāja Muhammad Ja'far had hired the Mughals to assassinate the Shaykh. Consequently they began to abuse the Shi'is. When the Mughals left the assembly they were followed by a Hindu wearing military attire. He had merely been interested in hearing the sermon but the mosque attendants, being convinced that he was an assassin, began to beat him. Other Muslims in the mosque cornered him so the Hindu turned and killed the *mu'azzin* (one who called the *azān*). The Hindu in turn was slain. His body lay in the mosque for a few days while attempts were made to discover who had hired him.

Subsequently, a group of '*ālīms* and supporters of Shaykh 'Abdu'llāh complained to the Emperor Farrukhsiyar and accused the Khwāja of interfering in Sunni practices. They also reminded the Emperor that when the word *wasī* was added to the *khutba* during Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh's reign, riots had broken out. The delegation demanded the expulsion of Khwāja Muhammad Ja'far from Delhi.

According to Khāfi Khān, this incident changed the religious atmosphere in Delhi. Previously, in each street and bazaar, verses had been recited praising the twelve Shi'i Imāms, but the Jāmi' mosque events had aroused hostility towards the Shi'is. The Emperor consulted the court *Qāzi*, Shari'at Khān. He said that according to the *shari'a* no charge of heresy against Khwāja Muhammad Ja'far could be proved and that Shaykh 'Abdu'llāh's

views were not supported by standard Sunnī works. The *Qāzī* suggested that in the interest of maintaining harmony, however, Khwāja Muhammad Ja'far should leave Delhi. Consequently Khān-i Dawrān persuaded the Khwāja to retire temporarily to the mausoleum of Khwāja Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā', until tempers had cooled down. Then Khān-i Dawrān summoned Shaykh 'Abdu'llāh and ordered him to leave for Multan. The Shaykh re-opened the controversy with the regional governor, 'Āqibat Khān, when he reached Multan. To maintain the peace, the governor had the Shaykh arrested. On the journey back to Delhi, the Shaykh's disciples attacked the police escort and members of both parties were killed and wounded. The Shaykh was thrown into prison where he stayed until his release by the *wazīr* Muhammad Amin Khān, early in Muhammad Shāh's reign.¹⁰¹

The sickly and fickle Muhammad Shāh (1131-1161/1719-1748) who succeeded Farrukhsiyar opened his reign by awarding promotions to his supporters. Muhammad Amin Khān was granted a *mansab* of 8000/8000 *du aspa sih aspa* and made *wazīr* and absentee governor of Multan. His son Qamaru'd-Dīn Khān was made the second *bakhshī*. Khān-i Dawrān was confirmed in his position of *bakhshīu'l-mamālik*. Mir Muhammad Amin was given the title of Sa'adat Khān Bahādur and a *mansab* of 5000/3000. He was soon promoted to a *mansab* of 6000/5000 and made governor of Agra and *fawjdār* of the dependant *parganas*. Sa'adat Khān's success in suppressing the Jāt rebellion was duly acknowledged and on 29 Zu'lqā'da 1134/10 September 1722, he was appointed governor of Awadh. This led to the hereditary governorship of Awadh and Shi'i rule which lasted for more than one hundred and thirty years.

Muhammad Shāh was not strong enough to stop the establishment of these hereditary governorships, although it meant the dissolution of the empire and the establishment of new principalities only nominally under the Delhi Emperor. In October 1724, Nizāmu'l-Mulk established an hereditary governorship in the Deccan. The Emperor and his favourites welcomed his decision to confine his activities to the Deccan. As a further mark of appreciation the position of absentee *wakil* and the title of Āsaf-Jāh were conferred on him. This marked the foundation of the independent Āsaf-jāhi dynasty of the Deccan.

The regular remittance of revenue from Bengal injected sufficient blood to finance the empire. The Bengal administration was streamlined by Murshīd Qulī Khān (Mu'tamanu'l-Mulk Ja'far Khān), the son of a poor Brahmin boy. Hājjī Shafī' Isfāhānī, an Iranian merchant had bought him, named him Muhammad Hādi, and brought him up like his own son. Hājjī Shafī' took Muhammad Hādi to Iran but, after his death, the boy

101 *Muntakhabu'l-Jubāb*, II, pp. 757-60.

returned to India. He was employed as a junior servant by another Īrānī, Hājjī 'Abdu'llāh of Khurāsān, who was the *dīwān* of Berar. Later he entered Awrangzib's service. The Emperor, impressed with his acumen in the administration of finance, awarded him the title of Kārtalab Khān. For some time he worked as *dīwān* of Hyderabad and in 1701 he was appointed *dīwān* of Bengal. A year later he received the title "Murshid Quli Khān". He was also made *fawjdār* of Makhsusabad, Midnapore, Bardawan and later of Hoogly, where he demonstrated his competence in both civil and revenue administration. He also fostered the development of cultivation and collected crores of rupees in revenue. Awrangzib ignored complaints against him and bestowed on him his patronage and trust. In 1703 he was appointed deputy governor of Orissa and, in 1704, *dīwān* of Bihar. Awrangzib's grandson, 'Azīmu'sh-Shān, son of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh, was governor of Bengal from 1697 to 1712, but he had left the administration in his agents' hands. The Prince had amassed wealth through private trade (*sawdā'i khāss*). He had also appropriated land revenue for his personal use although this was strictly forbidden by the Emperor. He tried to have Murshid Quli Khān killed to prevent any interference but the attempt failed. Consequently Murshid Quli left Daccan for Makhsusabad changing its name, with Awrangzib's consent, to Murshidabad. 'Azīmu'sh-Shān was ordered to move to Bihar. He settled in Patna and named it 'Azīmābād. After Awrangzib's death, 'Azīmu'sh-Shān was again appointed governor of Bengal and Bihar. Farrukhsiyar made his infant son governor of Bengal with Murshid Quli Khān as his deputy. In August 1717, he was made an independent governor and he held this position until his death in 1727.¹⁰²

His son-in-law, Shujā'u'd-Dīn Khān, succeeded him as governor. Bengal also became an hereditary *nizāmat* (governorship). In March 1739 Shujā'u'd-Dīn died and his incompetent son Sarfarāz Khān assumed office. It was not until the reign of 'Aliwardī Khān Mahābat Jang that the administrative and military traditions of Murshid Quli Khān were revived. 'Aliwardī Khān rose by dint of merit from a very humble position to become governor of Bengal in April 1740 after he defeated and killed Sarfarāz Khān. He conquered Orissa, was a bulwark against the repeated Mahratta (or Bārgis as they were called) invasions and suppressed the Afghān uprisings, even though they formed the majority in his army. It was only after his death in 1756 that the English were triumphant. Sirāju'd-Dawla's Bengal army was defeated by Clive at the battle of Plassey on 23 June 1757.

Hājjī Shafi' Isfahānī who converted Murshid Quli Khān to Islam was a Shī'i and was educated in Iran. In Bengal where he was far away from

102 *Ma'āsiru'l-umarā'*, III, pp. 751-55.

Awrangzib's interference, he openly followed the Shi'i faith. Possibly his successors were also Shi'is, particularly as 'Aliwardi's mother was related to Murshid Quli Khān's son-in-law Shujā'u'd-Dīn Muhammad Khān. Ghulām Husayn Tabātabā'i's account of 'Aliwardi's death reinforces the suggestion that he was a Shi'i. Furthermore, during 'Aliwardi's reign, Bengal became the rendezvous for the Irāni 'ulamā' and the Indian Shi'i 'ulamā' were also warmly welcomed.¹⁰³ Many Irāni adventurers rose to eminent positions under the Bengal governors. Ghulām Husayn Tabātabā'i's father, Hidāyat 'Alī Khān and Ghulām Husayn Tabātabā'i himself served 'Aliwardi Khān and his relations.

A more permanent contribution to the consolidation of the Shi'is in Bengal was made, however, by the Irāni merchants. They usually settled in Hoogly. Āqā Muhammad Mutahhar son of Āqā Muhammad Muzaffar and a grandson of Hājji Muhammad Muhsin of Mahābād near Isfahān was one of them. It was towards the end of Awrangzib's reign that Āqā Muhammad Mutahhar moved from Iran to settle in Hoogly. He invested in the salt trade and was considered most respectable by the local dignitaries. After Muhammad Mutahhar's move from Iran to Hoogly, his sister's son Fazlu'llāh, son of Āqā Fazlu'llāh, and Āqā Muhammad Qādir, Hājji Allāh-Wardi and Hājji Muhammad Karīm migrated there. They became the agents for Āqā Muhammad Mutahhar. Āqā Muhammad Mutahhar accumulated vast wealth. In 1121 Bengal era/1715-16 he bought *zamīndāri* rights in several Bengal *parganas* in the name of his adopted son Muhammad Rizā son of Muhammad Husayn. Subsequently he purchased more villages. He observed the mourning ceremonies related to the tragedy of Karbalā with great devotion and endowed some villages for the expenses of those ceremonies. He built an Imāmbārha in Hoogly. Āqā Muhammad Mutahhar died in Hoogly and was buried in the Shi'i cemetery there.¹⁰⁴

After Āqā Mutahhar's death, his widow Zaynab Khānam was married to his sister's son, Hājji Fayzu'llāh. Zaynab Khānam had a daughter by Āqā Mutahhar called Maryam Khānam or Munnū Jān, who was twelve years old at the time of her mother's re-marriage. In 1143/1730-31 Muhammad Muhsin was born to Fayzu'llāh and Zaynab Khānam. Muhsin was thirteen or fourteen years younger than Munnū Jān Khānam. Muhsin was given a good education. After his father's death in 1157/1744, he left Bengal and travelled through Arabia, Iraq and Iran. He returned to Delhi visiting Lucknow, Banaras and 'Azīmābād and arrived in Bengal at a mature age. He lived by turn in Murshidabad and Dacca. During his long travels he became proficient in history, mathematics, *hadīs*, *tafsir* and philosophy. He was also a mechanic, made guns and knew how to

103 *Infra*, pp. 117-128.

104 Mawlawī Ashrafu'd-Dīn Ahmad, *Tabaqāt-i Muhsiniyya*, Calcutta, 1889, pp. 3-4.

tailor. Above all he was an excellent calligraphist and is known to have transcribed seventy-two copies of the Qur'ān. He sent some of these copies to Mashhad and other holy places as gifts; he gave other copies to poor men of distinguished families with instructions that they should sell them to the wealthy. None of the Qur'āns transcribed by him fetched less than one thousand rupees. His piety, munificence and ascetic life made him famous as a *sūfi*. Dervishes and pious people were warmly welcomed by him but he ignored the rich. He was not even interested in the members of the Nawwāb's family.

After the death of Mirzā Salāhu'd-Dīn Muhammad Khān, the husband of his step-sister, Munnū Jān Khānam, in 1167/1753-54, Muhsin visited Hoogly. Salāhu'd-Dīn came from Isfahān and had moved to Bengal during 'Aliwardī Khān's reign. He had been a shrewd diplomat and an enterprising military commander. 'Aliwardī had obtained a *mansab* of 15,000 for him from Muhammad Shāh. He had spent most of his income, plus that from his wife's *zamindāri*, on the Muharram celebrations. He also extended the Hoogly Imāmbārha built by Āqā Muhammad Mutahhar. In the last years of Salāhu'd-Dīn's life, however, his agents had mismanaged the *zamindāri*. Unfortunately the Mirzā and Munnū Jān had no son. Consequently Munnū Jān transferred the *zamindāri* rights to Hājji Muhsin and retired to a life of prayer and meditation. Hājji Muhsin who had already taken to an ascetic life, now plunged himself into organizing the *zamindāri* and restored its prosperity. Munnū Jān, who had complete confidence in her step-brother, died in 1218/1801-2. Some of the Hājji's Sunni servants embraced Shī'ism. Hājji also had no sons, so he bequeathed all his possessions to religious purposes and the celebration of Muharram. On 13 Zu'lqā'da 2127/18 November 1812, Hājji Muhsin died leaving an enormous estate for the promotion of Shī'i practices.¹⁰⁵

Turning now to events in Delhi, the most important development there was the sudden death of the *wazīr*, Muhammad Amīn, on 27 June 1721. He is said to have died from the curse of a Muslim mendicant whom he had ill-treated. Nizāmu'l-Mulk was invited from the Deccan to come to Delhi to prevent Muhammad Amīn's son, Qamaru'd-Dīn Khān from succeeding his father. Nizāmu'l-Mulk did not stay in Delhi for more than two years. As soon as he returned to the Deccan, however, Qamaru'd-Dīn was made *wazīr*. He was an indolent man and indifferent to the responsibilities of such a great office but he retained the position from 1724 to 1748. Although the *mir bakhshi*, Samsāmu'd-Dawla Khān-i Dawrān, was constantly intriguing, he had little military experience. He and his brother, Muzaffar Khān were life-long companions of Muhammad Shāh. Like the fickle Emperor they were attracted to a life of levity.

105 *Ibid.*, pp. 6-17.

The Safawid empire of Iran had fallen into a rapid and ignominious decline even earlier. The deterioration started with the accession of the voluptuary and coward, Shāh Sulaymān (1077-1105/1666-1694), the successor of Shāh 'Abbās II (1052-1077/1642-1666). In 1707 Mir Ways, the leader of the Ghalzay Afghāns located between Qandahār and Ghaznī, defeated the Iranian governor and declared himself independent. When he died his son seized Kirmān in 1720 and Isfahān two years later. A large number of Isfahān citizens were massacred. This decline of Safawid rule and rise of the Afghāns to power prompted many enterprising Shi'is to leave Iran for Multan, Gujarat and Bengal. From there some of them moved to Delhi or Awadh. Like their adventurous ancestors many rose to power from insignificant positions and made their mark on Indian history. Those who had previously held senior posts under the Safawids obtained high *mansabs* in India from the outset on the basis of their reputation and noble ancestry.

The Afghān domination of Iran was, however, ephemeral. Shāh Tahmāsp II (1135-1145/1722-1732), who had escaped the Afghān holocaust, established his rule in Māzandarān. There, Nādir Quli, the chieftain of the Turkomān Afshār tribe which lived in northern Khurāsān, joined him. Nādir Quli was a village boy but he rose to prominence under Mir Ways' son, Mahmūd. Subsequently he distinguished himself in a battle against the Uzbeks but Mahmūd refused to give him the deputy governorship of Khurāsān and dismissed him. Nādir collected his mounted troops and infantry. They began to levy their own taxes in Khurāsān. Then Nādir captured Qalāt, Nishāpūr, Mashhad and Hirāt. Tahmāsp bestowed the title Tahmāsp Quli Khān upon him. In 1141/1729, Nādir re-occupied Isfahān and the Ghalzay Afghāns were completely annihilated. Their place was taken by the 'Abdālī Afghāns who, in Shāh 'Abbās' reign, had been driven away from Qandahār to Hirāt. A number of adventurous Ghalzay refugees and their supporters found asylum in India. There they obtained employment under the Sunni *mansabdārs*, particularly in regions such as Rohilkhand and Farrukhabad where the Sunnis were dominant.

The now powerful Nādir then wrote to Muhammad Shāh in the name of Tahmāsp II, requesting him to expel the Afghān refugees who had taken shelter in India. In 1145/1732 Nādir deposed Tahmāsp II and began to rule in the name of 'Abbās III, the infant son of Tahmāsp II. In 1148/1736, he proclaimed himself Shāh and embarked on an ambitious programme to conquer the Islamic world.

He had already recovered the Iranian territories from the Ottoman Turks who had seized them over the past ten years. He had also conquered Bāku and Darband. In 1738 he captured Qandahār and in June occupied Ghaznī. Nādir Shāh's previous demand that all Ghalzay

Afghāns be expelled from India was impracticable and Muhammad Shāh had ignored it. The court also disregarded the warnings from Nasir Khān, the Mughal governor of Kābul, of the imminent danger of an invasion by Nādir Shāh, and failed to strengthen the North West Frontier defences.

Some contemporary authorities accuse Nizāmu'l-Mulk of extending an invitation to Nādir Shāh to invade Delhi while others lay the blame squarely on the shoulders of the Shī'i Sa'adat Khān of Awadh charging him with perfidy. Both views are historically untrue. Nādir's costly campaigns in Iran had made the acquisition of a quick and easy source of revenue imperative; and there was no more suitable place than India. His earlier embassies to Delhi had been exploratory and a greater display of diplomacy by the effete Mughal court would hardly have averted the Indian tragedy.

Accusing Muhammad Shāh of offering protection to the Afghāns, Nādir Shāh seized Kābul in the middle of June 1738. On 12 January 1739, Nādir's armies were close to Karnal. Sa'adat Khān, who rushed to give battle to Nādir's newly-arrived army, was captured and Khān-i Dawrān mortally wounded. Entering Delhi at the head of his victorious army, Nādir Shāh occupied Shāhjahān's chambers. He promised to restore the throne to Muhammad Shāh but demanded an enormous sum of money to clear his debts. Meanwhile on 10 March 1739, the hooligan elements of Delhi killed some 300 Īrānis after a false rumour was circulated that Nādir had been assassinated. In retaliation, Nādir Shāh ordered a general massacre of Delhi citizens. About 20,000 people were mercilessly slaughtered and an enormous amount of booty was collected. The total value of the spoils seized by Nādir Shāh, including the famous peacock throne of Shāhjahān, was estimated at between 77,500,000 and 80,000,000. The Mughal provinces west of the Indus, extending from Kashmir to Sind and Kābul, were ceded to the conqueror in lieu of tribute. Before his return to Iran, Nādir Shāh restored the throne to Muhammad Shāh as he had promised.

Nādir Shāh did not allow his army much rest. He invaded Sind and conquered Bukhāra and Khiva. After his return to Qalāt in 1740, he ordered the erection of a palace and a treasury to house the spoils from Delhi. The complex was known as Qalāt-i Nādiri. Nādir Shāh celebrated his victories at Mashhad. His destruction of the Transoxianian towns left the Tūrānis with no alternative but to flee for refuge to India.

Next Nādir Shāh invaded the Dāghistān interior but he was repulsed by the tribesmen. In 1743-44 rebellions against him broke out in Shirwān, Fārs and Astarābād. The uprisings were ruthlessly suppressed. Nādir invaded Turkey between 1743 and 1745. He defeated the Turks near Erwan in 1745 but failed to capture Mūsāl. He crushed subsequent internal rebellions mercilessly but failed to improve the administrative

framework. In his bid to be accepted as leader of both the Sunnī and Shi'i communities he endeavoured to have Isnā 'Ashari Shi'ism or Ja'fari law incorporated as a fifth legal school within the Sunnī framework of the four schools of law. He discarded the Safawid design on the crown in favour of a new design with four plumes symbolising his rule over Afghānistān, India, Turkistān and Iran. It was expected that the new design would satisfy the Sunnī devotees of the first four successors of the Prophet Muhammad. In retaliation against the Shi'i 'ulamā's attempts to restore the Safawid dynasty, Nādir Shāh confiscated much of the property endowed to the shrines, abolished the post of *sadr* and deprived the Shi'i courts of much of their power. The Ottoman Turks were delighted to learn of these persecutions but coldly resisted Nādir's ambition to inaugurate the Ja'fari *fiqh* as the fifth school of Sunnī jurisprudence.

Nādir Shāh, as a fierce fighter and ruthless restorer of law and order, can be compared with Jinghīz and Timūr. He forfeits a place among the outstanding rulers of Iran, however, through his failure to win the confidence of his new subjects, and the fact that his dynasty did not even last for a decade. On June 20, 1747, after a reign of eleven years and three months, he was assassinated at Kochān in Khurāsān by some of his own men.¹⁰⁶

The influx of Afghāns, Iranians and Tūrānis resulting from the political upheavals in the neighbouring countries had serious repercussions on Muslim society and political groupings in India. On the whole the existing sectarian conflicts and tensions were further sharpened.

The most ardent supporter of the Sunnis and implacable enemy to the Shi'is in the early years of Muhammad Shāh's reign was his *wazir*, Amīn Khān Chīn. According to Ghulām Husayn Khān Tabātabā'i he ordered the tongues cut out of anyone who recited the Shi'i *kalima*. Nevertheless, when a senior Tūrāni *mansabdār*, Mīr Jumla, was appointed as governor of 'Azimābād, the Shi'i, Ni'matu'llāh son of Awrangzīb's Bakhshīu'l-Mamālik Rūhu'llāh Khān did not visit him immediately to congratulate him and bid him farewell because of his preoccupation with the mourning ceremonies of the first ten days of Muharram. Finally Ni'matu'llāh called on Mīr Jumla and, explaining the reasons for his delay, asked his pardon. Muhammad Amīn, who was also present, sarcastically asked if someone had died in Ni'matu'llāh's house. Ni'matu'llāh replied in the negative, saying that he had been busy mourning the death of Sayyid u'sh-Shuhadā (leader of the martyrs, i.e. Imām Husayn). Muhammad Amīn Khān retorted that as Husayn and Yazīd, the second Umayyad caliph (60-64/680-683) were two rival princes, it was inappropriate to mourn one and ignore the other. Ni'matu'llāh replied that he was mourning the

106 *Shāh Walī-Allāh and his times*, pp. 141-46.

martyrdom of his Prince (Husayn) and Muhammad Amin should celebrate the victory of his (Yazid). Mir Jumla was forced to intervene when the dispute assumed threatening proportions. Eventually he succeeded in pacifying the two contestants.¹⁰⁷ Ni'matu'llāh's father, Rūhu'llāh Khān practised *taqiyya* but Ni'matu'llāh did not.

The indolence of the *wazir*, Qamaru'd-Din and the inanity of the Emperor enabled the Shī'is to live more freely and to abandon *taqiyya*. According to Wālih Dāghistāni, who was a great friend of Nawwāb Sa'ādāt Khān Burhānu'l-Mulk, the governor of Awadh, the Nawwāb not only killed about 200,000 Hindus in his wars against the *zamīndārs* but about the same number had been converted to Islam. Wālih Dāghistāni also claimed that the one thousand troops under Sa'ādāt Khān's command had struck terror into the heart of about 50,000 Awadh rebel troops.¹⁰⁸ Although the conversion under the governorship of Sa'ādāt Khān is grossly exaggerated, the demographic pattern of Awadh, which had been predominantly Hindu, did change. During the reign of the Delhi Sultans and the Mughals, the descendants of Shaykhs, called Shaykhzādas and Sayyids had gradually settled in Awadh. They had founded small towns there and some of them had converted their *madad-i ma'āsh* grants into *zamīndāris*. Like their Hindu counterparts they were also involved in internecine warfare. The establishment of a firm government called for constant vigilance and troop movements. Apparently, when the leaders of rebel groups were killed, some of their dependants got converted to Islam and settled in different areas under the Shaykh and Sayyid *zamīndārs*. Some Sayyids whose ancestors had practised *taqiyya*, abandoned it; other Sayyids embraced Shī'ism. They converted the Sunnis and newly converted Muslims to Shī'ism. This process led to the development of Shī'i *zamīndārs* and a Shī'i population in Awadh.

Nawwāb Sa'ādāt Khān made Fayzabad the capital of Awadh. The city developed from a wooden pavilion (*bangla*) which the Nawwāb built in 1132/1719-20, about four miles from the ancient town of Ayodhya. This was extended enormously by his successors Abu'l-Mansūr Safdar Jang and Shujā'u'd-Dawla. Gradually it became the centre of the Shī'i 'ulamā' and scholars who migrated from different parts of India and even from Iran. A considerable number of Irānis from Nādir Shāh's army also settled in India. According to Mir Ghulām 'Alī Āzad Bilgarāmi, every ten or twenty miles throughout Awadh or Allahabad Sunni families of noble birth were to be found. They had obtained *madad-i ma'āsh* grants and stipends from earlier rulers and governors which enabled them to construct mosques and *khānqāhs*. Until 1130/1717, the region was famous as

107 *Siyaru'l-muta'akhhirīn*, II, pp. 450-51.

108 *Riyāzu'sh-shu'arā'*, Aligarh University Ms., f. 42b.

a centre of learning and teachers were able to promote education and attract scholars. Accordingly Shāhjahān called the eastern region the Shīrāz of India. When Burhān al-Mulk Sa'ādat Khān Nishāpūrī, who ruled Allahabad, Jaunpur, Banaras, Ghazipur, Kara-Manikpur and Kora Jahanabad, assumed power, he confiscated all *suyūrgḥāl* grants and stipends which had been assigned to the old and noble Sunnī families. They were reduced to extreme poverty which forced them to abandon intellectual occupations and to take up a military career.¹⁰⁹

Āzād's remarks concerning the total confiscation of the *madād-i ma'āsh* grants and stipends of the Sunnīs and the consequent decline in education in Awadh and Allahabad, however, are not borne out by the available documents on *madād-i ma'āsh*. Furthermore, they also conflict with the evidence pointing to the promotion of Sunnī education in Awadh. They do suggest nevertheless, that the entry of Muslims into the Awadh army drastically altered the complexion of their society. The entire region from Kakori (near Lucknow) to Allahabad was controlled by the Hindu *zamīndārs* of different castes and clans and by the Muslim Shaykhs, Shaykhzādas and Sayyids who had, by the end of Awrangzīb's reign, also assumed the character of *zamīndārs*. By this time many of them, like the Hindu *zamīndārs*, recruited their own armies, built their own fortifications and had become independent, defying imperial authority with impunity. Sa'ādat Khān crushed them with his own forces and recruited fresh Muslim troops from among the Shaykhzādas' retainers. Those Shaykhzādas and Sayyids who were not interested in a scholarly or spiritual life welcomed the opportunity to become army officers. This Muslim army, together with that of the *Gosā'ins* (Hindu mendicants) assisted Sa'ādat Khān and his successors to maintain their rule over Awadh and Allahabad, even defeating the Afghān Bangash conqueror in 1750. Many Shaykhzādas and Sayyids of the region worked as *fawjdārs* and revenue collectors under the Awadh Nawwābs. Although they kept strictly to their own religions, they strengthened the values of communal harmony which had been developed by their ancestors.¹¹⁰

As Sa'ādat Khān had died during Nādir Shāh's stay in Delhi, his sister's son, Abu'l-Mansūr Khān, was made governor of Awadh on payment of two krores of rupees as *peshkash* (presents) to the conqueror. After Nādir Shāh's departure Muhammad Shāh conferred on him the title 'Safdar-Jang and confirmed him as governor of Awadh. He was later known by this title. Trained as he had been by Sa'ādat Khān, he very easily suppressed the unruly *zamīndārs*¹¹¹ when Muhammad Shāh ordered him to

109 Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgarāmī, *Ma'āsiru'l-kirām*, Lahore, 1971, p. 214.

110 *Shāh Walī-Allāh and his times*, pp. 146-49.

111 *Ma'āsiru'l-umarā'*, II, pp. 524-26.

assist 'Alīwardi Khān, the governor of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, to repel the Mahratta raiders, Safdar-Jang took the opportunity to secure from the Emperor the formidable forts of Rohtas and Chunar. Then Safdar-Jang set off for Bengal. He had only marched as far as Patna when he was summoned to court.

After Nādir Shāh's departure, the Īrāni faction rose to prominence in the Mughal court but the *wizārat* and key positions were still in Sunnī hands. The Īrāni leader was Amīr Khān II, 'Umdatul-Mulk, a son of Amīr Khān I, the celebrated governor of Kābul during Awrangzīb's reign. He was the nephew of Rūhu'llāh Khān, Awrangzīb's *bakhshi-ū'l-mamālik* but he was neither a military leader nor a civil administrator. It was his literary gifts and eloquence that had made him the Emperor's favourite. Naturally he invited Safdar-Jang to assist him and had him appointed *mīr ātish* (chief of artillery). In February 1745, a campaign against 'Alī Muhammad Khān Ruhella, the chief of Aonla and Bangarh, was led by the Emperor. Safdar-Jang went on the expedition. The diary written by their contemporary, Ānand Rām Mukhlis depicts the increasing sloth which pervaded the imperial forces and Safdar-Jang was unable to assert his authority. Amīr Khān was not powerful enough to overthrow the *wazīr* who treated the Emperor's favourites with contempt.

The Emperor's second favourite, Muhammad Ishāq Khān I was also a poet who was gifted with eloquence and a facile pen. He became famous with Amīr Khān's assistance and even Nādir Shāh was so impressed with him that at Karnāl he went to the extent of saying to Muhammad Shāh, "When you had Muhammad Ishāq, what need was there for you to appoint Qamaru'd-Dīn *wazīr*?" After Nādir Shāh's departure Muhammad Shāh awarded Muhammad Ishāq Khan I rapid promotions but in April 1740 he died. His death greatly upset Muhammad Shāh but the Khān's eldest son, Mirzā Muhammad, who succeeded to his father's position with the title Ishāq Khān II, compensated for his father's absence from the world. Ishāq Khān's other sons also obtained high positions. Muhammad Shāh declared Ishāq Khān's daughter as his own and married her to Safdar-Jang's son Jalālu'd-Dīn Haydar, later entitled Shujā'u'd-Dawla. The wedding took place towards the end of 1745. The Emperor spent Rs. 4,600,000 on the festivities. The only other weddings comparable with it in ostentation and brilliance were those of Dārā Shukōh and Farrukhsiyar's marriage to Ajit Singh's daughter. Large sums were distributed in charities and for several weeks the illuminations and fireworks turned Delhi's nights into day.

Another leading favourite of Muhammad Shāh was Sādāt Khān Zu'lfaqār-Jang. He was descended from the Mar'ashī Sayyids who had ruled Māzandarān for many centuries preceding Safawid dominance. Sādāt Khān's daughter, Fakhru'n Nisā' Begum was married to Muham-

mad Farrukhsiyar. Consequently Sādāt Khān was promoted to a high *mansab* and then appointed Superintendent of Artillery. Sādāt Khān was killed in the battle following Farrukhsiyar's capture. On 19 Safar 1134/9 December 1721, Emperor Muhammad Shāh was married to Farrukhsiyar's daughter Bādshāh Begum also known as Malika-i Zamānī. Sādāt Khān Zu'lfāqār-Jang's daughter was also married to Muhammad Shāh and was given the title of Sāhiba Mahal. Zu'lfāqār-Jang's *mansab* was raised to 4,000 and he was made the *bakhshī* of *ahādīs*, later he was created the fourth *bakhshī*. Malika-i Zamānī and Sāhiba Mahal were fast friends and were both Shi'is. Both had considerable influence over Muhammad Shāh. According to Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, Sāhiba Mahal was a bigoted Shi'i.¹¹² As Malika-i Zamānī and Sāhiba Mahal had no sons they supervised the upbringing of Ahmad Shāh, Muhammad Shāh's son by Udham Bā'i. Their influence strengthened Shi'ism in Delhi.

Before Muhammad Shāh's death the Panjab was threatened by the Afghān leader Ahmad Shāh Durrānī who was as fierce as Nādir Shāh. Ahmad Shāh belonged to the Abdālī tribe of Afghāns who, although they had been subdued by Nādir Shāh, were treated kindly by him. Many Abdālīs had subsequently enrolled themselves in the Iranian army. In recognition of their services, Nādir Shāh had restored Qandahār, which had been captured by the Ghalzays, to the Abdālīs. Nādir Shāh made Ahmad Shāh the commander of his Abdālī contingents and took him on his Indian expedition. After Nādir Shāh's assassination in Jumāda II, 1160/June 1747, Ahmad Shāh left for Qandahār with his Abdālī troops. On the way there, he was formally elected the Abdālī leader and adopted *Durra-i Durrān* (Pearl of Pearls) as his title. The name of the tribe was changed from Abdālī to Durrānī. In Qandahār he was crowned king and issued coins in his name. He considered himself heir to Nādir Shāh's eastern dominions and mounted seven invasions over the Panjab, Kashmir and Sind and two over Delhi and the neighbouring regions. After establishing his control over Ghaznī, Kābul and Peshāwar, he left Peshawar for the Panjab in December 1747. On 12 January 1748, he captured Lahore. The Mughal army left Delhi under the command of the aged *wazīr* while Safdar-Jang was appointed deputy *wazīr*. Prince Ahmad Shāh was sent as Muhammad Shāh's deputy under the guardianship of Zu'lfāqār-Jang. The Emperor was suffering from dropsy at the time. On 22 Rabi' I 1160/3 April 1747, the Mughal and Durrānī forces met in battle at Manupur near Sirhind. The Īrānīs under Safdar-

112 Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz's petition against Sāhiba Mahal. Extract from the Proceedings of the Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council in the Political Department under date the 16th July 1807, Panjab Archives, Lahore; S. A. A. Rizvi, *Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz*, Canberra, 1982, pp. 83-84.

Jang, with their long muskets (*Jazā'ir*), heroically resisted the Afghān swivel guns, finally winning the day. The aged *wazir* was killed while handing over command to his son, Mu'inu'd-Dīn Khān alias Mīr Mannū. Ahmad Shāh duped the imperialists, however, by initiating peace talks and then, while they were in progress, systematically withdrawing his main force and all valuable military equipment from the field. News of the deterioration in the Emperor's physical condition prevented the Prince from pursuing the retreating Durrānī army. Safdar-Jang also could not chase the Durrānī army without jeopardising his chances of succeeding to the position of *wazir*.

On 27 Rabi' II 1161/26 April, 1748 Muhammad Shāh died. He was succeeded by Prince Ahmad Shāh. Although Safdar-Jang was promised the position of *wazir*, his investiture took place only on 19 June 1748 after definite news had been received of Nizāmu'l-Mulk Āsaf Jāh's death at Burhanpur. Zu'lfaqār-Jang was made the *bakhshi'u'l-mamālik*. The two key positions were now in Shi'i hands. The Tūrānī and Afghān leaders therefore combined to overthrow Shi'i dominance. Jāwid Khān (Nawwāb Bahādur), the head of the harem became the tool of the Sunni clique. The second invasion by Ahmad Shāh Durrānī over Lahore at the end of November 1748 delayed Safdar-Jang's fall. The new *wazir* seized the Bangash territory around Farrukhabad, except for the original twelve villages which formed the Bangash principality. Their victory was short-lived, however, and the Afghāns drove the troops of Safdar-Jang's deputy from their territory. They even made a dash on Lucknow but the Sunni Shaykhzādas of the region came to the rescue of their Shi'i master and forced the Afghāns to evacuate Awadh. Safdar-Jang's Tūrānī enemies made capital of his defeat and in order to retrieve his position, Safdar-Jang made a subsidiary alliance with the Mahrattas against the Durrānī invaders. This reconciliation with the Mahrattas had been proposed by various supporters of the Mughal empire from Awrangzib's time. Although the Mahrattas made excessive claims, particularly in the financial sphere and were ruthless plunderers, Safdar-Jang considered them a lesser evil than Ahmad Shāh Durrānī and his followers. History substantiated his belief and the destruction brought about by Durrānī's invasion greatly exceeded that of Nādir Shāh's time.

In September 1751, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī reached Peshāwar on his third invasion of the Panjab. Towards the middle of January 1752, he crossed the Rāvi. Mīr Mannū received no reinforcements from Delhi. Nevertheless on 6 March 1752, he made a last bid to repulse Durrānī in the Shālīmar suburbs of Lahore but was defeated. Mīr Mannū therefore visited Ahmad Shāh and impressed the invader with his courage and presence of mind. A treaty was concluded between them. Lahore and Multan were ceded to Ahmad Shāh, who, in turn, recognised Mīr

Mannū as governor on his behalf.¹¹³ From Lahore Ahmad Shāh sent an expedition against Kashmir. The Afghān army met no resistance and seized Kashmir easily. The Afghān rule over Kashmir made the local Sunnis more militant. Around 1132/1720, in the wake of a Hindu-Muslim riot there, the Sunnis invaded the Shi'i quarters of Jadibal and slaughtered men, women and children. The *khānqāh* of Mir Shamsu'd-Dīn Irāqi was also destroyed.

In Delhi Jāwid Khān became a dictator and Safdar-Jang was deprived of Tūrāni support. Finding that Jāwid Khān headed the conspiracies against him, Safdar-Jang had him murdered but this did not extinguish the fire of rebellion against him. By the end of March 1753, the Emperor with his Tūrāni and Afghān supporters was openly at war with the *wazīr*. Subsequently the Emperor dismissed Safdar-Jang and appointed, Qamaru'd-Dīn's son Intizāmu'd-Dawla as *wazīr*. 'Imādu'l-Mulk, the son of Ghāziu'd-Dīn Firūz Jang, was made *bakhshīu'l-mamālik*.

Safdar-Jang succeeded in deposing Emperor Ahmad Shāh and replaced him with a boy of unknown birth. Although the Jāt chief, Sūrajmal, supported Safdar-Jang, an obscure Ruhella adventurer, Najib Khān, came to the rescue of the imperialists. He was joined by the Badakhshis and Balūchs, the Mahrattas and Gūjars and they turned the tables on Safdar-Jang's allies. In Safdar-Jang's camp were the Jāts, the Irāni Turko-māns and the troops of Rājendra Girī Gosā'in (a Hindu ascetic), but the cry of Sunni *jihād* against the heretical Shi'i dominance was a significant feature in the battle for supremacy. Rājendra Girī died on 14 June 1753 and Safdar-Jang grew disheartened. Sporadic fighting continued for several months but finally Rāja Mādho Singh of Jaipur intervened. Safdar-Jang then retired to Awadh on 17 September 1753, abandoning the boy he had raised to the throne.¹¹⁴

Delhi was now controlled exclusively by Sunnis. Zu'lfāqār-Jang also left Delhi with Safdar-Jang and died in Awadh. The question of paying the Ruhellas, Mahrattas, Balūchs and Badakhshis sparked off open war between Intizāmu'd-Dawla and 'Imādu'l-Mulk. In mid-April 1745, the Badakhshis fought pitched battles against the imperial troops in the Delhi streets. In less than four months Ahmad Shāh grew disillusioned with his Sunni supporters and he turned to Safdar-Jang to save his life. Once more Safdar-Jang marched from Awadh to rescue Ahmad Shāh from the tyranny of the Tūrāni leaders and their Mahratta allies. Meanwhile civil war had erupted in Delhi. On 2 June 1754, Ahmad Shāh was deposed and Muhammad 'Azīzu'd-Dīn son of Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Jahāndār Shāh, was raised to the throne under the title Bādshāh 'Ālamgir

113 Ganda Singh, *Ahmad Shāh Durrāni*, Bombay, 1959, pp. 87, 90, 92, 102.

114 *Shāh Walī-Allāh and his times*, pp. 154-59.

II. Safdar-Jang returned to Awadh but, before he could re-organise his province, he died on 17 Zu'l-hijja 1167/5 October 1756. His clever wife kept the news secret to forestall any uprisings while she accompanied his dead body to Fayzabad. Initially it was buried at Gulāb Bārhi but later it was transferred to Delhi near the site of the Shāh-i Mardān. An imposing mausoleum was built over it by his son and successor Shujā' u'd-Dawla. Srivāstava comments as follows:

“The Mughal province of Awādh extended from the river Gandak in the north-east to the Ganga in the south-west, and from the Tarā'i of Nepal in the north to the river Sai in the south. East of it across the Gandak lay the province of Bihar, south of it Allahabad and west of it the *sūbas* of Muradabad (created in the time of Farrukhsiyar) and Agra. Sa'ādat Khān Burhān-u'l-Mulk added to it the *sarkār* of Kora Jahanabad (in Allahabad), roughly equivalent to the modern district of Fatehpur, the estate of Sachendi in Agra and the modern districts of Banaras, Jaunpur, Ghazipur, Azamgarh, Ballia and the eastern portion of Mirzapur, all these then forming a part of the Allahabad *sūba*. In addition to Awadh, Safdar-Jang acquired in 1748 the province of Allahabad which lay on the southern frontier of Awadh and was bounded by the modern Bihar in the east, the present Madhya Pradesh in the south and the Mughal *sūba* of Agra in the west. But the southern half of Allahabad, which comprised the whole of Bundelkhand except the *sarkār* of Kalpi, could not be recovered from the hands of the descendants of Chhatrasal Bundela. Awadh was then divided into five *sarkārs*, namely Fayzabad, Gorakhpur, Lucknow, Khairabad and Bahraich, while Allahabad was composed of seventeen *sarkārs* (according to Murtazā Husain) sixteen of which the most important were Allahabad, Arail, Ghazipur, Chunar, Mirzapur, Banaras, Jaunpur, Kara Manikpur, Shahzadpur, Zamania, Kora Jahanabad and Kalinjar.”¹¹⁵

Both Sa'ādat Khān and Safdar-Jang were involved in asserting their influence over the Mughal capital. Nevertheless the administration of the province remained firm and none of their formidable enemies was able to undermine their control.

In Delhi, 'Ālamgir II inaugurated his reign by banning the Shi'i processions of Muharram;¹¹⁶ Mahratta dominance had made the introduction of anti-Hindu legislation out of the question. Although he was more than fifty-seven years old, in 1756 the Emperor tried to forcibly

115 A. L. Srivāstava, *The First two Nawābs of Awadh*, Agra, 1954, p. 248.

116 *Tārīkh-i 'Ālamgir*, II, British Museum Ms., ff. 25b-26a.

marry Muhammad Shāh's young daughter, Hazrat Begum by Sāhiba Mahal who was a famous beauty but only sixteen years old. Her guardian Malika-i Zamānī was helpless but Hazrat Begum threatened to commit suicide if she were made to marry.

'Imādu'l-Mulk, who had been appointed *wazīr* by 'Ālamgīr II, became a dictator and made the Emperor's life a misery. On 15 November 1756, Durrānī left Peshāwar on his fourth Indian and first Delhi expedition. Najību'd-Dawla welcomed the advance of Afghān army. 'Imādu'l-Mulk surrendered immediately only to be rebuked for his cowardice by Ahmad Shāh. In January 1757 in Delhi some of the nobles hastened to have the *khutba* recited in Ahmad Shāh Durrānī's name, although the Emperor, 'Ālamgīr II was still alive. He had been neither deposed nor expelled and contemporary historians marvel that no theologians objected to the proposed change. The Emperor quietly resigned himself to his fate but Ahmad Shāh Durrānī was not interested in occupying the Delhi throne. His main concern was booty. Upon entering the town, he and his wives occupied the palaces in the Delhi Fort; an amnesty was granted and the citizens were persuaded to return. Some Afghāns who had violated the Shāh's orders about looting received exemplary punishments. This was done, however, merely to ensure that the looting was systematically carried out. The city was divided into wards and even the floors of the wealthy houses were dug up to ensure that all gold had been collected. To distinguish them from Muslims, the Hindus were ordered to paint marks on their foreheads and were forced to hand over any money they had to Durrānī. Their women were raped at random by the Afghān troops.

At the end of February 1757, Ahmad Shāh marched against the Jāts. He captured Ballabgarh and cruelly sacked and slaughtered the inhabitants of Mathura, Brindaban and Gokul, the great centres of Hindu pilgrimage. Although the commander of the Agra fort thwarted the attempts by the Afghān commander-in-chief, Jahān Khān, to storm the fort, the Hindu merchants and bankers there paid a large ransom for their lives.

The approach of summer and the spread of cholera in Mathura made Durrānī's army restless. They clamoured to return home so Ahmad Shāh refrained from launching an attack on the Jāt chief Sūrajmal. The expedition to help Ahmad Khān Bangash fight the Awadh nawwābs also petered out. Durrānī's army returned to Delhi where the Shāh forcibly married Hazrat Begum. Although Malika-i Zamānī and Sāhiba Mahal, both widows of Muhammad Shāh, had successfully protected her from 'Ālamgīr II they were unable to save her from Ahmad Shāh. Malika-i Zamānī and Sāhiba Mahal who could not bear the separation from Hazrat Begum accompanied her to Qandahār.

The throne was restored to 'Ālamgir II and 'Imādu'l-Mulk was appointed *wazir* by Durrānī, whose principal agent in India, however, was Najibu'd-Dawla. The Shi'is had already been expelled from their former high positions and a considerable number of them moved to Awadh.

The Mahrattas overran the region held by Najibu'd-Dawla in the Gangetic Doab and expelled him from Delhi. Najibu'd-Dawla was left with no alternative but to appeal to Ahmad Shāh Durrānī in the name of Islam to come to his rescue. The Rājas of Jaipur and Marwar also sent envoys to Durrānī asking for help to oust the Deccanis from northern India. The great Sunni 'ālim and *sūfi*, Shāh Wali'ullāh of Delhi wrote a letter of appeal to him as well. On 3 Rabi' I 1173/25 October 1759, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī crossed the Indus on his fifth Indian expedition. He easily annihilated the Mahrattas' defences in the north-west frontier. In Rabi' II 1173/November 1759, in Delhi, 'Imādu'l-Mulk killed 'Ālamgir II. Although a puppet ruler, Shāhjahān III, son of Kām Bakhsh, was placed on the throne; to all intents and purposes Delhi was without an Emperor. The Mahrattas urged Shujā'u'd-Dawla to co-operate with them but, on Najibu'd-Dawla's assurances, he joined the Muslim block against them. On 14 January 1761, a vast army of Mahrattas met Durrānī's army and his Indian allies on the battle-field of Panipat. The Mahrattas suffered a crushing defeat. Once more Durrānī's soldiers sacked and plundered the houses of Delhi, and what they could not take away was despoiled. They even clashed with Shujā'u'd-Dawla's forces there. According to Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz, a year before Durrānī's invasion, his father Shāh Wali'ullāh had prophesied that next year no *Rāfizis* (Shi'is) would be found in Delhi. His prediction came true.¹¹⁷ Ahmad Shāh slaughtered them all. Probably only the known Shi'is were killed, however, those who were still practising *taqiyya* survived.

Ahmad Shāh Durrānī recognized Prince 'Ali Gawhar, the son of 'Ālamgir II, as Emperor. He had been expelled by 'Imādu'l-Mulk from Delhi and, after his father's murder, had proclaimed himself Emperor of Delhi in exile on 20 December 1759. Shujā'u'd-Dawla the Nawwāb of Awadh, was his main protector. Durrānī appointed 'Imādu'l-Mulk as *wazir* and Najibu'd-Dawla as *bakhshū'l-mamālik* as his representative. After Durrānī's departure for Qandahār in March 1761, the Mughal government came under Najibu'd-Dawla who assumed the role of a dictator. He maintained Afghān solidarity, keeping the expanded Bangash kingdom as a buffer state between Delhi and Awadh.

In Bengal English power steadily increased. Mīr Qāsīm, the ousted Nawwāb of Bengal, Shujā'u'd-Dawla and Shāh 'Ālam all fought against

the English at Baksar on 22 October 1764 but they were defeated. Shāh 'Ālam threw himself at the mercy of the English. Mir Qāsim fled into obscurity. Shujā'u'd-Dawla rushed to seek the assistance of the Afghān chiefs but neither Hāfiz Rahmat Khān the most senior Ruhella chief, nor Najibu'd-Dawla, nor Ahmad Khān Bangash had any sympathy for a fallen Shī'ī ruler. They simply offered polite excuses against forming an anti-British coalition. The English wished to assign Awadh to Shāh 'Ālam but meanwhile Clive returned from London and took a realistic view of the situation.

On 16 August 1765 a treaty was signed at Allahabad. Shujā'u'd-Dawla's territories, with the exception of Allahabad and its environs, were restored to him on payment of fifty lacs of rupees. Allahabad and its surrounding region were assigned to Shāh 'Ālam. He was promised an annual pension of Rs. 28 lacs. In return the Emperor granted the English complete financial control over the revenue from Bengal or *diwānī* rights.

Ahmad Shāh Durrāni was unable to control the Sikh uprisings in the Panjab. Subsequently, the Sikhs even invaded the Ruhella territories of Najibu'd-Dawla beyond the Jamunā and sacked Delhi. On 20 Rajab 1186/17 October 1772 Ahmad Shāh Durrāni died, leaving his Afghān dominions disorganised, let alone consolidating the administration of the Panjab. Naturally the political vacuum from the river Indus to the west of Delhi was filled by the Sikh leaders.

The English did not make any serious attempt to restore the throne of Delhi to Shāh 'Ālam. On 31 October 1770 Najibu'd-Dawla died. His son, Zābita Khān, was devoid of his father's dynamism and military and administrative gifts. On 10 February 1771, the Mahrattas drove him out of Delhi. On 1 Shawwāl 1185/6 January 1772, escorted by the Mahrattas, Shāh 'Ālam entered Delhi for the first time since being exiled from his capital on 20 May 1758. Warren Hastings, who had been appointed the Governor of Bengal at the end of 1771, soon took the districts of Kora and Allahabad away from the Emperor. He transferred them to Shujā'u'd-Dawla in return for fifty lacs of rupees and a monthly subsidy of Rs. 210,000 for the maintenance of a garrison of the Company's troops to protect Awadh. The treaty of Banaras ratifying the arrangement was signed on 7 September 1773. It was a very unwise step but, in the face of Mahratta and Afghān threats, Shujā'u'd-Dawla had no alternative. Awadh now became a buffer state between Bengal and the Mahrattas.¹¹⁸

Shāh 'Ālam's return to Delhi encouraged the Shī'īs to settle there once more. His *wazir* and regent was Mirzā Najaf Khān (Zu'lfāqāru'd-Dawla Amīru'l-Umarā' Bahādur Ghālib Jang). His ancestors had acted as custodians of Imām Rizā's tomb at Mashhad; the Mirzā himself was born at

118 *Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz*, pp. 12-21.

Isfahān in 1737. He migrated to India at an early age. His sister was married to Safdar-Jang's eldest brother, Mīrzā Muhsin. The imperial keeper of Allahabad fort Muhammad Quli Khān, was also one of his kinsmen. Mīrzā Najaf started working under him but, when the fort was captured by Shujā'ud-Dawla in April 1759, he fled. Subsequently he entered Nawwāb Qāsim 'Ali Khān's service. He accompanied the Nawwāb on his expedition to collect tribute from the Bundelkhand chiefs and decided to work for them. After the English victory at Baksar he left Bundelkhand and joined the English in January 1765. Mīrzā's local knowledge enabled the English to capture Allahabad fort in a few weeks. Clive granted him a pension of 2 lacs of rupees out of the 28 lacs promised to the Emperor. Next year Shāh 'Ālam appointed him *faujdar* of Kora on the recommendation of the English. He was dismissed by Shāh 'Ālam on a false charge of failing to collect standard revenues in February 1770. However, Shāh 'Ālam re-employed him when he started on his march to Delhi and paid Rs. 50,000 to equip his contingent.

During his service under the English, Mīrzā Najaf was trained in the European system of warfare. He recruited 10,000 sepoys trained by them and acquired a large amount of artillery. Comte de Modave, the French observer, was highly impressed by Mīrzā Najaf's composure and tranquillity. The court intrigues against him were regarded as petty tricks of weak-minded people by Mīrzā Najaf and his attitude to his enemies was liberal and high-minded. J. N. Sarkār compares him with Najibu'd-Dawla, saying:

“At the zenith of his career, Najibu'd-Dawla was for ten years the regent of the Mughal Empire, his position and power undisputed by any court rival or Muslim potentate in India. His strength lay in the fact of his being the head of a Ruhilla clan and the recognised leader of the Afghān race in general throughout Hindustān, while at the same time he was up to 1769 backed, sometimes by the presence but more often by the prestige and name of his unconquerable patron, the Durrāni Shāh. In India itself he was the Sunnī champion besides being the head of the Afghān race. Even without Durrāni's backing, he was manifestly the greatest Indian general of his age after the death of Āsaf Jāh Nizām-u'l-Mulk. At the same time his possession of fertile and comparatively undisturbed *jāgirs* in the Doab and upper Rohilkhand, which were carefully managed by his able and faithful land stewards, ensured for him a large and steady income, so that at the time of his death he was the richest Muslim ruler of North India.

“Najaf Khān, on the other hand, possessed some social advantages which birth had denied to Najib-u'd-Dawla. The Ruhilla had started life in India as a poor friendless man, entering service in the capacity

of a foot soldier. From this small beginning he had risen by sheer merit and unfailing opportunism to the virtual headship of the Empire. But Najaf Khān was a Mirzā, boasting of the royal blood of Persia, and closely connected with the house of the Oudh Nawābs by marriage. All this, however, counted for nothing in practical effect as steps to his rise to greatness. He had no racial backing in India; even the Persian Shujā', his kinsman and brother in the faith, was his personal enemy while Najaf Khān's creed made him utterly friendless at the Court of Delhi, where the Shī'a faction created by Amīr Khān and Muhammad Ishāq Khān had been crushed after the failure of Safdar-Jang's rising against his master in 1753."¹¹⁹

Mirzā Najaf Khān's diplomatic and military manoeuvres thwarted Mahratta ambitions. Early in 1775, the Mirzā commissioned his leading lieutenants, Afrāsiyāb Khān and Najaf Qulī Khān to march against the Jāt strongholds of Doab and Mewat. Afrāsiyāb captured Jewar and Ramgarh. The name of Ramgarh was changed to 'Aligarh' after Imām 'Alī, unlike other ephemeral name-changes, this one became permanent. With the aid of his Ruhilla ally Mullā Rahimdād, Najaf Qulī forced the Jaipur possession Kāma to surrender. In 1775, Mirzā Najaf, ignoring the Delhi court-intrigues to replace him with Zābitā Khān recalled Afrāsiyāb from the Doab and besieged the Jāt fort of Dig, thought to be impregnable to cannon-fire. Ranjīt Singh, the Jāt commandant, ultimately evacuated Dig and fled. The unruly Mughal soldiers plundered the fort. The arms, ammunition and buried treasures unearthed there were not sufficient to pay their wages.

Afrāsiyāb now reduced the refractory Jāt and Gūjar *zamīndārs* to submission. Previously they had submitted only to Sūrajmal. The Rāja of Mursan, in Aligarh, put up a spirited resistance. He was forced to surrender when the guns of Afrāsiyāb and Mirzā Najaf, who had also attacked him, broke the walls of his fort. Zābitā mobilized the Sikh forces against Delhi but they were repulsed. Zābitā surrendered and married his daughter to Mirzā Najaf. Sarkār says:¹²⁰

"This settlement finely illustrates the farsighted statesmanship of Mirzā Najaf. He set up Zābitā Khān as a buffer against the Sikhs in the upper Doab and also as his own protege and partisan for counteracting the intrigues of 'Abdu'l-Ahad [Kashmiri] at court, so that while he himself was fighting the Jāts and Rājput̄s west of the Jamunā, his trans-Jamunā possessions in the middle Doab would be safe and he

119 J. N. Sarkār, *Fall of the Mughal empire*, Calcutta, 1964, III edition, pp. 28-32.

120 *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

would be free from any anxiety about that quarter. The peace was completed by Zābita Khān's visit to the court, where the Emperor pardoned him and gave him a robe of honour and a letter patent for the district of Saharanpur (30 January 1779)."

Proceeding from Barnawa in 1780, Mirzā Najaf's nephew, Mirzā Muhammad Shafi' crushed the rebellious villages which had supported the Sikh invasions. Zābita was ordered to co-operate with Shafi'. The cis-Satlaj Sikh leaders, by now disunited and involved in tribal feuds, approached the imperial court for assistance. Mirzā Najaf ordered Shafi' to negotiate with them using his own discretion, but Shafi' was not diplomatic in his handling of the Sikh leaders and Zābita Khān. The dissatisfied Sikhs captured Saharanpur so Shafi' attacked them immediately. He drove them across the Jamunā and chased them as far as Ambala. The court failed to send money or reinforcements and Shafi' was forced to halt. Zābita, who had returned to Delhi refused to collaborate with Shafi', but agreed to negotiate independently with the Sikh leaders. The Sikhs offered not to plunder the *khālisa* villages in return for the right to control and impose *rakhi*¹²¹ on the land in their possession. Mirzā Shafi' returned and remained at the imperial base in Kunjpura near Delhi, until Mirzā Najaf's death. His surplus troops and Zābita Khān's auxiliary forces and retainers were ordered to collect the revenue from the upper Doab. This was Mirzā Najaf's last grand plan. He died on 6 April 1782 and the rays of hope for the recovery of the Mughal glory that had begun to shine were dissipated in the clouds of growing anarchy.

The Sunni Afghāns, Kashmiris, Balūchs and other lawless elements who had benefited from the anarchy preceding Mirzā Najaf's rise to power did not appreciate his efforts to restore peace and order. Although Mirzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānān and Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz had suffered incredible hardships as a result of the Sikh incursions into Delhi and its surrounds, they also refused to credit Najaf Khān for his contributions to the restoration of law and order. According to Mirzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānān, during Najaf Khān's regency the condition of the Delhi populace, which had already deteriorated from being rich to poor, now became miserable.¹²² He probably meant that the Sunnis were now reduced to a miserable condition. Shaykh Ghulām Hamadāni Mushafi says that during Zu'lfāqāru'd-Dawla's regency in Shāh 'Ālam's reign, the Shi'is became the dominant group in Delhi. There is no doubt that Najaf Khān brought some Shi'i contingents over from Allahabad and must have recruited more Shi'i soldiers in Delhi, but their number could not have been very large.

121 A tax like the *chauth* of Mahrattas, the tax was levied in order to meet war expenses.

122 Khalīq Anjum (ed.), *Mirzā Jān-i Jānān ke khutūt*, Delhi, 1962.

Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz was proud of the fact that his father's prophecy, that Shi'ism would be eradicated from Delhi, had come true. Under Najibu'd-Dawla's control the Shi'is in Delhi must have led an ignominious life. In these circumstances it would have been impossible for such a large number of them to emerge during Najaf Khān's regency as to make them the dominant faction.

During Najaf Khān's regency, however, the Shi'is were relieved from the reign of terror which Afghān dominance on the one hand, and Sikh depredations on the other, had unleashed. The Shi'is now resumed their mourning ceremonies to the chagrin of the Sunni leaders. Among those who could not tolerate the sight of these Shi'i processions was the celebrated Mujaddidiyya Naqshbandiyya Mirzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānān who made derogatory remarks concerning Shi'i enthusiasm for these occasions. Other Sunnis were indifferent. 'Ali Lutf reports that on the seventh of Muharram the Mirzā was seated on the first floor of his roadside house when a Ruhella leader came to call on him. Suddenly some 'alams passed near the Mirzā's house. The Ruhella stood up, beat his breast and showed his respect to the 'alam. The Mirzā did not move but smiled and said, "What a *bid'at* (sinful innovation) it is to revive the memory of an event which took place twelve hundred years ago, while showing respect to pieces of wood indicates a gross want of wisdom." The conversation was heard by the people in the procession and the Mirzā's remarks were discussed in the Shi'i assemblies. On the night of the seventh of Muharram, the Mirzā went out to answer a knock at his door. A man fired a shot at him and then ran away.¹²³

The Mirzā died on 10 Muharram 1195/7 January 1781. The Sunnis believe that Mirzā Najaf was directly involved in Mirzā Mazhar's assassination. This theory is hardly tenable, however, for about three years prior to his death, Mirzā Najaf had lost control of the administration. He had by then sunk into the life of dissipation which brought his early death in April 1782. The culprit need not have been a Shi'i as there was no dearth of Sunni devotees of *ta'ziyas* and 'alams. At about the same time, the intolerant Sunni Afghāns are known to have made several attempts to kill the eminent Chishtiyya leader, Mawlānā Fakhru'd-Dīn, for his participation in *samā'*.

Fantastic stories are told about Mirzā Najaf's persecution of the Sunnis,¹²⁴ even Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz is reputed to have been victimized by him. The myths referred to below have been uncritically reproduced by historians such as Ishtiāq Husain Qureshī and K. A. Nizāmī and also by traditional scholars such as Mawlānā Manāzīr Ahsan Gilānī and Mawlānā Muham-

123 Mirzā Lutf 'Alī, *Gulshan-i Hind*, Delhi, 1906, p. 217.

124 *Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz*, pp. 81-84.

mad Miyān. The most popular is the legend described by Amīr Shāh Khān in the *Amīru'r-Riwāyat*. He says:

"In those days the Rawāfizs (Shi'is) were predominant. Delhi was ruled by Najaf 'Alī Khān who had Shāh Waliu'llāh's wrist broken to stop him writing. He martyred Mirzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānān and expelled Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz and Shāh Rafī'u'd-Dīn from his dominions. Both walked from Delhi to Shahdara with the female members of the family. Later Mawlānā Fakhru'd-Dīn succeeded in obtaining carriages for the females who went to Phulet. However, Shāh Rafī'u'd-Dīn and Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz could obtain neither carriages nor horses. Shāh Rafī'u'd-Dīn went to Lucknow on foot and Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz walked to Jawnpur. Both were ordered to travel separately and to use no conveyance. The Rawāfizs tried twice to poison Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz. Once a paste of lizards was rubbed on him infecting him with leprosy. During his Jawnpur journey the Shāh was struck by sunstroke which made him fiery-tempered. He had lost his eyesight in his youth."

Ishtiāq Husain Qureshī adds a footnote: "the evidence, however is inconclusive", to his reproduction of this story of how Shāh Waliu'llāh "had been the victim of Shi'ah persecution". The legend is in fact absurd. Shāh Waliu'llāh died in 1176/1762, while Mirzā Najaf Khān entered Delhi with the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam in 1772. As for the stories concerning Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, the Shāh himself had never attributed his serious illness and blindness to any persecution although he had referred to them in many contexts. He says in a letter to Fārigh Shāh:

"The old chronic stomach trouble is serious. The eyesight has almost disappeared. Toothache prevents me from eating, drinking and talking too much."

'Abdu'l-Qādir, a near contemporary of the Shāh, wrote that blindness prevented the Shāh from writing himself and "He dictated his thoughts fluently to others". A disciple of Shāh Ishāq, Qāzi 'Abdu'r-Rahmān Pānīpatī, claimed that Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz went blind while in his youth. According to Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Hayy, Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz had become the victim of chronic diseases such as *maraq* (leprosy) and blindness by his twenty-fifth year.

These statements prove conclusively that the Shāh was partially, if not completely, blind before Mirzā Najaf's arrival in Delhi. Like Qureshī, K. A. Nizāmī also says anachronistically that Mawlānā Fakhru'd-Dīn was very influential in Delhi at that time. He reports that Fakhru'd-Dīn intervened when Alexander Seton, the Resident of Delhi, and Shāh

'Abdu'l-'Aziz were estranged, and resolved their misunderstanding. In his biographical account of Shāh Fakhru'd-Din, Nizāmī gives the date of the Mawlānā's death as 27 Jumāda II, 1199/7 May 1785. He must have forgotten that Delhi was not annexed by the East India Company until 1803 and furthermore that Archibald Seaton was Resident of Delhi from 1806-1811. Nizāmī also claims that Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz's troubles grew as Shi'i influence increased in Delhi but that Shāh Fakhr Sāhib rescued him and gave him hospitality. He then quotes from the *Manāqib-i Fakhriyya*:

"When the government officials expelled the sons of Shāh Walīu'llāh from their house and confiscated it, he (Mawlānā Fakhru'd-Din) kept them in his own house and took care of them. Ultimately the Mawlānā had the house restored to them and took them there with honour and respect."

The story that Mirzā Najaf Khān persecuted Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz is legendary but apparently the Shāh was alarmed by Mirzā Najaf's dominance. Hakīm Mirzā Muhammad Kāmil, the author of the *Nuzha-i Isnā 'Ashariyya*, a rejoinder to Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz's *Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya*, who, before the Shāh published the above work had been his friend, says, "When Zu'lfaqāru'd-Dawla Bahādur (Mirzā Najaf Khān) dominated the administration of Delhi and was virtually a king, his heart was alienated from his lordship (*makhdūmī* i.e. Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz) because of his (the Shāh's) devotion to extremist *Nāsibi* and *Khārijī* ideologies. The learned *Nāsib* (a title for the Shāh used by the Hakīm and other Shi'i scholars) grew alarmed and wrote the *Izhāru'l-Haqq* to prove that he and his father were Shi'is and were devoted to Ahl-i Bayt. He (the Shāh) dissociated himself from his (Sunni) faith and sent the treatise to the Amīru'l-Umarā' Bahādur (Mirzā Najaf Khān) through some Sayyids and obtained the intercession of some leading personalities. This relieved him (the Shāh) from the fear of death.

This book is not mentioned in the list of Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz's works nor is a copy of it available. An untitled treatise by the Shāh, however, claims that not only the Shi'is but also the Sunni *sūfis* (*pirzādas*) who, as the Shāh feared, were jealous of his popularity, spread a story that Shāh Walīu'llāh believed that Imām Husayn was not a martyr. The Shāh denied these allegations in his treatise and showed that his family were deeply devoted to Ahl-i Bayt. Although the Hakīm alleged that Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz dissociated himself from Sunni-ism, the untitled treatise and the *Izhāru'l-Haqq* might be identical. It is obvious though that the Shāh was not persecuted by Mirzā Najaf Khān or else the Hakīm would have grossly exaggerated the event.

There is no evidence to suggest that the Shī'i noblemen played a significant role in the propagation of their religion. Najaf Khān and his supporters were *mansabdārs* of the Sunnī Emperor and implemented the traditional Mughal policy of peace and accord with all religious communities. This concord was the basis of Shī'i survival. Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz wrote his *Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya* in 1204/1789-90. Najaf Khān had died some years earlier and the reasons why the Shāh did not disclose his authorship have never been satisfactorily explained. At that time the Emperor was still controlled by the Mahrattas. Nevertheless the success of the Shī'i proselytisation upset the Sunnī leaders. Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, for example, writes:

“In the region (*bilād*) where we live the Isnā 'Ashariyya faith has become so popular that there can be no house where one or two men have not adopted this vicious faith or are not inclined to the Shī'i beliefs. The majority of these are wanting in a knowledge of history and *ahādīs* and are unaware and ignorant of the principles of their ancestral (Sunnī) faith. Whenever the Shī'is discuss their faith in Sunnī assemblies, they distort the facts and talk nonsense. I have written this book only to please God and to prevent the Sunnis from straying from their faith in polemics with the Shī'is and to make them steadfast to their basic principles.”¹²⁵

In Panipat too, the Shī'is made many converts. Qāzī Muhammad Sanā'u'llāh 'Usmānī Naqshbandī Mujaddidī Pānīpati, who wrote the *Sayf-i-maslūl* to refute Shī'i beliefs, describes the Shī'i success in proselytisation thus:

“At this time the Isnā 'Ashariyya faith is predominant. Because of stupidity and ignorance, a large number of people (Sunnīs) specially some people of Panipat whose ancestors were Sunnīs and good believers, have strayed from the right path. It came to my mind to write a book refuting the *Rawāfiẓ* (Shī'is) in simple Persian in order to benefit the common people. It is possible that someone may be able to see the right path and the author may obtain some reward from God. As they (the Shī'is) do not trust the Sunnī works, their doctrines will be refuted on the basis of the Shī'i works themselves.”¹²⁶

The greatest tragedy in Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz's family was the conversion to Shī'ism of Sayyid Qamaru'd-Din Husayn of Sonipat. He was Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz's nephew and had studied under his brothers, Shāh 'Abdu'l-

125 Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, *Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya*, Lucknow, 1295/1878, p. 2.

126 *Sayf-i maslūl*, Delhi, 1268/1852, pp. 2-3.

Qādir and Shāh Rafi'ud-Dīn. The Sayyid had learned *hadīs* from Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz who wrote a treatise on *hadīs* for Qamaru'd-Dīn's guidance, known as '*Ujāla-i nāfi'a*'. In a conversation, Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz once remarked that although he had converted hundreds of Hindus to Islam, only three or four people had embraced Sunnī-ism from among the bigoted Shi'i sect.¹²⁷ As Qamaru'd-Dīn embraced Shi'ism before his death in 1280/1863 no political or economic pressures could be imputed to his conversion. Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz estimated that of the total Indian Muslim population, two-thirds were Sunnis and one-third Shi'i.

The remarkable expansion of Shi'ism in India cannot be ascribed to Sunnī indifference to their faith. During Muhammad Shāh's reign twenty-two leading *sūfīs* from different *silsilas* flourished in Delhi. According to Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, that was a rare coincidence.¹²⁸ The most prominent among these *sūfī* leaders was Shāh Walīu'llāh Dihlawī. Born in 1114/1703 in Delhi, he inherited his father's seminary, the Madrasa-i Rahīmiyya, in 131/1719. In 1143/1731 he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and returned to Delhi on 14 Rajab 1145/31 December 1732. From that time till his death on 29 Muharram 1176/30 August 1762, he dedicated himself totally to writing scholarly works to strengthen the Sunnī faith. The principal target of his attacks were the Tafziliyya Sunnis, who believed that 'Alī was superior to the first three successors to the Prophet. He wrote the *Qurraṭul-'aynayn fī tafzīlu'sh-Shaykhayn* to demonstrate that the first two successors to the Prophet Muhammad were superior to the third and fourth and that the light of their souls had intermingled with the light emanating from the Prophet Muhammad's soul. He also questioned the belief that Hasan Basri had been initiated into a spiritual discipline by 'Alī. He wrote the *Izālat al-Khafā' an Khilāfat al-Khulafā'* to establish the superiority of the first two caliphs over the other caliphs. He says:

"In this age the *bid'at* (sinful innovations) of Shi'ism has come into existence and the common people (Sunnīs) have been confused by the doubts raised by the Shi'is. This has led to the rise of misgivings about the *khilāfat* (caliphate) of the *Khulafā'-i Rāshidīn*. Inevitably the light of Divine assistance confirmed the theory in the heart of this humble one (Shāh Walīu'llāh) that the affirmation of the caliphate of the *Khulafā'-i Rāshidīn* is true and is a part of the principles of faith. Unless this is firmly believed, the *sharī'a* cannot be strengthened."¹²⁹

The Shāh claimed that according to the Shi'i theory of *Imāmat*, the Imām appointed by Allāh, was *ma'sūm* (impeccable) and it was imperative

127 *Nuzhatul-khawātir*, VII, p. 390; *Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz*, pp. 93, 138.

128 *Malfūzāt-i Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz*, p. 106.

129 Shāh Walīu'llāh, *Izālat al-khafā'*, Karachi, n.d., I, p. 8.

to obey them. The Shī'is believed that the Imāms intuitively received *wahī* which meant that they did not believe that the Prophethood ended with Muhammad although they did not publicly declare this. He invited Sunnis to believe that the Prophet himself had conveyed to him (Shāh Waliu'llāh) in a vision that the Shī'i faith was false.

Shāh Waliu'llāh claimed in the *Fuyūz al-Haramayn* that although he instinctively had considered 'Alī superior to Abū Bakr and 'Umar, the Prophet Muhammad had commanded him in a revelation to give¹³⁰ predominance to the first two caliphs. He authored *Izālat al-Khafā' 'an Khilāfat al-Khulafā'* and *Qurratul-'aynayn fī tafzīlu'sh-Shaykhayn* to fulfil this command. The *Hujjat-Allāh al-Bāligha* had the same aim. These books were not written to persuade the Shī'is "to smooth over these (Sunnī-Shī'i) differences 'nor' to remove the misconceptions of the Shī'ahs", concerning "the personalities of the first three caliphs" as modern Muslims claim. Shāh Waliu'llāh, like all other orthodox Sunnis considered Shī'is to be odious and damned and therefore cut off from Divine grace.

The following anecdote related by Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz is recounted *ad nauseum* by Sunnī authors to prove Shāh Waliu'llāh's liberality. Apparently someone asked Shāh Waliu'llāh whether the Shī'is were heretics. The Shāh replied by giving the different views of the Hanafī jurisconsults. The man asked the Shāh to give his own ruling. On receiving the same reply he grew angry and claimed that Shāh Waliu'llāh was a Shī'i.¹³¹ This story does not indicate Shāh Waliu'llāh was a liberal; it only shows that, like the Transoxianian 'ulamā' and the Afghāns, Shāh Waliu'llāh did not categorically declare the Shī'is were infidels. His own writings, however, left his readers with no doubt that they were.

Throughout his life Shāh Waliu'llāh's son, Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz maintained war against the Shī'is. According to his analysis the correctness of Sunnī-ism depended on the following facts:

1. In Ka'ba only the Sunnī faith was followed.
2. In Medina too the Sunnī faith was dominant.
3. Only the Sunnis could memorize the Qur'ān. The Shī'is could only learn a few parts and their labours were always wasted for they could not retain what they had memorized.
4. Only the Sunnis believed that *wilāyat* (sainthood) followed the prophethood.
5. Only the Sunnis performed Friday and 'id congregational prayers.
6. Only the Sunnis introduced *jihād* into India. Sultan Mahmūd

130 *Shāh Walī Allāh and his times*, pp. 216-18, 249-56.

131 *Malfūzāt-i Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz*, p. 32. Manāzīr Ahsan Gilānī, *Tazkira-i Hazrat Shāh Waliu'llāh*, Karachi, 1959, pp. 198-99; K. A. Nizāmī, *India and Contemporary Islam*, p. 434.

(388-421/998-1030) and Shihāb u'd-Dīn Ghūrī (d. 602/1206) were Sunnis.¹³²

Shāh Walīu'llāh and Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz invited the Sunnis to believe that only the true faith was politically dominant. Sunnī-ism was the true religion, for conquerors such as Sultan Mahmūd of Ghaznī and Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Muhammad bin Sām belonged to it. Shāh Walīu'llāh went to the extent of claiming that historians failed to recognize that Mahmūd of Ghaznī's horoscope was identical to the Prophet's and that this had enabled him to obtain significant victories in wars fought for the propagation of Islam.¹³³

In a letter to the ruler of Bukhārā, Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz wrote that as the Shi'īs according to *fiqh* were heretics, the Sunnis should apply the social norms for other apostates to them. Unless they thought it might be to their disadvantage, they should not greet the Shi'īs first. Should the Shi'īs initiate the salutation, their response should be very formal. Should the Shi'īs show more respect than was allowed by the *shari'a*, the Sunnis should observe the *shari'a* limitations. These principles applied to all relations with the Shi'īs, such as visiting them when sick, extending condolences and congratulations and accepting social invitations.¹³⁴

The Shāh advised the Sunnis not to marry a Shi'ī girl, irrespective of the fact that the Shi'īs were apostates or heretics. According to him, mixed marriages destroyed the purity of faith in the family and children and there could be no lasting family unity. He also urged Sunnis to avoid taking food in Shi'ī houses and eating the animals they slaughtered.¹³⁴ The Shāh said that once a Muslim, who owned a brothel, insisted, despite the Shāh's protestations, on sending him some food. The Shāh was worried about its disposal as he could not eat it himself and he did not wish to give it to another Sunnī. Some of his close relations who were fanatical Shi'īs arrived so the Shāh offered them the food and they ate it happily.¹³⁵ Apparently the Shāh did not disclose the source of the gift.

Qāzī Sanā'u'llāh Pānīpatī also organized similar campaigns to arouse hatred against the Shi'īs. He invoked the authority of the following Qur'ānic verse:

132 *Malfūzāt-i Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz*, pp. 206-7; *Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz*, pp. 204-7.

133 *Quarratū'l-'aynayan fī tafzīlū'sh-Shaykhayn*, Delhi, 1892, p. 324; *Tafhīmāt-i Ilāhiyya*, Hyderabad Sind, 1970, I, p. 323.

134 *Fatāwā-i Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz*, Delhi, 1311/1893-94, I, pp. 191-92.

135 *Malfūzāt-i Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz*, pp. 8-37, 38; *Fatāwā-i Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz*, I, p. 12, II, p. 96.

"O ye who believe ! Take not for intimates other than your own folk, who would spare no pains to ruin you; they love to hamper you."¹³⁶

According to the Qāzi, this verse meant that the Sunnis should not associate with the Shi'is or the infidels. Shāh Ghulām 'Alī (d. 1240/1824) whose disciples came from Transoxiana and Kurdistan to India, also preached that the Shi'is were damned to perdition.

Despite the storm of opposition raised by the eighteenth and nineteenth century Sunni leaders, Shi'ism gained popularity in the Delhi and Panipat regions. By the end of the eighteenth century, many Sunni families in Meerut, Hapur, Gulaoti, Bulandshahr, Saharanpur, Deoband and Nanawta (Saharanpur) had also embraced Shi'ism. These areas were invariably under Ruhella domination and the converts were generally Fārūqī, Siddīqī and 'Usmānī Shaykhzādas.¹³⁷

In the Panjab and Sind also many Sunnis were attracted to Shi'ism. In Gujarat some of Makhdūm Jahāniyān Shaykh Jalālu'd-Dīn Bukhārī's descendants had already embraced it. By the eighteenth century the controllers of the Uch *khānqāh* had become Shi'is. In the Panjab, the Sayyid and Tafziliyya families began to renounce Sunni-ism. Some enterprising military leaders in whom 'Alī's name conjured up chivalry and courage, chose to become followers of Ahl-i bayt. The dervishes and their disciples, whose souls were influenced by the tragedy of Karbalā increased Shi'i popularity. The interpretation of Islamic history by Shi'i 'ulamā' and their sermons on the sacrifices and martyrdom of the Imāms helped proselytisation. The role of economic prospects and Shi'i-Sunni intermarriages cannot be ruled out of the conversion processes.¹³⁸

Shi'i pilgrimage centres also began to attract widespread attention. Imām 'Alī's *qadamgāh* (foot-print on stone) in Delhi was an important Shi'i centre. Mahābat Khān chose it for his burial-place. Nawwāb Dargāh Qulī Khān Sālār-Jang Mu'tamānu'd-Dawla (b. 1122/1710), who visited Delhi in 1150/1737, found the Qadamgāh of Imām 'Alī, some three *kurohs* (about nine kilometres) from the fort, a popular centre for pilgrimage.

"On Saturdays crowds of pilgrims thronged there for eternal blessings and adorned the turban of their devotion with the flowers of obsequiousness and servility. The dust of its threshold is a source of cure for distressed people. The water of the spring of its bounty is a source of honour

136 Qur'ān, III, 118.

137 *Tafsīr al-Mazharī*, Delhi, 1971, II, pp. 119-20.

138 *Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz*, pp. 552-54.

to the needy. A large number of people make a vow in return for the fulfilment of their needs and are successful."¹³⁹

This centre was also known as Shāh-i Mardān (the King of Chivalry, a title of Imām 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib). According to the *Imādū's-Sa'adat*, Nawwāb Bahādur, the *Khwāja Sarā* (eunuch, Jāwīd Khān), built a structure to shelter it. On the tenth of Muharram, *ta'ziyas* were buried there. On the 20th Ramazān (the anniversary of Imām 'Alī's martyrdom), religious meetings were held and the *marsiya* reciters, *rawza* reciters and other *zākirs* (orators) specializing in the history of Imām Husayn's martyrdom assembled there.¹⁴⁰ The people spent the whole night weeping and crying. Safdar-Jang's tomb was also built near this centre.

The *Panja Sharif*, near the Kashmīri Gate also became an important religious centre. Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz's account of this shrine is the earliest independent one available. It is prejudiced but nevertheless establishes its antiquity. The Shāh says that during 'Ālamgīr's (Awrangzīb's) reign, some Shi'i noblemen considering it undesirable that Shi'i corpses should be buried in Sunni graveyards founded one of their own. Subsequently they carved out the marks of 'Alī's palm in a stone and declared it a religious relic, in imitation of the stone bearing the Prophet's footprint, whose authenticity is also doubtful. A structure was then erected over it. When Awrangzīb was informed of these events while in the Deccan, he ordered its demolition. After Awrangzīb's death, however, the original stone as also a different one, were placed there again. Gradually the area became a Shi'i graveyard. The imperial ladies erected a building over it. By the time of Mīrzā Najaf Khān's rise to power it was very ostentatious. Common people, particularly the Shi'is, made it a pilgrimage centre and large crowds assembled there. Offerings were made and keepers were appointed.¹⁴¹

From the very reign of the Emperor Jahāngir, Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustari's grave had become a Shi'i pilgrimage centre. Some Shi'is chose a site for the burial of their dead in this vicinity. By the reign of Muhammad Shāh the tomb was visited by a large number of Shi'is. The earliest known graves are dated 1148/1735-36 and 1191/1777. In 1188/1774-75, Mīr Mansūr Mūsawī, the governor of Agra, had the Qāzi's grave renovated and an inscription on a red sand stone affixed. A Mughal princess built a small mosque near the Qāzi's tomb. Subsequently the complex was enclosed with four walls and a garden was planted.¹⁴²

139 Nūru'l-Hasan Ansārī (ed.), *Muraqqa'-i Dihlī*, by Dargāh Qulī Khān, Delhi, 1982, p. 23.

140 Ghulām 'Alī Khān Naqawī, *'Imādū's-Sa'adat*, Lucknow, 1864, p. 68.

141 *Malfūzāt-i Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz*, p. 108.

142 Sayyid Sibtu'l-Hasan, *Tazkira-i majīd*, Lucknow, 1979, pp. 117-20.

Turning to political events, we find that between April 1782 and 1784, Mirzā Najaf's lieutenants Afrāsiyāb and Mīrzā Shafi' were involved in a scramble for supremacy. On 23 September 1783 Shafi' was killed and on 2 November 1784 Afrāsiyāb was assassinated. Shāh 'Ālam therefore made the Mahratta leader Mahādji Sindia his regent. Sindia was successful in administrative affairs but his military campaigns were a failure. On 5 September 1787 Zābita's son, Ghulām Qādir, gained control of Delhi. He deposed Shāh 'Ālam and blinded him on 10 August 1788.

The Mughal princesses were raped, then flogged and starved to death while the princes and their children were brutally beaten. The Ruhellas dug up every corner in the fort and palaces in their search for gold. The obsessive need to avenge the wrong done to his father and family by the Mughal Emperor made Ghulām Qādir¹⁴³ an insane savage.

Although Mahādji Sindia had been unable to send immediate relief, the Mahratta forces reached Delhi fort on 2 October and eight days later Ghulām Qādir fled the capital. The blind Shāh 'Ālam was restored to the throne. On 19 December Ghulām Qādir was captured after being hotly pursued. He was sent to Mahādji Sindia's camp at Mathura. At the request of Shāh 'Ālam, his (Ghulām Qādir's) eyeballs were extracted and his nose and ears were cut off on 3 March 1789 and sent to the Emperor. His hands and feet were then amputated and his corpse was hung on a tree.

Mahādji Sindia was welcomed at Delhi fort as the deliverer from Ghulām Qādir's atrocities. When he (Mahādji) died in Poona in February 1794 Shāh 'Ālam was again reduced to a miserable existence. Sindia's deputy, known as Shāhji or Hazratji, a Qādiriyya *sūfi* saint in Delhi, was very miserly and the imperial family was driven to abject starvation. In a letter dated 27 July 1803, the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley assured Shāh 'Ālam of English protection and on 16 September 1804, General Lake called on the Emperor in his palace. His personal allowances were fixed at Rs. 6,000 *per mensem* and he reverted to a similar position to the one he had held in Allahabad before actually mounting his ancestral throne.¹⁴⁴

Shujā'ud-Dawla's friendship with the English paid him heavy dividends. After Ahmad Khān Bangash's death in 1771, Farrukhabad became an Awadh dependency. Najību'd-Dawla's successor, Zābita Khān was protected by the Mahrattas who invaded Rāmghat near Sambhal which formed Hāfiz Rahmat Khān's frontier. Hāfiz Rahmat Khān urged Shujā'ud-Dawla to help him against the Mahrattas and promised to pay

143 Khayru'd-Dīn Muhammad Ilāhābādi, *'Ibrat-nāma*, British Museum Ms., ff. 30a-b, 39a-88b.

144 *Shāh 'Abdul-'Azīz*, pp. 29-32, 39-40.

him Rs. 40 lacs for his help. In compliance with the treaty of Banaras, the English troops marched in collaboration with the Awadh forces against the Mahrattas. The allies defeated the Mahrattas at the end of March 1773, foiling their hopes of capturing Rohelkhand. Hāfiz Rahmat Khān, however, refused to produce the promised reward. The Awadh and English troops therefore marched into Rohelkhand and defeated and killed him in the battle of Miranpur Katra in the Shahjahanpur district on 17 April 1774. Rohelkhand was annexed to Awadh and thousands of villages which refused to surrender were burnt. The Ruhella monuments were destroyed and about 20,000 fleeing villagers were pursued beyond the Ganges. Only the Rampur state of Fayzu'llāh Khān, which had remained neutral, was spared.

The Sunnī historians accuse Shujā'u'd-Dawla of sectarian bigotry in destroying Ruhella power.¹⁴⁵ The truth is that Hāfiz Rahmat Khān was confident of victory and under-estimated the strength of the joint English and Awadh forces. He was not interested in peace but had already drawn-up the division of Fyzabad into sections for his Ruhellas to plunder and rape. Possibly he intended to complete the Shī'i annihilation which Ahmad Shāh Durrāni had earlier unsuccessfully attempted. Its repercussions were not unnatural.

On 24 Zu'lqā'da 1188/26 January 1775, Shujā'u'd-Dawla died. The Calcutta Council of the East India Company argued that his death terminated his treaties. His son, Āsafu'd-Dawla (1775-97) succeeded him. A new treaty was signed in 1775 in Fyzabad. The subsidy for the use of the Company's troops was raised from Rs. 210,000 to Rs. 260,000 per mensem and the new Nawwāb was forced to cede Rāja Chait Singh's *zamindāri* of Banaras, Jawnpur and Ghazipur to the Company in full sovereignty. Shujā'u'd-Dawla's widow, Bahū Begum, encouraged by the party hostile to Warren Hastings, took possession of her deceased husband's enormous *jāgirs*. These yielded a rent of Rs. 36 lacs. Bahū Begum produced her husband's will which substantiated her actions, but her claims were illegal both under general Islamic and Mughal traditions. On the British Resident's representations, the Begum gave Āsafu'd-Dawla Rs. 30 lacs, half of which was to be paid to the Company. She also promised him a further twenty-six lacs, for which she had security in land. The Nawwāb agreed in return to renounce further claims upon her.¹⁴⁶

Āsafu'd-Dawla transferred his capital to Lucknow while Bahū Begum and her family stayed in Fyzabad. The English however demanded more money to pay for the heavy expenses of their war in the Deccan and the

145 Muhammad Najmu'l-Ghani, *Tārīkh-i Awadh*, Muradabad, 1910, pp. 145-47. To Bazmee Ansāri, Shujā'u'd-Dawla was "an extreme Shī'i". E. I.², III, p. 61.

146 C. Irwin, *The garden of India*, London, 1880, pp. 88-89.

Nawwāb had insufficient funds. Hastings also imposed a heavy quota for money and troops on Chait Singh and, in December 1782, he made Bahū Begum and Āsafu'd-Dawla's grandmother surrender their treasure valued at Rs. 7,600,000. He also resumed Bahū Begum's *jāgirs*.¹⁴⁷ These were later relinquished and Bahū Begum retained them until her death in 1815.

To stabilize the declining revenue collection, the *ijāra* (revenue farming) system was introduced, but it made the peasants' life miserable. Haydar Beg, Āsafu'd-Dawla's minister, who was assassinated in 1795, was Hastings's creature. The Governor-General even controlled the appointment of the Nawwāb's chief minister. The Nawwāb, unable to prevent administrative collapse, concentrated mainly on fostering the development of art and architecture.

Nawwāb Āsafu'd-Dawla's insatiable passion for constructing imposing monuments is reflected in the Rūmī Darwāza, the Āsafi Imāmbārha and the mosque near Awrangzib's mosque in Lucknow. The Rūmī Darwāza, which forms the entrance for visitors to Āsafi Imāmbārha was built by Āsafu'd-Dawla in 1784. Its architect Kifāyatu'llāh belonged to Delhi. From a distance it looks like half a vast dome cut perpendicularly; its lavish plaster ornamentation is too rich and, at the same time, is wanting in delicacy. The parapet is crowned with a row of thin fluted stone pillars, at right angles to the surface. The Āsafi Imāmbārha is entered by the south gateway, the one opposite to it was introduced for symmetry. At the end of its spacious forecourt there is a triple doorway leading into the main courtyard. The interior of the Āsafi Imāmbārha is a vaulted hall 49.41 meters long and 16.16 meters wide.¹⁴⁸

Āsafu'd-Dawla's dignitaries also made singular contributions to the re-orientation of life in Lucknow which made it the Shi'i centre in northern India. Most significant was Sarfarāzu'd-Dawla Hasan Rizā' Khān, who was appointed as a *nā'ib* (deputy or chief minister) by Āsafu'd-Dawla in 1776. In the reign of Emperor Shāhjahān and that of his successors, Hasan Rizā's ancestors had held senior positions. Hasan Rizā' himself was a very pious man. He succeeded in persuading Āsafu'd-Dawla to finance the digging of a canal from Kūfa to Najaf and a Calcutta businessman, Hājji Muhammad Tehrānī, was sent to the ruler of Baghdād with 500,000 rupees and gifts to persuade him to have the canal constructed. Hasan Rizā' appointed Ghufrān Ma'āb to lead the Friday congregational prayers for the Shi'is and assigned the administration of Shi'i law to him as well.¹⁴⁹ Hasan Rizā' built a mosque and an Imāmbārha near the Akbarī

147 *Ibid.*, p. 92.

148 'Abdu'l-Latif bin Abi Tālib al-Shustarī, *Tuhfatu'l 'ālam*, Hyderabad n.d., pp. 532-33.

149 Sayyid Ghulām 'Alī Khān, *Imādu's-Sa'ādat*, Lucknow, 1864, pp. 135-37; Sayyid Kamālu'd-Dīn Haydar Hasanī Husaynī Mashhadī, *Sawānīhāt-i Salātīn-i Awadh*, Lucknow, 1896, p. 112.

gate of Chawk and another Imāmbārha near the Āsafi Imāmbārha. He supported the *diwān*, Tikait Rā'ī unquestioningly and was finally dismissed for his defence of Tikait Rā'ī. Hasan Rizā' died in 1216/1801.

Tahsin 'Alī Khān, originally a Khattrī and an eunuch, was also one of Āsafu'd-Dawla's favourites. He embraced Islam and became a Shi'i. He held the position of superintendent in several departments and was also a philanthropist. Tahsin 'Alī Khān built a caravanserai in the Lucknow Chawk but only the imposing mosque built by him in the same Chawk still survives. Its decorations were inspired by those on the mosque near the Āsafi Imāmbārha and its inscriptions were cut after the calligraphy of Hāfiz Nūru'llāh and his son Hāfiz Ibrāhīm. They are dated 1205/1790-91. The rent from the shops on both sides of the mosque was endowed for its maintenance.

During Āsafu'd-Dawla's reign, Almās 'Alī, who was also an eunuch, built an Imāmbārha on an extensive plot in the Sarā'ī Ma'ālī Khān quarters (founded in the reign of Sa'ādat Khān Burhānu'l-Mulk). He used large bricks in place of the small ones normally used in Awadh, in order to expedite the construction. Its windows and gates were built on the pattern of the Āsafi Imāmbārha.

Āsafu'd-Dawla's two leading *diwāns*, Jhā'ū Lāl and Tikait Rā'ī, also played an important role in the promotion of Muslim religious life in general and Shi'i life in particular. Tikait Rā'ī built two imposing mosques and an Imāmbārha in the Haydarganj quarters of Lucknow. The Imāmbārha has not survived but the mosques cry for preservation. Tikait Rā'ī also built a small mosque in Rastogī Tola (Lucknow). Jhā'ū Lāl built an Imāmbārha in the Thākurganj quarters. His Muharram processions and *ta'ziyas* occupied a distinctive position in Lucknow life and aroused considerable Hindu interest in Muharram ceremonies.

The British Resident's interference with the internal administration of Awadh made Āsafu'd-Dawla's life miserable. In 1796 he was forced to expel his loyal *diwān* Jhā'ū Lāl whom the British believed was hatching plots to overthrow them. The Nawwāb, saddened by his loss and upset at this insult, died on 28 Rabi' I 121/20 September, 1797. He was buried in his Imāmbārha. In Āsafu'd-Dawla's reign, Shāh 'Ālam's eldest son Mirzā Jawān Bakht moved from Delhi to Lucknow because of the court intrigues. He arrived at Lucknow in 1784. Āsafu'd-Dawla and the Governor-General Warren Hastings, who was also at that time in Lucknow, warmly welcomed the Prince. The Nawwāb sat behind the Prince in a *howdah*, carrying a fly-whisk in pursuance of his obligations as the Emperor's Prime Minister. His licentious life disgusted the Nawwāb. After some months the Prince moved to Banaras and at the Governor-General's suggestion the Nawwāb fixed a pension for the Prince. In Āsafu'd-Dawla's reign Prince Mirzā Sulaymān Shukōh also arrived at

Lucknow. The Nawwāb was not much interested in him but at the Governor-General's recommendations granted a pension for him.¹⁵⁰

After Āsafu'd-Dawla's death his son, Nawwāb Wazīr 'Alī was recognised as his successor. The pro-British element in the Awadh administration was hostile to him because of his anti-British leanings. The Governor, Sir John Shore (1793-98) came to Lucknow and dismissed Wazīr 'Alī on the pretext that he was not Āsafu'd-Dawla's son. The Nawwāb's widow had testified that he was sexually impotent. Wazīr 'Alī was sent to Banaras where, in desperation, he killed the political agent Cherry. Then he broke out into open rebellion seeking assistance from the Mahrattas and the Afghān ruler, Zamān Shāh. After assembling a hurriedly recruited army, Wazīr 'Alī recognised a grandson of Shāh 'Ālam, Mirzā Muzaffar Bakht, as Emperor and was made *wazīr* by him. He was defeated a few days later by the combined English and Awadh troops and fled. Many years later Wazīr 'Alī was captured and imprisoned in Calcutta where, in 1817, he died.¹⁵¹

Āsafu'd-Dawla's younger brother Sa'ādat 'Alī was made Nawwāb after Wazīr 'Alī's dismissal. During the early part of his reign, the news of Zamān Shāh's invasion prompted the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley (1798-1805), to make the Nawwāb replace most of his Awadh troops with an English force. The total amount of the subsidy to the Company was raised to Rs. 13,000,000 per annum. A new treaty dated 10 November 1801 deprived Sa'ādat 'Alī of Rohelkhand, Farrukhabad, Mainpuri, Etawah, Kanpur, Fatehgarh, Allahabad, Azamgarh, Basti and Gorakhpur. According to this treaty, charges were no longer to be made for the protection of Awadh; thus all the territories acquired by Nawwāb Shujā'u'd-Dawla were taken away within twenty years of his death.

Sa'ādat 'Alī, although he had lost about half of his dominions, devoted the remaining years of his life to streamlining the administration and strengthening the Awadh government. The English, however, accused the Nawwāb of "collecting taxes at the point of the bayonet" and sided with the recalcitrant *zamīndārs* against him. Consequently Sa'ādat 'Alī abandoned the system of allotting the revenue circles to the highest bidder for a fixed return (*ijāra*) and ordered his *chakladārs* (tax collectors) to render accounts of their collections instead of exacting a fixed amount from them (*amānī*). The villages grew prosperous again. Sa'ādat 'Alī died in 1814. According to Col. McAndrew, "At his death Sa'ādat 'Alī left behind him the name of the friend of the *ryot* and a full treasury."

150 Azfarī, Muhammad Zahīru'd-Dīn Mirzā, *Wāqī'āt-i Azfarī*, Madras, 1937, pp. 31-33, 38-45; *Sawānīhāt-i salāṭīn-i Awadh*, I, pp. 109-12.

151 Muhammad Husayn bin Muhammad 'Alī Bihbahānī, *Wazīr 'Alī*, Public Library, Panjab, Lahore, No. 297, 9925, ff. 3-12.

Various estimates credit his treasury with containing between "three to fourteen million sterling".¹⁵²

Nawwāb Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān concentrated mainly on the development of Sa'ādatganj in Lucknow, but other marketing centres also became more prominent during his reign. Rastogi Tola, founded at this time, reflects the growing importance of the Rastogīs (Hindu money-lenders) in the Awadh economy. Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān was deeply devoted to the shrine at Dargāh Hazrat 'Abbās in Rustamnagar, which was founded by Faqīr Beg in Āsafu'd-Dawla's reign. Faqīr Beg believed that an 'alam which he had discovered was the one given by Imām Husayn to his half-brother, 'Abbās on 10th Muharram in Karbalā. As a consequence, devotees began to pay homage to it and Āsafu'd-Dawla built a dome to house it. Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān had taken a vow to extend this structure if he gained the throne. After his accession, therefore, he erected an imposing building near the relic. Subsequent rulers made more additions and the *dargāh* became the principal pilgrimage centre.

Before Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān's reign, *ta'ziyas* were buried on the tenth day of Muharram and the mourning ceremonies terminated on the twelfth. The ceremony of burying *ta'ziyas* on *Chihlum* (the fortieth day after the tenth of Muharram) was practised by only a few people. Sa'ādat Khān's rule saw this ceremony growing increasingly popular. At Sa'ādat's suggestion, a Karbalā was built on land belonging to the Nawwāb's favourite, Almās 'Alī Khān, in Tāl Katora. The central structure contained relics from the Shi'i holy places in Iraq and Iran. The grounds were enclosed by four walls and a gateway was built. It was known as Almās 'Alī Khān's Karbalā. Hājji Masīta, the Superintendent of Works built another Karbalā in the southern end of Tāl Katora Karbalā. A beautiful Imāmbārha, which is now in ruins, was also built. Ghufrān Ma'āb's Imāmbārha, completed during Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān's reign, became an important centre for Shi'i religious ceremonies and is still in use.¹⁵³

These developments in Lucknow did not undermine life in Fyzabad. Āsafu'd-Dawla's grandmother (Sadr Jahān Begum) and mother (Bahū Begum) lived there and patronized the 'ulamā' and other pious people. Sadr Jahān Begum, the elder daughter of Burhānu'l-Mulk, was a far-sighted lady whom even the unruly Hindu *zamīndārs* respected. She built an imposing mosque and an Imāmbārha at the back of Motī Bāgh in Fyzabad. For three months she fasted and spent most of her time praying and in night vigils. She died on 8 Zu'laq'da 1210/15 May 1796, and was buried in Gulāb Bāri near Shujā'u'd-Dawla's grave.

152 *The garden of India.*

153 *'Imādu's-Sa'ādat*, pp. 172-73.

Āsafu'd-Dawla's mother, Bahū Begum was also a great patron of religious people. Out of the income from her property she bequeathed Rs. 300,000 for the construction of her tomb, Rs. 100,000 for gifts to Najaf and Karbalā and the rest for pensions for her staff. The East India Company was made the trustee and the deed was finalised in Calcutta by the Governor-General on 29th October 1813. She died two years later.¹⁵⁴

The arrival of Mirzā Jahāngir, the dearly loved son of Akbar II (1221-53/1806-37) from Delhi filled Lucknow with great festivity. He was expelled from Delhi for his enmity against the British Resident at the Mughal court. Nevertheless the British Resident at Awadh court, the Nawwāb, the fugitive Mughal princes, Sulaymān Shukōh and Mirzā Sikander Shukōh accorded Mirzā Jahāngir a warm welcome. Like Mirzā Jawān Bakht, Mirzā Jahāngir was also licentious and the Nawwāb was forced to have him sent to Allahabad.¹⁵⁵

On 23 Rajab 1229/11 July 1814, Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān was poisoned and died. A lofty tomb was built on his grave, north of Qaysar Bāgh in Lucknow. Sometime after 1858 a number of structures around it were demolished. The tomb of his wife and the mother of Ghāziu'd-Dīn Haydar, Khurshid-Zādi, was built to the east of Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān's tomb. This was also partly demolished.

Nawwāb Sa'ādat 'Alī was succeeded by his second son, Ghāziu'd-Dīn Haydar. He dismissed his father's able minister, Hakim Mahdī, who was at loggerheads with the Resident, Colonel Baillie and replaced him by his favourite, Āghā Mir. He re-introduced the *ijāra* system and Sa'ādat 'Alī's administrative framework collapsed under his rapacity and callousness. Ghāziu'd-Dīn, on Lord Hasting's suggestion, declared his independence of Delhi in 1819 and assumed the vainglorious title Abu'l-Muzaffar Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Shāh-i Zamān Ghāziu'd-Dīn Haydar.

In 1825 the Governor-General, Lord Amherst (1823-28) obtained one crore of rupees as a loan from Ghāziu'd-Dīn in order to meet the expenses of the Bharatpur and Burmese wars. It was agreed that "this loan is made in perpetuity; the sovereigns of the Kingdom of Oude shall never have the power to take it back, nor shall they exercise any interference with its interest". In 1826 two more loans of Rs. 5,000,000 were advanced to the East India Company by Ghāziu'd-Dīn.

In 1232/1816-17 Ghāziu'd-Dīn Haydar built an Imāmbārha on the design of Imām 'Alī's tomb at Najaf. It was named Shāh Najaf. Entering through an attractive gateway, decorated on top with two lions facing each other, the visitor has to cross through another gate before reaching the main Imāmbārha. Beautiful gardens were planted on both sides of

154 *Sawānihāt-i salātin-i Awadh*, pp. 187-202, 233-35.

155 *Ibid.*, pp. 176-80.

the road following the pattern of the Mughal gardens. The main hall is enclosed by corridors and the dome, topped by a golden pinnacle, is well-proportioned. The river Gomti flows nearby. The King and his three wives were buried there. Ghāziu'd-Dīn Haydar made provision for the maintenance of the Shāh Najaf, including staff salaries, partly from the interest of the loan advanced to the East India Company. The King also built an imposing structure to honour the Prophet's foot-print near Shāh Najaf. It is known as the Qadam Rasūl and stands on an artificial mound. Its domes, central hall and side rooms were well-proportioned. Ghāziu'd-Dīn Haydar's wife, Mumtāz Mahal, built a mosque and a palace in Golaganj; the mosque still stands.

The prime minister at this time, Mu'tamadu'd-Dawla Āghā Mir was a dedicated and indefatigable builder. His garden, library, palaces and treasuries covered an area of more than one and a half kilometers. His Imāmbārha is now the Government Jubilee College. The palaces he built extended as far as the present city station. In December 1827 he was dismissed and expelled from Lucknow. He took his great riches with him to Gwāltolī, Kanpur, where he lived the life of an aristocrat. Gwāltolī soon became a Shi'i intellectual and religious centre.

In 1232/1816-17, Mir Khudābakhsh, an important Awadh dignitary, started building the Karbalā near the Karbalā-Tāl-Katora. Its central structure, or Imāmbārha, was built on the pattern of Imām Husayn's tomb at Karbalā. Three gateways separated by extensive plots lead to the central building. The main entrance to the Imāmbārha is in the south. The grounds are extensive and have become a Shi'i burial ground. It developed into the principal Karbalā for Shi'i *ta'ziyas*.¹⁵⁶

In Ghāziu'd-Dīn Haydar's reign, Mir Bāqir, a prosperous jeweller and glassware merchant, whose ancestors hailed from Nishāpūr, built an Imāmbārha in Jawhari mohalla near Chawk. His use of pieces of glass to decorate the stately structure, made it unique. Centrally situated, it became very famous and was known as the *Sawdāgar Kā Imāmbārha* (The Merchant's Imāmbārha). Mir Bāqir left a considerable amount of money and property for its maintenance and for various charities.

On 27 Rabi' I 1243/18 October 1827, Ghāziu'd-Dīn died. He was succeeded by his son Nasīru'd-Dīn Haydar. His mother was a maid-servant to Ghāziu'd-Dīn's wife Bādshāh Begum but the Begum reared the baby with a true mother's love and care. Bādshāh Begum was a superstitious lady and she initiated many festive days based on an association of Indian myths with the lives of the Imāms. These were enthusiastically celebrated even by Nasīru'd-Dīn Haydar.¹⁵⁷ Most of them were confined

156 *Sawānihāt-i salātīn-i Awadh*, pp. 238-40.

157 M. Taqī Ahmad (tr.), *Tārīkh Bādshāh Begum*, Delhi, 1938, pp. 6-15.

to the royal palace however and were abandoned by later rulers.

In 1829, the King was pressed by the English to advance them Rs. 62,400,000. The interest on it was bequeathed for the use of his family. In December 1833, he granted another loan yielding Rs. 1,000 per month as interest, for distribution to the lame, the maimed, the blind, the helpless aged, the lepers and the destitute. Nasīru'd-Dīn Haydar founded an educational centre called Lucknow College where the English education system was followed. Rs. 3,000 were assigned as stipends to the students. He established a hospital with separate branches of traditional and allopathic medicine. In the grounds of the Motī Mahal palace, built by his father, Nasīru'd-Dīn Haydar founded a royal observatory and made Captain Herbert its director. A royal lithograph press was also started.¹⁵⁸

Nasīru'd-Dīn founded a Karbalā in Dāliganj, now incorporated into the premises of the Shi'a Degree College. He was unable to endow funds for its maintenance. His wife Malika-i Zamānī built an Imāmbārha in Takiya Pir Jalil, Golaganj. The gateway to the Imāmbārha and the reservoirs in its courtyard enhanced the beauty of the lofty structure. In 1843 Malika-i Zamānī died and was buried in her Imāmbārha.

Muntazimu'd-Dawla Hakīm Mahdī, who was appointed prime-minister in November 1830, was a highly educated and competent administrator but, in Jumāda II 1248/November 1832, he was dismissed and replaced by his rival, Rawshanu'd-Dawla. Although an incompetent administrator, Rawshanu'd-Dawla immortalised himself when he erected a lofty palace. Two beautiful mosques were incorporated in the building. After 1858 the district court was transferred to the palace and it was then known as Rawshanu'd-Dawla's court.

Awadh, under Nasīru'd-Dīn, was more lightly taxed and prosperous than the Company's provinces but, by 1835, the British had decided to annex it. There was no longer any need to maintain Awadh as a buffer state. East India Company's rule now extended as far as Kanpur while Mahratta, Ruhella and Mughal power had been liquidated.

On 3 Rabi' II 1253/7 July 1837, Nasīru'd-Dīn Haydar died. It was believed that he had been poisoned at the instigation of the Resident who wished to install a new king on the throne in order to obtain greater concessions. Muhammad 'Alī Shāh, a son of Nawwāb Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān, who succeeded Nasīru'd-Dīn Haydar at the age of sixty-three, signed a treaty two months after his accession in Jumāda II 1253/September 1837 modifying the existing treaty of 1801. The new agreement obliged the King to maintain "an augmented military establishment" "not exceeding Rs. 1,600,000 per annum" in order to protect Awadh from foreign and domestic enemies. The King was also to collaborate with the British

158 *Sawānihāt-i salāṭīn-i Awadh*, pp. 311.

Resident in taking "the best means of remedying the existing defects in the police and in the judicial and revenue administration of the dominions". The treaty was not approved by the Court of the Directors but the assumption by the East India Company of the country's administration was now only a question of time.

Despite his old age Muhammad 'Ali introduced reforms in agriculture revenue collection, and improved his people's living conditions.¹⁵⁹ In 1253 1836 he dismissed Rawshānu'd-Dawla. His successor Sharafu'd-Dawla Muzaffaru'l-Mulk Muhammad Ibrāhīm Khān, collected the revenue arrears and the country's financial situation improved. The King built an Imāmbārha at Jamuniā Bāgh known as the Imāmbārha of Husaynābād. With an imposing gateway and set in a walled garden the Imāmbārha though Indian in general appearance, seems, when the details have been studied, derived from some English imitation of Mughal architecture. It resembles George IV's Pavilion at Brighton or Sezincote. The impression that the Indian craftsmen were turning to Europe for inspiration is heightened by the statues in the garden of figures resembling wood-nymphs, although the torches they hold are now fitted for electric light.

A pool, a well, *hammām*, *nawbat-khāna* (a musicians' gallery) were also built around the Imāmbārha. The King deposited Rs. 12,000,000 "in perpetuity in the Honourable Company's Treasury at the Residency of Lucknow". The interest, amounting to Rs. 48,000 per annum, was bequeathed for the maintenance of the Imāmbārha and the buildings connected with it, for gifts to specified people, for the distribution of food and the celebration of Muharram. Some money was set apart for stipends to students at Shī'i holy places in Iraq.¹⁶⁰

Malika Āfāq Mahal, the wife of Muhammad 'Ali Shāh, who was an austere and pious woman, built a Karbalā on the Sitapur Road. The Imāmbārha is built on the design of the tombs of Imām 'Ali Naqī and Imām Hasan 'Askari in Sāmarra (Iraq). It is surrounded by an extensive garden and is entered through two gateways; the second one is in a very dilapidated condition. The materials used to decorate the Imāmbārha and the locally manufactured tiles are exquisite. The mosque contains an underground tunnel representing the cave from where the twelfth Imām went into occultation at Sāmarra.

Muhammad 'Ali Shāh's daughter, Ummatu's-Sughrā Fakhru'n-Nisā' Begum built a beautiful Imāmbārha and a mosque near Dargāh Hazrat 'Abbās. It is popularly known as the Imāmbārha Mughal Sāhib.' Azimu'd-Dawla 'Azimu'llāh Khān, who was Muhammad 'Ali Shāh's barber, and also a surgeon, built a Karbalā known as Karbalā-i 'Azimu'llāh Khān

159 *The garden of India*, p. 129.

160 *Sawānihāt-i salāṭīn-i Awadh*, pp. 354-55, 366-69.

near the Tāl Katora Karbalā. The central structure was built on the pattern of the tomb of Imām Rizā' at Mashhad. The mosque was a copy of the Gawhar Shād near Imām Rizā's tomb. Near 'Aysh Bagh, founded by Āsafu'd-Dawla, one of Muhammad 'Alī Shāh's superintendents, 'Ashiq 'Alī, built a Karbalā with the funds provided by Muhammad 'Alī Shāh's wife Malika-i Jahān. The central structure was an imitation of Hazrat 'Abbās' tomb at Karbalā. It was completed in 1256/1840-41. Towards the end of his reign Muhammad 'Alī Shāh commenced the construction of an extensive Jāmi' mosque at Tahsīn Ganj. Malika-i Jahān completed it and adorned it with artistic designs. An Imāmbārha was also planned near the mosque but it did not eventuate.

On 5 Rabi' II 1258/16 May 1842, Muhammad 'Alī Shāh died and was succeeded by his son Amjad 'Alī Shāh. He was forty-three years old. He helped the British in their Panjab and Afghān wars and reformed the administration. His prime minister Imdād Husayn Khān, was given the title Amīnu'd-Dawla. He was a very pious man who regularly sent his *zakāt* money, as well as donations, to Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā' Sayyid Husayn for distribution to the poor. His efforts to improve the administration were adequate. The King also personally examined important papers and issued the appropriate orders. He made drastic reductions in the imperial household expenditure. He allotted a plot of land to the Europeans living in Lucknow to build a church. At the instigation of the Resident he raised an "Oude Frontier Police" force, consisting of four companies of infantry and two troops of some fifty cavalry each. It was controlled in the main by the Europeans.

The implementation of Shī'i law, which had commenced with the reign of Ghāziu'd-Dīn, was strengthened by Amjad 'Alī Shāh. The *muhakma-i 'adālat-i 'āliyyah* (The High Court of Adjudication) decided the disputes related to buying and selling, the mortgage of houses, debts, title deeds and inheritance. The Hanafīyya and Isnā 'Ashariyya *muftis* heard cases on a religious basis. When one of the parties was Hanafī and the other Hindu, the Hanafī *mufti* heard the complaint; if one of the disputants was a Shī'a, the case was heard by the Shī'i *muftis*. In Amjad 'Alī Shāh's reign, the *muhakma-i murāfa'a-i shari'a* was controlled by Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' Mawlānā Sayyid Muhammad, the son of Ghufrān Ma'āb, popularly known as the *mujtahidu'l-'asr*. It heard disputes relating to Shī'i weddings, divisions of patrimony and other family settlements. Not everyone filed their suit in the *'adālat-i 'āliyyah*, some preferred to obtain a decision from the *mujtahidu'l-'asr's* court. Neither the Shī'i nor Sunni *muftis* passed decrees enforcing the payment of interest due to the Hindu bankers although, to the annoyance of the Hindu bankers, both received interest on the loans advanced to the Residency.

The court of the *sadrū's-sudūr*, heard criminal cases. It was controlled

by Sayyid Murtazā, son of the *Mujtahidul-'asr*. Sayyid Murtazā made enquiries and submitted recommendations to the King's court. The court officials then issued orders for action to the relevant authorities. The influential *ta'lluqadārs* and *zamīndārs*, however, tended to ignore the *sadrul-s-sudūr's* orders.¹⁶¹

The Iron Bridge on the Gomtī river, which was a copy of a London bridge, was planned by Nawwāb Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān. Its parts, however, did not arrive until Ghāzfu'd-Dīn Haydar's reign and it was not completed until Amjad 'Alī Shāh's time. The King founded the famous bazaar of Hazratganj and built an Imāmbārha near Motī Mahal. His prime minister, Amīnu'd-Dawla, acquired the estate of Shāh 'Ālam's son Sikandar Shukōh, in Masarratnagar and changed its name to Amīnābād. The area was enclosed by four walls with the main gateway in the west. A mosque was erected near each of the four gateways. Within the enclosure, shops, houses and mosques were built. The area now known as Amīnu'd-Dawla park contained the prime minister's garden. To the west of the garden he built an Imāmbārha, a mansion for himself and a guest house.

On 26 Safar 1163/13 February 1847, Amjad 'Alī Shāh died. He was succeeded by his son, Wājid 'Alī Shāh. Amīnu'd-Dawla was retired at his own request. Court intrigues prevented the appointment of the energetic Sharafu'd-Dawla to this position and the lazy 'Alī Naqī took up the post. Some reforms to police, revenue and the judicial administration were suggested but the British Government would not allow the King to strengthen his army nor make further recruitments. Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General, visited Lucknow and issued a warning on 23 November 1847, giving the King two years more to improve the administration. He stated:

“Now, Your Majesty keeps up an army of 5,000 gunners and 400 guns, 4,000 horse, 44,000 foot. To keep such an army is to coerce the Rayots in collection; and if this army is diminished, the Rayots will become rebels and set up their own government. But the new system of arrangement will be pleasing to the Rayots; the reduction of the army then will be easy, and the income will increase. The judicial administration and appointment of a Court of Justice is very necessary; and my earnest prayer to Your Majesty is, that the remonstrance of the Resident as to the employment of the singers, musicians, and totally worthless people in high stations being highly improper, should be attended to.”¹⁶²

161 Lāl Ji, *Mir'ātul-'awzā*, Aligarh University Ms., ff. 38b-39.

162 Foreign Deptt., Pol. Consultation, December 11, 1847, no. 180.

The reduction in military strength, however, made it impossible to control the unruly *zamīndārs* and *ta'lluqādārs* who maintained their own armies and had constructed formidable forts in inaccessible regions. Lord Dalhousie, who succeeded Lord Hardinge as Governor-General in 1848, was opposed to the system of independent Indian states. In January 1849 he appointed Colonel Sleeman as Resident in Lucknow to report on the alleged maladministration of Awadh, believing that within two years no tangible change could take place. In September Sleeman submitted his report and, on 1 December 1849, set out on a tour of Awadh in order to substantiate his findings. He travelled through the kingdom for three months keeping a daily diary of his observations. In 1850 he returned to Lucknow. There he completed his report and, in 1852, submitted his recommendations.¹⁶³ In 1854 James Outram took over from Sleeman and finalized the measures to annex Awadh to the British Empire. On 4 February 1856, he urged the King to sign a treaty surrendering the government of his territories to the East India Company. The King refused but was deposed. Wājīd 'Alī remained calm and non-violent. He strictly forbade his supporters to resort to military action. Escorted by the British army he left for Calcutta hoping that "Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen" would reverse the East India Company's decision which violated the previous treaties. The Lucknow citizens were dismayed and bewildered. Although they wept to see him go all remained calm. In Calcutta, Wājīd 'Alī Shāh fell ill and abandoned his idea of visiting London personally. The brave Queen Mother (Malikā-i Kishwar), the King's brother, the heir-apparent and their spokesman, Mawlānā Masihu'd-Dīn, went to London nevertheless.¹⁶⁴ They aroused some indignation at the King's dethronement among the members of Parliament but the outbreak of the Freedom Struggle in India in May 1857 closed the question of the revival of the Awadh monarchy forever. On 1 September 1887 Wājīd 'Alī Shāh died at Matīāburj in Calcutta and was buried in his Imāmbārha there.

The British, and those scholars who wrote under their rule, depict Wājīd 'Alī Shāh as a monster of sensuality, who was an imbecile and incapable of competent rule. Contemporary records, however, reflect him a man of considerable intellectual capacity, whose efforts to effectively streamline the administration and crush the power of the rebellious *zamīndārs*, who resisted all reforms, were frustrated by the British Resident. Wājīd 'Alī Shāh urged the Resident to help him change the administration in Awadh in line with the system pertaining in the districts governed

163 P. D. Reeves, *Sleeman in Oudh*, Cambridge, 1971, pp. 6-41.

164 Foreign Deptt., Pol. Consultation, 6 June 1856, nos. 201-203.

Mustafā, who was the Mullā's enemy led the mob who intended to teach him a lesson. Soon Mullā 'Abdu'l-'Alī was informed of these events, and, collecting his supporters, he prepared for battle. Fearing that he would not win the encounter, Qāzi Ghulām Mustafā, sent messages offering to make peace. The Mullā, desiring peace to prevail between Muslims, accepted his offer. His supporters warned him, however, that the peace was only a device to lull him into a false sense of security while the Shī'is hatched assassination plots. The Mullā's relations advised him to leave Lucknow until the situation returned to normal. Although the Mullā's supporters wanted him to stay and confront his opponents, the Mullā left Lucknow without informing them. He went to Shahjahanpur where he lived until Hāfiz Rahmat Khān's death in 1188/1774. Then he moved temporarily to Rampur, on Nawwāb Fayzu'llāh's invitation but the Nawwāb was unable to support the growing numbers of the Mullā's students. Then Munshī Sadru'd-Dīn, the Governor-General's chief *munshī*, persuaded the Mullā to move to Buhār in Bardwan district (Bengal). Munshī Sadru'd-Dīn extended considerable patronage to the students who swarmed to the Bardwan seminary. Subsequently, at the request of Nawwāb Muhammad 'Alī of Arkat, who came originally from Gopamau in Hardoi near Lucknow, the Mullā migrated to Madras, arriving on 25 Zu'l-hijja 1205/24 August 1791. His son, Mawlawī 'Abdu'r-Rabb, and a large number of students accompanied him. A seminary was built and students thronged there from all over India. The Mullā received a salary of Rs. 1,000 per mensem. He lived there until his death on 13 Rajab 1225/14 August 1810.¹⁶⁶ Indeed the Mullā never returned to Lucknow. He chose instead to live in Shahjahanpur, Rampur, Bardwan and Madras where his patrons offered him better opportunities to manifest the anti-Shī'i sentiments which he later developed.

The Shī'i rulers even tolerated Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd and his followers whose fiery speeches against the *ta'ziyas* and the steps taken by him to burn them are said to have sparked off riots in Meerut. The local authorities subsequently banned him from preaching there. In Sha'bān 1234/June 1819, Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd accompanied by Shāh 'Abdu'l-Hayy, Shāh Ismā'il Shahīd and other militant Sunnī puritanists of Delhi returned to his home town in Rae Bareli. The ruler at that time was Ghāziu'd-Dīn Haydar. The books on Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd show that no restrictions were imposed on the party nor on their preaching in the Awadh district.

Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd also travelled to Lucknow with a party of 170 men where he stayed in a house near the Tila mosque of Shāh Pīr Muhammad built by Awrangzib. A large congregation assembled there for Friday prayers. Mawlanā 'Abdu'l-Hayy's fiery sermons against Muharram

166 Muhammad Rizā' Ansārī, *Bānī-i dars-i Nizāmī*, Lucknow, 1973, pp. 150-56.

and attracted the dignitaries in the capital. Many Shi'is, the sources on Sayyid Ahmad claim, converted to Sunnī-ism because of his eloquence. This alarmed the Prime Minister Nawwāb Mu'tamadū'd-Dawla. He asked the Sayyid's disciple Faqīr Muhammad Khān *risāladār* (the commander of a body of horses) to persuade the Sayyid to stop proselytising sermons but the Sayyid refused. Finally, Mu'tamadū'd-Dawla decided to leave the party alone and invited the Sayyid and his friends to dinner. Meanwhile, Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-Hayy delivered a very impressive sermon.

In Nasirabad, Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī Ghufrān Ma'āb's home town, the Shi'is, during Muharram decided to recite *tabarra* (cursing of the first three caliphs) publicly. They suggested to the Sunnis that if they found it too unpleasant they should move elsewhere for a couple of days.

Shāh Ismā'il Shahīd's success was said to have been more spectacular. According to his biographers King Ghāzīū'd-Din Haydar extended him a warm welcome and was deeply impressed by his sermons. He believed that Shāh Ismā'il's stay in Lucknow for a year or so would convert the entire Shi'i population to Sunnī-ism but in view of more important duties Sayyid Ahmad could not spare him. Ghufrān Ma'āb and the Shi'i 'ulamā' were frightened and unable as they were to encounter Shāh Ismā'il in public debates, Mawlāwī Muhammad Ashraf the leader of the Firangī Mahal 'ulamā' was urged by them to defeat the Shāh in polemics. The Mawlāwī deputed his talented disciple Wilāyat 'Alī 'Azīmābādī to inter into polemical discussions with the Shāh but the latter's convincing replies to Wilāyat 'Alī's awkward questions made him speechless. Wilāyat 'Alī was converted to the puritanical Sunnī-ism of Sayyid Ahmad's brand. Mawlāwī Muhammad Ashraf also surrendered and became Shāh Ismā'il's disciple. The fall of the stronghold of traditional Sunnī-ism led by the Firangī Mahal 'ulamā' made the Shi'i leaders defenceless. The inability of Ghufrān Ma'āb to encounter Shah Ismā'il in an open debate emboldened the latter to enter the Ghufrān Ma'āb's seminary disguised as a soldier. Flouting the Awadh ceremonial etiquettes he greeted the audience by the formal Islamic greetings, "Peace be upon you". When Ghufrān Ma'āb's lecture came to an end Shāh Ismā'il requested him to explain the difference between *taqiyya* (prudent concealment) and *nifāq* (hypocrisy) but to the utter dismay of Ghufrān Ma'āb his arguments were brushed aside by Shāh Ismā'il. Ghufrān Ma'āb offered to send a written reply. The Shi'i 'ulamā' wrote a paper on the topic quoting thousands of sources. When the paper was received by Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-Hayy he regretted his inability to procure the sources confuting the Shi'i arguments. Shāh Ismā'il, however, sat down calmly and within two hours wrote down a rejoinder quoting sources in his defence from his memory. When the Shi'i 'ulamā' read the Shāh's paper they were convinced of his supernatural power and had no other alternative but to embark upon a vilification campaign against the Shāh. The

party left Lucknow with flying colours.¹⁶⁷

There is no independent source to check the story of puritanical Sunnis but Shāh Ismā'il's success in converting the Shi'is can be compared with Shāh 'Abdu'l 'Aziz's miserable failure to convert Shi'is in Delhi ruled by a Sunni emperor. Some of Shāh 'Abdu'l 'Aziz's own relations were Shi'is and his own nephew Sayyid Qamaru'd-Din of Sonipat for whose study the Shāh authored a hand-book of *hadīs* entitled the '*Ujāla-i nāfi'a* was also converted to Shi'ism.¹⁶⁸ The corpus of Shi'i rejoinders to Shāh 'Abdu'l 'Aziz's *Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya* is also enormous. No contemporary historical literature on Sayyid Ahmad Shahid and Shāh Ismā'il except letters and books written by them exists. The works glorifying their activities were written on the basis of family legends. The contemporary Shi'is, however, did confute Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-Hayy and his party. Sayyid 'Alī bin Hasan al-'Askari (Musharraf 'Alī) wrote letters refuting Mawlānā 'Abdu'l Hayy's and Sayyid Ahmad's teachings. These letters were compiled by him in his *Izāhat al-ghayy fi radd-i 'Abdu'l-Hayy*.¹⁶⁹ No Sunni confutation of the above work is available. Although the *Izāhat al-ghayy* is available in the Khudā Bakhsh Library Bankipur Patna, the corpus of modern Sunni literature on Sayyid Ahmad and Shāh Ismā'il does not notice *Izāhat al-ghayy* at all.

The literature on Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, however, does confirm the fact that the Awadh government did not impose any restrictions on the preachings of Sunni puritans.

The number of Sunni *nāzims* (governors) and other officials under the Awadh rulers was roughly equivalent to that of the Shi'is. Sunni *qāzis*, *mufṭis* and *sadrs* enjoyed their power and prestige consequently Sunni institutions also flourished. *Sūfi* works indicate that the '*urs* (death anniversaries) of the *sūfi* saints were uninhibitedly celebrated. The '*urs* for Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jilāni, organised by Shujā'u'd-Dawla's favourite, Mawlānā Madan, was celebrated by an enormous crowd. Visitors from a large number of Indian towns attended it.¹⁶⁹ The peace and prosperity maintained by the Awadh rulers fostered the development of Sunni institutions. As mentioned, the *tabarra* was not encouraged by the Shi'i government. Although some Shi'is recited it resulting in occasional Shi'i-Sunni riots, they were soon brought under control.

Under British rule the nature of Shi'i problems changed. As a Muslim minority they were targets for both British and Hindu attacks. Sunni hostility towards them remained unaltered. They countered the challenges and threats, however, by thoughtfully adapting themselves to the exigencies of the situation.

167 Mīrzā Hayrat Dihlawī, *Hayāt-i tayyiba*, Lahore, 1976, pp. 220-232.

168 *Malfūzāt-i Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz*, pp. 22; *Nuzhatu'l-khawātir*, VII, p. 390.

169 *Supra*, p. 155; *Infra*, pp. 306-7.

The Shī'ī 'Ulamā' in Northern India (Seventeenth to Nineteenth Century)

Shī'ī 'Ulamā' during the reigns of Shāhjahān and Awrangzīb

The influence of Qāzī Nūru'llāh's sons has been discussed in previous pages. Mīr 'Abdu'llāh Wasfī Tirmizī entitled *Muskhīn Qalam*, the famous calligraphist (d. 1035/1625-26) of Akbar's time, seems to have been a Shī'ī. His son, Mīr Muhammad Sālih Kashfī, composed verses in praise of the twelve Imāms. His *Manāqib-i Murtaẓāwī*¹ glorifies the eminence and achievements of Imām 'Alī. On 12 Sha'bān 1060/31 July 1650 he died and was buried near his father's grave in Agra. His brother, Mīr Muhammad Mu'min (d. 1091/1686) and son, Muhammad 'Āqil, (d. 1088/1677-78) were also calligraphists and scholars.

Mullā Muhammad Ma'sūm, Mullā Muhammad Mu'min Tūnī and Mullā Ibrāhīm were also Shī'īs and, in 1055/1645, the author of the *Dabistān-i Mazāhib* met them in Lahore². Both *usūlī* and *akhbārī* Shī'īs flourished there.

During Awrangzīb's reign, arrivals in India from Iran included the disciples of Mawlānā Bahā'u'd-Dīn 'Āmilī, Āqā Husayn Khwānsāri, Taqī Majlisi and Bāqir Majlisi. Among those of Āqā Husayn Khwānsāri's disciples who left an indelible mark on India was Mawlānā 'Alī Rizā' Tajalli of Shirāz. He arrived in India in the eleventh year of Shāhjahān's reign. Initially he stayed with the great Persian poet Nazīrī Nishāpūri (d. 1021/1612-13). Shāhjahān welcomed him warmly while 'Alī Mardān Khān appointed him tutor to his son, Ibrāhīm Khān. The Mawlānā became an active member of the board of 'ulamā' formed by Ibrāhīm Khān to compile the *Bayāz-i Ibrāhīmī*. 'Alī Rizā' was deeply interested in teaching. Highly educated scholars and 'ulamā' attended his lectures.³ He was also fond of travelling and, besides Delhi, Agra and Gujarat,

1 For the manuscripts see Storey, I, pp. 214-15.

2 Qazwīnī, *Bādshāh-nāma*; *Risāla Khat wa Sawād* in Muhammad Shafī', *Maqālāt*, Lahore, I, p. 211.

3 *Dabistān-i mazāhib*, p. 270.

he visited Lahore, Sohadra and Kashmir. Subsequently, however, he returned to Iran where Shāh 'Abbās II accorded him a warm welcome. In 1072/1661-62, he was awarded a *jāgīr* near Ardikān. Court life, however, did not suit him and he set off on a pilgrimage. Around 1085/1674 he died at Shirāz.

'Alī Rizā' Tajallī was a leading Persian poet. The important biographical dictionaries of Persian poets give a note on him and quote some of his verses. He was the author of an exegesis on the Qur'ān which was popular until the time of Ahmad 'Alī Hāshimī of Sandila, who compiled the *Tazkira-i Makhzanu'l-gharā'ib* in 1218/1803-4. Tajallī also produced a treatise entitled *Risāla Safīnātun-najāt* on *Imāma*. His *Risāla fi'l man' min salāti'l-jum'a hāl al-ghayba* deals with the conditions relating to Friday congregational prayers during the occultation of the twelfth Shi'i Imām. In fact the Shi'is could not reveal their faith for fear of persecution. Some Shi'is joined the Sunnī congregations but others prayed privately or preferred to show their indifference to regulations. *Taqīyya* (dissimulation) was indispensable for their survival.

Mullā Muhammad Sa'id Ashraf Māzandarāni, another Shi'i 'ālim, was also a favourite of Awrangzīb. He was the son of the distinguished Iranian scholar, Mawlānā Muhammad Sālih (d. 1081/1670-71), who had married the daughter of Mullā Muhammad Taqī Majlisi. Mullā Muhammad Sa'id moved to the Mughal court early in Awrangzīb's reign. The Emperor appointed him tutor to his favourite daughter, Zību'n-Nisā', who was born in 1048/1638. After a stay of some eleven years, he presented a *qasīda* to the Princess requesting her to permit him to visit his homeland. In it he wrote:

“For a single moment I cannot forget my native land,
 Although in the foreign country I am highly distinguished.
 To you distance and nearness are meaningless,
 I am not used to presenting myself constantly before you.
 Since our relationship is spiritual, no distinction can be made between
 Delhi and Isfahān,
 My heart is before you, no matter my body is in Kābul or Qandahār.”

In 1083/1672-73, Muhammad Sa'id was allowed to depart for Isfahān. Subsequently he returned to India with his family and joined the service of Prince 'Azīmu'sh-Shān, the governor of 'Azīmābād, Patna. The Prince showed great respect to Muhammad Sa'id and, out of consideration for his old age, allowed him to sit while at court. Towards the end of his life

4 *Makhzanu'l-gharā'ib*, Aligarh University Ms., ff. 62a-b; Muhammad Bāqir Khwān-sārī, *Rawzatu'l-jannāt*, Tehran, 1391/1971-72, II, p. 219; Sayyid 'Alī Hasan Khān, *Subh-i gulshan*, Bhopal, 1295/1878, pp. 80-81.

Muhammad Sa'id left on a pilgrimage to Mecca but he died at Munger in 1116/1704-5. It would seem that he inculcated an interest in Shi'i ideologies in both Zibu'n-Nisā' and Prince 'Azimu'sh-Shān. Among his disciples, the Kashmiri scholar, Mullā 'Abdu'l-Hakim Sāti', son of Mullā Ghālib, was most prominent. Two volumes of his *diwān* are found in different libraries. He also compiled an illustrated account of his pilgrimage to Mecca and wrote the Persian translation of Tabari's exegesis on the Qur'ān.

Muhammad Sa'id's son, Mirzā Muhammad 'Alī Dānā, was, like his father, an important poet. He lived and died in Murshidabad. Dānā's brother, Muhammad Amin, was a distinguished Islamic scholar. He wrote a commentary on the portions dealing with *kalām* in Sa'du'd-Dīn Taftāzāni's *Tahzib-al mantiq wa'l-kalām*.⁵

'Azizu'llāh Majlisi, who was Muhammad Taqī Majlisi's eldest son and Muhammad Bāqir Majlisi's elder brother, was trained in religious sciences by his father. He seems to have moved to Delhi in the reign of Shāhjahān. He composed a chronogram on Awrangzib's accession based on a verse in the Qur'ān. 'Azizu'llāh Majlisi wrote glosses on the *Madārik* and *Man La Yahzarhū faqih*. He was also the author of a literary work entitled *Akhbārur-Rūm*. He died at Delhi in 1074/1663-64. 'Azizu'llāh's son, Muhammad Kāzim, was also a distinguished scholar.⁶

Mullā Muhammad Taqī Majlisi's second son and 'Azizu'llāh Majlisi's younger brother, Mullā 'Abdu'llāh Majlisi, also moved to India. He wrote a gloss on the *Hadīqatul-muttaqin* by his father. All of his three sons, Mullā Muhammad Nasir, Mullā Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn and Mullā Muhammad Taqī, were highly educated. Mullā Muhammad Nasir translated a volume entitled the *Kitāb al-Fitan* from the *Bihāru'l-anwār* by his uncle Bāqir Majlisi. He also wrote a supplement to Bāqir Majlisi's exposition of the Shi'i creed entitled the *Hayātul-qulūb*. Nasir's son, Mullā Razi, translated the ninth volume of Bāqir Majlisi's *Bihāru'l-anwār* into Persian.

'Abdu'llāh Majlisi died around 1120/1708. During his life-time he remained in touch with his brother Mullā Muhammad Bāqir who wrote a tract entitled the *Masā'il Hindiyya* answering some theological questions raised by 'Abdu'llāh Majlisi. During Awrangzib's reign the works of Bāqir Majlisi were received in India by his brothers and were studied by the Shi'i scholars there as well as in Iran.⁷

Bahā'u'd-Dīn Muhammad bin Tāju'd-Dīn Hasan of Isfahān arrived in India during Awrangzib's reign. He was born in 1062/1651-52. He was

5 Shaykh 'Alī Hazīn, *Tazkiratul-ma'āsirin* in *Kulliyāt-i Hazīn*, Kanpur, 1893, pp. 985-88; *Nujūmūs-samā'*, p. 185; *Nuzhatul-khawātir*, VI, p. 313.

6 *Nujūmūs-samā'*, p. 129; *Nuzha*, V, p. 274.

7 *Nujūmūs-samā'*, pp. 130-31; *Rawzatul-jannāt*, II, p. 81.

most precocious. Before he was eleven years old, he began to lecture on the advanced works of Sa'du'd-Din Taftāzānī and, when he reached eleven, he started writing his own books. By the age of thirteen he was a specialist in all branches of the rational sciences. While he was pre-adolescent, Bāqir Majlisī commissioned him to teach religious problems to the Safawid ladies in the imperial palace. As soon as he became an adult he veiled his eyes when he visited the palace in order to prevent him seeing the women. Not long after this he moved to India with his father, where he lived for several years. In Iran he was known as *Fāzil-i Hindī* (the learned man of India). Towards the end of his life he returned to Isfahān and immersed himself in teaching and training scholars. According to Shaykh 'Ali Hazin, about whom we will learn more soon, Mawlānā Bahā'u'd-Din Muhammad Isfahānī was also a teacher of long-standing and was regarded as an authority on the *sharī'a*. He wrote the *Manāhij al-Nabawiyya fī sharh Rawzat al-bahiya* on the prophethood of Muhammad in several volumes. His *Kashf al-lisām fī sharh qawā'id al-ahkām* and *Manā'at al-haris 'alā' fahm sharh al-takhlīs* are major Shi'ī theological works. He compiled annotations on the Sunni theological work, *Sharh 'aqā'id-Nasafī*. *Tamhīd 'ilm balāghat* and *Kitāb al-Nahw wa'l-jāriya* by him discuss rhetoric and grammar.⁸

The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Delhi 'Ulamā'

The eighteenth century saw the crystallization and extension of Shi'ī religious ceremonies and intellectual traditions throughout India. In the Deccan their popularity spread to Arcot and Madras. In northern India, Delhi, Srinagar (Kashmir) and Lahore became strong Shi'ī centres. During Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh's reign, the addition of the title *wazī* to the official *khutba* sparked off a spate of Shi'ī-Sunni polemics. The Emperor invited 'ulamā' from both sects to debate the superiority of their faith and minutes of these discussions were kept by competent scholars.⁹ The Shi'ī 'ulamā' who participated in these polemics gave up *taqīyya* and actively disseminated their faith. The influence of the Shi'ī *mansabdārs* at the Mughal court and the patronage of Shi'ī governors prompted other Shi'ī 'ulamā' and scholars to settle permanently in India.

Ākhund Muhammad Shukōh moved from Hamadān to Delhi at this time and was warmly welcomed by Emperor Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh. He seems to have been a *mujtahid*. Muhammad Shukōh's son, Muhammad Ashraf, and his son, Muhammad Akbar, were both eminent eighteenth century Shi'ī 'alīms in Delhi.¹⁰

8 *Nujūmū's-samā'*, pp. 211-12.

9 Khayru'd-Din Muhammad Ilāhābādī, *I'tizār-i 'Azīz*, Rampur Ms., ff. 49-149.

10 *Nujūmū's-samā'*, pp. 300-2, 320-21.

The eighteenth century Indian Shī'is benefited greatly from the visit of Mawlānā Mirzā Muhammad Mahdī bin Abi'l-Qāsim al-Mūsawī al-Shahrestāni al-Hā'iri. Mawlānā Mahdī had studied under eminent 'ulamā' such as Shaykh Yūsuf Bahrayni. He visited Delhi and stayed for some years in Allahabad. Begum Sāhiba Mahal, the widow of Emperor Muhammad Shāh showed him considerable respect but he subsequently moved to Karbalā. There he lived in the Caravanserai Hindī, founded and financed by Indian dignitaries. The Mawlānā was of great assistance to Indian visitors. Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī Ghufrān Ma'āb was one of his pupils. One of his sons, Mirzā Muhammad Husayn visited Fyzabad, Lucknow and Hyderabad, but settled permanently in Karbalā. Ghufrān Ma'āb and other Indian 'ulamā' were in frequent correspondence with him. Like his father, Mirzā Muhammad did his best to help Indian visitors to Karbalā.

Another 'Irāqī scholar Sayyid Muhammad Shafi bin Sayyid Tālib bin Sayyid Nūru'd-Dīn bin Sayyid Ni'matu'llāh Jazā'iri, also visited some towns in northern India. He was an expert in religion, philosophy and mathematics. He died in Jumāda I 1204/January-February 1790.¹⁰

In the early eighteenth century Mawlānā Raham 'Alī of Sonipat became famous as a teacher and author. He wrote a *hadīs* work entitled the *Badrū'd-Dujā'*. Achche Miyān, a brother of Emperor Muhammad Shāh, was his disciple.¹¹ Sayyid Raham 'Alī's most prominent disciple was Hakīm Mirzā Muhammad Kāmil bin 'Ināyat Ahmad Khān Kashmīri. Hakīm Mirzā Muhammad also studied medicine under Hakīm Sharif Khān and became a well-known doctor. The Mahārāja of Kashmir appointed him his personal physician. His medical expertise also made him a friend of Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, who suffered from several chronic diseases. They frequently discussed religious and sectarian problems. Their friendship lasted until the Hakīm started writing the *Nuzha-i Isnā 'Ashariyya*, in order to confute the *Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya* completed by Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz in 1204/1789-90. In a letter to Ghufrān Ma'āb the Hakīm wrote that when he had embarked upon this project, he did not possess the standard works of Shī'i *kalām*. He had commenced the work only in the hope of Divine assistance; gradually the relevant source material came to hand. When Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz learned of the completion of the *Nuzha-i Isnā 'Ashariyya*, he obtained a copy through Hakīm Sharif Khān but did not produce a reply. According to Mirzā Muhammad 'Alī Kashmīri, the Shāh was unable to refute the *Nuzha*. Instead, Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz's disciple, Rashīdu'd-Dīn, wrote a condemnation of the Shī'i practice of making two prayers (*zuhr* and '*asr*, *maghrib* and '*ishā*) together. Hakīm wrote a strong reply. Then Rashīdu'd-Dīn compiled a

11 Mirzā Muhammad Mahdī, *Takmila-i Nujūmu's-samā'*, Qum, 1398/1978, II, p. 422.

short tract entitled *Ghurratū'r-Rāshidīn* but the Hakīm ignored it. Hakīm Bāqir 'Alī Khān, who had moved from Lucknow to Delhi, replied to it. Subsequently Mīrzā Muhammad composed a refutation of all twelve chapters of the *Tuhfa* but only five volumes comprising the arguments against chapters I, III, IV, V and IX were published.

The Hakīm was the author of several other works; the most important were those dealing with the *rijāl* (biographies) in the leading Sunni works. The *Kitāb tanbih ahl al-kamāl wa'l insāf 'alā' ikhtilāl rijāl ahl al-khilāf* asserts that many of the authorities in the *Sihāh Sitta* were liars, frauds, ignoramuses, Khārijīs, Nāsibīs, Qadariyya and Murjiyya. Hakīm's *Izāhū'l-maqāl fī tawjih aqwālu'r-rijāl* interprets the Shi'ī *ahādīs*. A book on *fiqh* by the author deals with the self-contradictions, confusion and inconsistencies in Sunni *fiqh*. He also wrote a commentary on the *Wajīza* by 'Allāma Bahā'ī and gave it the title *Nihāyatū'l-darāya*. From the *Kanzū'l-'ummāl* by Shaykh 'Alī Muttaqī, the Hakīm selected the *ahādīs* related to the *imāma* of 'Alī bin Abī Tālib and his successors and made the work a critical compendium of *imāma*. Controversial religious problems were frequently referred to the Hakīm by important Shi'īs and his replies commanded considerable respect. This made him very renowned.

The fame of his works, however, aroused enmity among the Sunnis. When a leading nobleman from Akbar II's court asked him to visit him at his house outside Delhi to offer medical advice, the Hakīm was naturally reluctant to go. Akbar ordered him to go there but while he was on his way there he was poisoned and died. His corpse was taken to the Panja Sharif in Delhi and buried there. According to the headstone of his grave, he died in 1235/1819-20. The Indian Shi'īs gave him the title *Shahīd-i Rābi'* (the fourth martyr), the third being Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī.¹²

In the first half of the nineteenth century Shi'ī-Sunni polemics reached their peak in Delhi through the activities of Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz's disciples, Mawlānā Muhammad Rashīdu'd-Dīn Khān Dihlawī and Mawlānā Hāfiz Haydar 'Alī Fyzābādī. A unique spirit of tolerance and Sunni-Shi'ī amity was engendered, however, by Mawlānā Āghā Muhammad Bāqir Dihlawī. Although Mawlānā Bāqir debated religion with both sects, he succeeded in maintaining friendly relation with them. The Mawlānā was the son of Mawlānā Muhammad Akbar, a grandson of Muhammad Shukōh. The Mawlānā received his early education from his father and attended the lectures of Miyān 'Abdu'r-Razzāq, who had established his seminary in the Kābuli Gate of Delhi. There the famous Urdu poet, Shaykh Muhammad Ibrāhīm Zawq, was his class-fellow. In about 1825 Mawlānā Bāqir joined the Delhi College which offered a

12 *Nujūmu's-samā'*, pp. 352-62; *Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz*, pp. 357-63, 378-88, 412-13.

combined western and oriental education. There Sayyid Rajab 'Ali Shāh of Tilawndī (Ludhiana), who was given the title of *Aristūjāh* (Eminent as Aristotle), because of his services to the British in 1857, was his class-fellow. Aristūjāh, as we shall see, became a leading Shī'ī scholar in nineteenth century Panjab. In 1828 Mawlānā Bāqir was appointed as a teacher in the college to fill the vacancy created by the illness of Mawlānā Rashīdu'd-Dīn. He served there for six years. The Mawlānā then accepted a minor position in the local district court but was dissatisfied with the promotions he received. In 1834 he bought a second-hand Urdu press from Delhi College. He gave his business a variety of names such as the *Matba'-i Ja'fariyya* (Ja'fariyya Press), the *Matba'-i Isnā 'Ashariyya* (Isnā 'Ashariyya Press) and lastly the *Matba'-i Urdū Akhbār* (Urdu Newspaper Press). The Mawlānā appointed competent managers, irrespective of religious and sectarian considerations, and became a successful printer. In 1835 he started the weekly *Dihlī Urdū Akhbār* (Delhi Urdu Weekly) which continued to appear until 13 September 1857. Although Urdu newspapers from Calcutta had been on sale since 1823, the *Dihlī Urdū Akhbār* was the first Urdu newspaper to maintain a high standard of efficiency. The Mawlānā continued to work until 1841. He even kept his position in the district court and his income from a variety of sources made him extremely wealthy.

In 1843 the Mawlānā built an impressive Imāmbārha near the Kashmīri Gate. Eminent Urdu poets, such as Mīr Muhammad Mu'min and Shaykh Ibrāhīm Zawq, wrote chronograms for it. The Mawlānā himself delivered sermons lasting four to five hours at a stretch which were attended by many Sunnis and even some Hindus. The Mawlānā forbade the recitation of *tabarra* in his Imāmbārha. Subsequently he built a mosque, the Panja Sharif, nearby.

In 1843, Mawlānā Muhammad Bāqir started an Urdu newspaper entitled the *Mazhar-i Haqq*. His principal objective was to publish news of the Sunni atrocities against the Shī'is in the Baghdād riot of 1843. The Sunnis tried to minimise or suppress the gruesome details of their co-religionists' fanaticism. The *Mazhar-i Haqq* published the information from the Mawlānā's correspondents in Baghdād and offered people an opportunity to freely express their opinion. After some months interest in the controversy waned and the *Mazhar-i Haqq* ceased publication. The Mawlānā very prudently did not involve the *Urdū Akhbār*, which had achieved a national character, in sectarian controversies.

From 1848 to 1854, Mawlānā Muhammad Bāqir was involved in a conflict with Mawlānā Ja'far 'Ali bin Sayyid Afzāl 'Ali of Jarja (Bulandshahr). Mawlānā Ja'far had received his preliminary education in Jarja. He then went to Delhi where he obtained considerable help in his studies from Mawlānā Muhammad Bāqir. Mawlānā Ja'far studied the

art of reciting the Qur'ān strenuously and, because of his melodious voice, was very successful. The dignitaries of Delhi, including the Chishtiyya *pīr*, Kāle Sāhib, attended his recitations. Mawlānā Ja'far wished to displace the Imām attached to Nawwāb Hāmid 'Alī Khān's mosque. Mawlānā Bāqir's efforts to settle the dispute peacefully annoyed Mawlānā Ja'far so he arranged for a party of his supporters to harass Mawlānā Bāqir who was respected by all sections of the community. Mawlānā Ja'far's followers disrupted Mawlānā Bāqir's lectures. Their excuse was that Mawlānā Bāqir's prohibition on *tabarra* violated the principles of the Shi'ī sect. Subsequently, Mawlānā Ja'far wrote to the *mujtahids* in Lucknow requesting them to give their legal opinion on the following case.

“One Zayd built an Imāmbāra for the mourning ceremonies of Imām Husayn but made a proclamation that none was allowed to recite *tabarra* against the first three successors of the Prophet. Anyone who recited *tabarra* would be expelled from the Imāmbāra. The founder of the Imāmbāra claimed to be an Isnā 'Asharī and his prohibition is not based on *taqiyya*. He asserts that his principal objective is to attract Sunnis to Shi'ī assemblies in order that through hearing the glorious deeds of the true guidance given by Imāms they might embrace Shi'ism. Is Zayd on the right path?”

The *Mujtahidul 'Asr* (Sultānu'l-'Ulamā') of Lucknow replied that Zayd was free to lay down conditions for entry into the house owned by him. Those who attended the assemblies there had to follow his rules. Usually it was not proper to prohibit *tabarra*, which was customary among the Shi'is, except in cases of *taqiyya*. However, the prohibition was not objectionable when the aim was to attract enemies and guide them to the true faith. Acknowledging the receipt of a theological tract written by Mawlānā Muhammad Bāqir, Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā' of Lucknow conveyed his appreciation and that of his elder brother. He added that there was therefore no harm in avoiding the recitation of *tabarra* when the objective was the reconciliation of opponents. In fact their conversion was exceedingly important.

Mawlānā Muhammad Bāqir's popularity frustrated Mawlānā Ja'far's efforts to harm him. Mawlānā Ja'far instituted several legal cases against Mawlānā Bāqir in the local court but was unsuccessful. Mawlānā Bāqir's growing influence at the court of Bahādur Shāh increased Mawlānā Ja'far's helplessness. On 11 May 1857, the Meerut sepoys declared Bahādur Shāh the Emperor of India and the old Emperor's court was extended. Mawlānā Bāqir also became a courtier and, in honour of Bahādur Shāh Zafar, changed the title of the Delhi *Urdū Akhbār* to *Akhhbārū z-Zafar*. He collected revenue from the *zamāndārs* who had remained in touch with him from the

days of his service with the East India Company. He also issued a *fatwa* of *jihād* against the British. The Delhi College, where the Mawlānā had taught previously, was in the Dārā Shukōh's library near the Kashmiri Gate. The Mawlānā lived nearby. The College principal, Taylor, was a zealous missionary and had converted several Hindus and Muslims to Christianity. The furious Delhi mob destroyed the College in search of Taylor but he took shelter in the Mawlānā's house. The Mawlānā protected him for a few days but then, after consultation, Taylor left the house early in the morning disguised as an Indian. Before leaving he gave the Mawlānā a packet of College papers and some promissory notes. He was detected near the Kashmiri Gate and killed.

Mawlānā Bāqir published the last issue of his paper on 13 September 1857. On 14 September some British soldiers seized the Kashmiri Gate. The prominent residents of the locality were arrested, including the Mawlānā. He handed Taylor's packet over to the commanding officer who when he discovered that the Mawlānā had not kept Taylor hidden, ordered his execution. On 16 September the Mawlānā was shot dead. His Imāmbārha was destroyed but the mosque left unharmed. His house and property were seized. His son Mawlānā Muhammad Husayn Āzād and twenty-one members of his family were forced to seek shelter where they could find it.

The books written by Mawlānā Bāqir are not available but their titles and subjects are mentioned by his pupil Mawlawī Sayyid 'Alī in his *Fawā'id-i Dīniya*. They are as follows:

1. *Hādū't-tawārikh*. A chronology of the important events of Islamic history.
2. *Sayf-i Sārim* or *Shamshīr-i Tiz* contains Shī'i-Sunni polemics.
3. *Hādū'l-makhārij* deals with the recitation of the Qur'ān.
4. A tract on *Nikāh* deals with Islamic weddings.
5. *Hādū'l-Īmān* discusses Shī'i beliefs.
6. *Mufidū'l-'awāmm* concentrates on Shī'i theology.
7. *Risāla-i Qir'āt* deals with the recitation of the Qur'ān.
8. *Kitābu't-taghlīb* concerns Shī'i theology.
9. *Safīna-i najāt* deals with Shī'i theology.
10. *Kitāb hadūs-i mazāhib* contains a history of the origin of religions.
11. *Risāla 'Īd Ghadīr* deals with 'Īd-i Ghadīr.
12. *F'tiqādāt-i hasna* deals with Shī'i beliefs.
13. Tracts on Qur'ānic verses.¹³

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the Shī'i religious life was

13 Āghā Muhammad Bāqir, Mawlawī Muhammad Bāqir, *Adabī Duniyā*, Lahore, V, no. 8, pp. 145-92; Mawlawī Sayyid 'Alī, *Fawā'id-i Dīniya*, place and date of publication not known.

re-invigorated by Sayyid Āftāb Husayn bin Sayyid Ghāzi'u'd-Dīn Hasan who was a *zamīndār* of Paytan Herhī in Bijnor district of western Uttar Pradesh. Āftāb Husayn was born around 1280/1863-64 and received his early education in Mansabiya, Meerut. He passed a higher oriental examination in Panjab and became a teacher of Arabic and Persian at the Delhi Arabic school. Later Nawwāb Hāmid 'Alī Khān of Rampur helped him establish a school of Shī'ī theology at Delhi. He also organized a society named *Shī'atuf's-Safā'* in Delhi for the promotion of Shī'ism.

Sayyid Āftāb Husayn took higher religious studies privately and his perspicacity and intelligence made him an outstanding scholar. He was an eloquent speaker and founded a very impressive style of religious oratory. Many Sunnis and non-Muslims were attracted to his lectures and his missionary activities were a great success. He died in 1321/1903-4 and was buried near the grave of Mirzā Muhammad Kāmil. Just before his death he converted the son of a Sunni *Sūfī* family in Delhi to Shī'ism.¹⁴ This was the talented Mawlānā Hājji Maqbūl Ahmad son of Ghazanfar 'Alī, son of Murād 'Alī.

Maqbūl Ahmad was born in 1287/1870-71. Before he was seven years old he had lost both his mother and father. His elder brother, Pir Jī Hafīzu'llāh, who lived at Panīpat, took charge of him. Maqbūl Ahmad received his early education in Panīpat and then obtained admission to the Anglo-Arabic High School, Delhi. There he passed the middle-level examination and studied religious works. He was deeply impressed by Mawlānā Āftāb Husayn's lectures and gradually came under his influence. In 1885 he passed his junior matriculation examination. The next year he declared himself a Shī'ī and challenged any Sunni to meet him in religious debate. In 1887 he matriculated and, two years later, passed the Intermediate examination. Although his funds were limited, he devoted himself wholeheartedly to his studies and sustained himself by doing sundry odd jobs. After 1902 he practised strenuous ascetic exercises, fasted regularly for three months at a stretch and, when he broke his fast, consumed only a meagre diet. His lectures in the mourning assemblies for the martyrs of Karbalā were imbued with Mawlānā Āftāb Husayn's style but he added witty remarks and used his own arguments.¹⁵ The Nawwāb of Rampur appointed him an audit officer in his government and he worked there for about twelve years. Subsequently the Nawwāb organised a department to translate and compose books and he persuaded the Mawlānā to collaborate with Mawlānā I'jāz Hasan of Badaun in writing an exegesis on the Qur'ān. Mawlānā Maqbūl Husayn made

14 Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Nawgānwī, *Tazkira-i bī bahā' fī tārikhu'l-'ulamā'*, Delhi, 1934, pp. 34-36.

15 *Ibid.*, pp. 394-98.

singular contributions to this area. In 1920-21 he converted more than 100 Āghā Khānī Ismā'ilis to Isnā 'Asharī Shī'ism. He died on 24 September 1921.

Mawlānā Maqbūl Ahmad's lectures were based on Qur'ānic exegesis. Although his family hated the Shī'i 'ulamā', they were unable to challenge his well-documented lectures. His Qur'ānic exegesis and translation are impregnated with the Urdu idioms of Delhi and make very informative reading. His books authoritatively refute the anti-Shī'i statements in contemporary Sunnī Qur'ānic exegesis. He also produced various grades of elementary books for children. He translated the *Hilayatu'l-muttaqīn* by Taqī Majlisī into Urdu and gave it the title *Tahzibu'l-Islām*. The preface to his translation of the Qur'ān, called the *Miftāhu'l-Qur'ān* has been published separately. But it is Mawlānā Maqbūl Ahmad's actual translation which all the Indian Shī'is study and which has won the admiration of even the Sunnī scholars for its fluency and eloquence.¹⁶

Mawlānā Sayyid Muhammad Dihlawī, the son of Mawlānā Āftāb Husayn was born in his ancestral village, Paytan Herhī (Bijnor), around 1317/1899-1900. Four years later his father, Mawlānā Āftāb Husayn, died. His mother assigned her son's education to Shamsu'l-'Ulamā' Mawlānā Qārī 'Abbās Husayn (d. 1345/1926-27), the son of Qārī Mawlānā Sayyid Ja'far 'Alī. When Sayyid Muhammad was barely six years old his mother died also. He received his early education from eminent scholars at the Arabic school. Around 1912 he went to Rampur at the invitation of Mawlānā Maqbūl Ahmad and studied under Shaykh Muhammad Tayyib Arab. He passed the Mawlawī Fāzil examination at Panjab University with distinction. He was then appointed a teacher at the Arabic School, Delhi. His dedication to study sharpened his inherited ability for oratory and, before long, he was recognized as the true successor to his father, Mawlānā Āftāb Husayn. He was remarkably successful as a teacher and his students loved him dearly.¹⁶

It was his oratory, however, which made him famous throughout the Indian sub-continent, Africa, Iran and Iraq. He presented complex philosophical concepts in simple and fluent language. His satirical and witty remarks thrilled his audience. The *Munādī* newspaper, belonging to Khwāja Hasan Nizāmī, gave him the title *Khatīb-i A'zam* (the Great Orator). He was fond of collecting rare objects and built up his library of Sunnī and Shī'i works in a very thoughtful and organised manner. Through his efforts the Shī'a Hall at Delhi and the Delhi Shī'i Awqāf (endowments) were founded before the partition of India. Another beautiful hall was built in Kaysar Bāgh, Bombay at his instigation. The Mawlānā was a member of the board formed by Nawwāb Sir Razā 'Alī

16 *Akhbār Isnā 'Asharī Dillī*, 23 November 1921.

Khān of Rampur to compile an authentic exegesis of the Qur'ān. After the partition of India he moved to Karāchī but had to abandon his library. He rebuilt it there, however, and acquired many rare books. He died on 20 August 1971 in Karachi. His *Nūru'l-'Asr* in particular is a very important addition to the literature on the twelfth Imām.¹⁷

Shī'ī 'Ulamā' in the Panjab

The foundation of Shī'ī intellectual traditions in Lahore was laid by Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī who stayed there from 1586 to 1599. The details of the 'ulamā' he trained are unknown but the fact that the author of *Dabistān-i Mazāhib* chose Lahore to enquire about Shī'ism suggests that many eminent Shī'ī 'ulamā' lived there. The Shī'ī intellectual traditions in Lahore were subsequently revived by Ibrāhīm Khān, the son of 'Alī Mardān Khān. Many 'ulamā' from Iran seem to have visited Lahore frequently and some settled there permanently. At the end of the eighteenth century Mullā Mahdī Khatā'ī was resident in Lahore. He was a disciple of Mullā Muhammad Muqīm, who, in turn, was a disciple of Shaykh Hurr-al-'Āmilī (d. 1104/1692-93), the celebrated Iranian 'alim and author.¹⁸

Mullā Mahdī's disciple, Sayyid Rajab 'Alī ibn Sayyid 'Alī Bakhsh Naqawī, re-orientated Shī'ī scholarship and religious life in nineteenth century Panjab. Sayyid Rajab 'Alī belonged to a family who lived in Panchgirā'in Sādāt. Rajab 'Alī was born in 1221/1806-7 in Tilawndī. A year later Dīwān Muhkam Chand, a leading minister in the Sikh government of the Panjab, confiscated their property and they moved to Jagraon in Ludhiana. When Rajab 'Alī was twelve years old he moved to Lahore to complete his education. He studied under Mullā Mahdī. In 1825 he obtained admission to the Delhi College where he became friends with Mullā Muhammad Bāqir and Mīrzā Ghālib. Before long he was appointed to teach mathematics at the College. He left five years later. The Sayyid then visited various places in search of knowledge. He stayed temporarily at Meerut, Agra, Gwalior, Hushangabad and Bhopal. In Meerut he made friends with the *Sadrū's-sudūr*, Muftī Muhammad Qulī. In Bhopal he accepted a position of writing *fatwas* and stayed for three years. This shows his strong grounding in Sunnī *fiqh*. There he was also involved in sectarian polemics with Begum Bhopal's religious guide, Mullā 'Abdu'llāh Baghdādī. These debates aroused considerable excitement in the state. They ended with the conversion of Mullā 'Abdu'llāh Baghdādī and some Bhopal Pathāns to Shī'ism. Consequently many fanatical Sunnis became Mawlānā Rajab 'Alī's inveterate enemies and

17 Preface to *Nūru'l-'Asr*, Karachi, 1971.

18 Sayyid Murtazā Husayn, *Matla'-i anwār*, Karachi, 1981, p. 651.

he left Bhopal. Then the Rāja of Kapurthala made him the engineer in charge of canals. Early in February 1834 he was appointed a *munshī* (secretary) in Jamunā Satlaj doab by the British. He rose rapidly to the position of *munshī-i mamālīk* (chief secretary). In 1853 he retired and the Jagraon estate was restored to him. In the Rajputana wars of 1855, at the invitation of the British commander, Sir Henry Lawrence, he helped the British against the Rājput̄s. After his return from Rajputana he stayed in Delhi and entered into polemical discussions with Mawlawī Haydar 'Alī Fyzābādī. Mufti Sadru'd-Dīn was appointed as arbitrator. This contest between two leading experts in polemical discussions could not remain unnoticed and the story was published in newspapers. Ultimately, both Haydar 'Alī and Rajab 'Alī agreed to jump from the top of the Qutb Minār in the hope of deciding the battle. According to Shi'i sources, Mawlawī Haydar 'Alī then backed out and refused to go up the Qutb Minār. Rajab 'Alī was therefore declared victorious.

In the Freedom Struggle of 1857. Rajab 'Alī again served the British. After the suppression of the uprising, he was awarded a land grant and the titles *Aristūjāh* (holding the rank of Aristotle) and Khān Bahādur. In 1861 he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, accompanied by some eminent 'ulamā'. He called on the 'ulamā' in the various places he visited and bought some rare books. He returned after two years.

Mawlānā Rajab 'Alī, better known as Aristūjāh was an ardent Shi'i missionary. His efforts strengthened Shi'i morale. At Ludhiana he established an Urdu litho press called the *Majma'u'l-Bahrayn*. A large number of Shi'i books were published including the remarkable *Tahyid-ul-matā'in* by Mufti Muhammad Qulī. This work was divided into two volumes the first volume consisted of 1910 pages and the second comprised 442 large pages. The work was completed in 1283/1866-67. Mawlānā Rajab 'Alī died on 20 Jumāda II 1286/27 September 1869. He published exegeses of chapters of the Qur'ān and panegyrics on the Imāms.¹⁹

Both of his sons, Mawlānā Sharif Hasan (d. 1320/1902) and Mawlānā Sharif Husayn (d. 1329/1911) received their higher education from Mawlānā Sayyid Hāmid Husayn Kintūri and the 'Irāqī 'ulamā'. Sharif Husayn was a poet and sat at the feet of the famous Urdu poet Mīr Babar 'Alī Anīs. Around 1908 the Turkish overlords of Arabia decided to lay the railway line from Mecca to Medina. Mawlānā Sharif Husayn spear-headed the movement urging them to build a railway station at Ghadr Khumm in order to facilitate visits by Shi'i pilgrims.²⁰

19 *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 158-61.

20 *Ibid.*, pp. 188-89.

Mawlānā Rajab 'Alī's most useful assistant was his daughter's son Muqarrab 'Alī Khān. His father Sayyid Shīr 'Alī Khān of Bhagla (Ludhiana) died at an early age. Rajab 'Alī himself tutored Muqarrab 'Alī and appointed competent scholars such as Mawlānā Muhammad Husayn Āzād to educate him. He accompanied Mawlānā Rajab 'Alī Aristūjāh on his pilgrimage tour of Mecca. In 1284/1867-68 Mawlānā Hāmid Husayn visited Ludhiana and stayed with Aristūjāh. This gave Muqarrab 'Alī Khān an opportunity to study under the great scholar and to improve his knowledge of Arabic.

Mawlānā Muqarrab edited a newspaper and some of the manuscripts published by the *Majma'at'l-Bahrayn* Press Ludhiana. He also served Rāja Ballabh Singh of Bhagalpur, the Rāja of Patiala at the Delhi Arabic School and in the Schools at Gujarat and Riwari in the Panjab. The Mahārāja of Kashmir offered him a teaching position in the Jammū College. He was a prolific author and wrote both Arabic and Urdu prose and poetry. His *Nūru'l-'ayn fi ahwālul-Haramayn* in Urdu gives an interesting account of Mecca and Medina. He died in 1345/1926.²¹

Kashmiri 'Ulamā'

Not only did the Shi'i 'ulamā' of Kashmir make their own region an important Shi'i centre, but they made substantial contributions to Shi'ism in Delhi, Agra, Awadh, Hyderabad and the Panjab. Some of them were trained by the leading scholars in Iran. One of them Mullā Murād Kashmiri became very famous both as a teacher and scholar. Mullā Murād received his early education from his father and grandfather and then became a favourite student of Hurr al-'Āmili (d. 1104/1692-93). At Hurr al-'Āmili's instigation he translated his teacher's *Bidāyatul-hidāya* into Persian. The concise version of the work completed in Rajab 1098/May-June 1687 was called *Dalil-i sāti'*. The complete translation was entitled *Dalil-i qāti'*. In 1101/1689-90 the Mawlānā finished writing the *Mukhtasar Kitābu'r-rijāl*, giving biographical notes on eminent Shi'is. He also wrote a commentary on *Man la Yahzarhu'l-faqih*. He died in about 1120/1707.²²

In the seventeenth century an eminent 'ālim, Sayyid Muhammad bin 'Alī al-Husayni al-'Āmili moved from his native land Jabl al-'Āmil, to Kashmir. He was a contemporary of Hurr al-'Āmili and was renowned for his scholarship. He died in Kashmir around 1104/1692.²³

The traffic was not all one way, however. Ākhund Abu'l-Qāsim

21 *Ibid.*, pp. 391-94.

22 *Nujūmūs-samā'*, pp. 632-33; *Nuzha*, VI, p. 349.

23 Hurr-i 'Āmili, *'Amalul-'Āmil*, Baghdād, 1385/1965-66, I, p. 169; *Nujūmūs-samā'*, p. 95.

Kashmiri moved from Kashmir to Delhi and became the disciple of Shaykh Muhammad Hasan, a descendant of Shahīd-i Sānt Shaykh Zaynu'd-Dīn. After his teacher's death Ākhund Abu'l-Qāsim built a house near his teacher's tomb. On 18 Ramazān 1193/29 September 1789 he died.²⁴

One of the Shi'i 'Ulamā' in Kashmir, Mullā Muhammad Ja'far (d. 1190/1776) was the disciple of Mawlānā Mirzā Muhammad bin al-Hasan al-Shirwānī, popularly known as Mullā Mirzā. One of Mullā Ja'far's disciples, Mirzā Ibrāhīm, was the *qāzi* of Isfahān and related *ahādīs* on the authority of Mullā Ja'far, Amīr 'Abdu'l-Bāqī bin Amīr Muhammad Husayn bin Muhammad Sālih Husayni Khābinābādī was also Mulla Ja'far's disciple.²⁵

Mullā Muhammad 'Alī Kashmiri, entitled Mullā Pādshāh, was educated by Mullā 'Abdu'l-Hakīm of Kashmir who was famous for his learning and scholarship. During the reign of Shujā'u'd-Dawla, Mullā Muhammad left Kashmir for Fyzabad. Bahū Begum respected his knowledge and, under her patronage, he introduced the practice of reciting congregational and Friday prayers at Fyzabad. Mullā Muhammad himself acted as Imām. He wrote a tract stressing the importance of these prayers. In it he urged Sarfarāzu'd-Dawla Hasan Rizā' Khān to invite Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī to lead the Friday and congregational prayers (in Lucknow). He died at Niyuba (Niyawan), a Fyzabad suburb, and was buried in his own (garden).

Of his six sons, two died at an early age and one at eighteen. Three of them, Mullā Ahmad 'Alī, Mullā Qāsim 'Alī and Mullā Jawād received a very intensive religious education. Like their father, they were also very famous in Fyzabad.²⁶

Another Shi'i scholar, who moved from Kashmir to Lucknow, was Mullā Muhammad Muqīm Kashmiri. Around 1222/1807-8 he was very famous in Kashmir. He was believed to be an *Akhhbārī* but, nevertheless, many scholars considered him an expert in *fiqh*. He died around 1274/1857-58.²⁷

Many Kashmiri 'ulamā' studied under Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī, his sons and his disciples. Some of them settled in Lucknow, others returned to Kashmir or moved to other places. Among those who moved to Lahore was Mawlānā Abu'l-Qāsim Hā'irī. His father, Sayyid Husayn, had moved from Qum in Iran to Kashmir. He traded in woollen products and visited Kashmir frequently. Mawlānā Abu'l-Qāsim was born at Farrukhabad in 1249/1833 and received higher religious education from Mawlānā

24 Ghulām Husayn Tabātabā'i, *Siyaru'l-mulā'akhhkirīn*, Lucknow, 1897, p. 615.

25 *Nujūmū's-samā'*, p. 229.

26 *Nujūmū's-samā'*, p. 351.

27 *Takmila-i Nujūm*, p. 465; *Bī-bahā'*, p. 324.

Dildār 'Alī's sons, Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' Sayyid Muhammad and Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā' Sayyid Husayn. At Nawwāb 'Alī Rizā' Khān Qizilbāsh's instigation he moved to Lahore. The Nawwāb founded a mosque and a school in the Mūchī Gate at Lahore and financed them. There the Mawlānā delivered lectures while collecting a valuable library and writing scholarly works. Mawlānā Hā'irī was a specialist in Qur'ānic exegesis but his works on *fiqh* and *hadīs* are also very important contributions to Shi'i literature. The Mawlānā's presence made Lahore an important Shi'i centre and his influence extended throughout Panjab and other parts of India. Mawlānā Hā'irī founded many mosques, Imāmbārhas and schools. He had frequent polemical discussions with scholars from various religious and sectarian groups. He was a prolific author both in Persian and Arabic. His Qur'ānic exegesis, entitled the *Lawāmi' u't-tanzil*, is a very scholarly work. The arguments in it are remarkably coherent and the references based on extensive research. He wrote an exegesis on the Qur'ānic verse *Muwaddat al-qurba* in two volumes. Another Qur'ānic verse, *istikhlāf*, was discussed by him in the *Burhān al-bayān*.

His commentaries on *Sharh Miqdād*, *Sharh Tajrīd*, *Tahzīb al-usūl*, *Sharh Mabādī al-usūl*, *Sharh Mir 'Abd al-Wahhāb* are also very scholarly. The Mawlānā's works on *fiqh* and Shi'i beliefs are widely researched. The *Anwār-i khamsa* is a very important work in Persian; the Urdu version is called *Arkan-i khamsa*. The *Khulāsatu'l-usūl*, in Arabic, deals with *fiqh*.²⁸

Shaykh 'Alī Hazīn

The early eighteenth century is marked by the establishment of important Shi'i centres in the north-eastern region of India extending from Banaras to Bihar and Bengal. The pioneer in this area, according to the *Siyaru'l-muta'akhhirīn*, was the poet and 'ālim, Shaykh Jamālu'd-Dīn Abū'l-Ma'ālī Muhammad 'Alī Hazīn.²⁹ The Shaykh's ancestors belonged to the family of the celebrated *sūfi pīr*, Shaykh Safīu'd-Dīn Ardbilī and among Hazīn's forbears were outstanding 'ālims and authors of scholarly works. His great grandfather had moved to Lāhijān in Gilān from their ancestral home in Āsta. One of his ancestors, Shaykh A'la bin 'Atā'u'llāh, had been a favourite of Khān Ahmad Khān, the ruler of Gilān. Shaykh A'la was also friendly with the famous Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn 'Āmili. Shaykh A'la's exegesis on Avicenna's *Qānūn* and his commentary on Fārābī's *Fusūs* were famous. His son and grandsons were also very talented. One of them was 'Alī Hazīn's father, Shaykh Abū Tālib, who moved from Gilān to Isfahān when he was twenty years old. There he studied religious sciences under Āqā Husayn Khwānsārī and mathema-

28 Hurmat 'Alī, *Sawānih Qāsimī*, Lahore, 1324/1906; *Nuzha*, VIII, p. 9.

29 *Siyaru'l-muta'akhhirīn*, p. 615.

tics under Mawlānā Muhammad Raffī. He was an expert calligraphist and transcribed a large number of books both to earn a living and to sharpen his intellect.

It was at Isfahān that 'Alī Hazīn was born on 27 Rabi' II 1103/18 January 1692. He started his education under an eminent scholar, Mullā Shāh Muhammad Shīrāzī, and developed a passionate devotion to learning. He also wrote poetry. Although his father and teachers discouraged it, he refused to give it up and kept his verses secret. Hazīn's father taught him advanced works of logic, rhetoric, grammar, philosophy, *fiqh* and *hadīs*. The famous sage, Shaykh Khalīlu'llāh Tāliqānī, inculcated in Hazīn a sense of piety. Hazīn also studied the *Ihya' al-'ulūm* by al-Ghazālī and works on astronomy and the use of the astrolabe under Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn Gilānī. Naturally these long hours devoted to study, discussions, prayers and vigils precluded any relaxation. This worried 'Alī Hazīn's parents, but Hazīn was a natural scholar. He was never satisfied with the conflicting rulings by the jurists and tried to discern the truth on the basis of the standard works of *ahādīs*. This saved his religious thought from stagnation and made him an independent thinker.

Besides his own teachers, Hazīn benefited from his association with a large number of outstanding contemporary Iranian '*ulamā'*. Although Mawlānā Muhammad Bāqir Majlisī died aged seventy-two years in 1111/1699-1700, Hazīn called on the great sage on three or four occasions. Mirzā 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Muhammad, alias Gulistāna, was Hazīn's father's friend so the youth met him also. Shaykh Ja'far 'Alī Qāzī, a distinguished pupil of Āqā Husayn Khwānsārī who had been appointed Shaykhu'l-Islām by the Shāh of Irān and was considered for the position of prime minister, was another of his father's friends. Hazīn visited him and Āqā Husayn Khwānsārī, son of Jamālu'd-Dīn Muhammad Khwānsārī, frequently. Hazīn's father was also on cordial terms with Shaykh Ja'far's younger brother, Shaykh 'Alī; Masihu'z-Zamān Ākhund Masīhā'i Kāshānī, a pupil and son-in-law of Āqā Husayn Khwānsārī; Hājji Abū Turāb a disciple of Mawlānā Muhammad Bāqir Majlisī; Abū Turāb's son, Hājji Abū Tālib; Āqā Razi'u'd-Dīn Muhammad, son of Āqā Husayn Khwānsārī; Mirzā Bāqir Qāzī Zāda; Mawlānā Shamsu'd-Dīn Muhammad son of Mawlānā Muhammad Sa'id Gilānī, a distinguished *mujtahid*; Mawlānā Muhammad Sa'id and Mawlānā Hājji Muhammad Gilānī. Hazīn often met his father's friends and benefited greatly from their erudition and scholarship. Ākhund Mawlānā Muhammad Gilānī, the eminent *mujtahid* of his age, patiently discussed legal problems with Hazīn. Once Hazīn's father took him from Isfahān to Lāhijān and they called on famous scholars in many different towns. At Qum he visited Mirzā Hasan son of Mawlānā 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Lāhijī and Hājji Muhammad Sharif. In Qazwin he saw Mir Muhammad Ibrāhīm Qazwini

and Mirzā Qiwāmu'd-Dīn Muhammad Safī Qazwīnī. He stayed for about one year at Lāhijān where he met his relations and took part in religious and intellectual discussions.

'Alī Hazīn studied advanced works on Qur'ānic exegesis, *hadīs*, *fiqh*, logic and philosophy. Amīr Sayyid Hasan Tāliqānī guided him to a deep perception of the *Fusūṣu'l-hikam* by ibn al-'Arabī and the *Sharh Hiyākūl al-nūr* by Shaykh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī Maqtūl. Hazīn's studies of the *Wahdatu'l-Wujūd* and the *Hikmatu'l-ishrāq* at the completion of his Sunnī and Shī'ī theological and philosophical studies made him one of the greatest intellectuals of his age. He then turned to the study of medicine. He read the *Qānūn* and perfected his knowledge of medical science. Although he had studied advanced works on mathematics previously, the interest shown in him by the great mathematician and astronomer, Mirzā Muhammad Tāhir son of Mirzā Abu'l-Hasan Qā'inī, induced him to resume reading these subjects in greater depth under the Mirzā.

Towards the end of his studies he grew interested in learning about different religions. He visited innumerable Christian priests including Khalīfa Avanūs, an expert in Arabic, Persian, logic, astronomy and mathematics, who impressed him greatly. Although Avanūs himself was interested in comparative religious studies and had read some works on Islam, he was scared to discuss theology with Muslims for fear of offending them. Hazīn's interest in Christianity made him and Avanūs friends. He studied the Bible and some commentaries on it. They also discussed religious controversies. Hazīn claims that Avanūs was always beaten in these debates, although God did not guide him to embrace Islam.

Hazīn did not receive similar encouragement from the Jewish rabbis. They believed that their ancestors had moved to Isfahān at the time of Moses. They were reluctant to teach him the Judaic works but Hazīn made friends with Shu'aib, one of their ministers. He read the book of Moses and had a translation of it made for his own use.

Hazīn came in contact with scholars of other religions also.³⁰ Although his parents were alive, with their permission, he went to Shīrāz for further studies. There he was lucky enough to attend the lectures on *Usūlmin al-Kāfi* delivered by Shāh Muhammad Shīrāzī, who died at the advanced age of 130 years. Ākhund Masihā'ī Faswī's seminary offered him a chance to discuss religious and literary problems and improve his knowledge. Mawlānā Lutfu'llāh Shīrāzī, who had studied under Mawlānā Muhammad Muhsin Kāshānī, authorized Hazīn to teach his own teacher's *Kūtab Wāfi*. He also benefited from the lectures and association of gnostics and other pious teachers. From Shīrāz he moved to a neighbouring town,

30 *Ibid.*, pp. 25-33.

Bayzā, where he attended the lectures given by Sayyid 'Alī Khān, a descendant of Amīr Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn Mansūr Shīrāzi, and Hājji Nizāmu'd-Dīn 'Alī Ansāri. There a distinguished Zoroastrian *dastūr* (priest) taught him the books of that religion.

After leaving Bayzā, Hazīn visited many important towns. At Bandar 'Abbās he decided to make a pilgrimage to Mecca but the weather was unfavourable. His boat was wrecked on the coast of Oman and the robbers and Khawārij in the region stole his goods. From there he went to Masqat and then to Shīrāz via Bahrain. A letter from his father prompted him to return to Isfahān via Yazd. There another Zoroastrian, called Rustam, taught Hazīn the ancient Iranian astronomy. At Isfahān his parents urged him to settle down to married life but he plunged himself into the study of philosophy under Mawlānā Muhammad Sādiq Ardistāni who, according to Hazīn, was the greatest philosopher of his age. Hazīn studied under him until the Mawlānā's death in 1134/1721-22, although he felt that he was not intellectually inferior to his teacher.

The death of Hazīn's father in 1127/1714-15 and, two years later, that of his mother, upset his mental equilibrium. He went to Shīrāz for a change of atmosphere. By that time, however, some of his intimate friends had died so he found no comfort there. He returned again to Isfahān but the Russian dominance of Gilān meant the loss of his income from the ancestral estate in Lāhijān. Hazīn now lived in poverty.

The rebellion by Mir Ways, the Afghān leader of Qandahār, an eastern province of the Safawid domain, destroyed the empire which had been tottering since the reign of Shāh 'Abbās II. Shāh Sultan Husayn Safawī (1105-1135/1694-1722) was unable to stem the tide of Afghān uprisings. After Mir Ways' death in 1715, his son Mahmūd burst with his Afghān forces into Kirmān like an avalanche and seized it in 1722. Leaving Yazd unsubdued Mir Mahmūd marched on to Isfahān. In March 1722 the Safawid army, which was demoralised by luxury and dissipation, was defeated at Gulnābād, an Isfahān suburb. The capital, crammed with refugees from neighbouring suburbs, was besieged. The citizens launched desperate sorties against the invaders but the sloth and indolence in the administration frustrated their efforts. Famine and scarcity took a heavy toll of the people of Isfahān. On 21 October 1722, before Shāh Husayn's shameless surrender of the Safawid throne, Hazīn, who had also undergone untold sufferings, escaped from the capital disguised as a villager. He did not witness the destruction and desolation of Isfahān but was forced to wander for ten years in different places such as Luristān, Hamadān, Shustar, Dizful, Kirmānshāh, Baghdād, Mashhad, Kurdistān, Āzarbayjān, Gilān and Tehran. He came in contact with Shāh Tahmāsp more than once and gave him advice on the preservation of the dynasty. From Shustar he travelled to the Yemen via Basra but

illness prevented him from making the pilgrimage to Mecca. His visit to Baghdād, and from there to Karbalā and Najaf, where he stayed for about three years, was extremely rewarding, both spiritually and intellectually. He made constant use of the rich libraries at the holy shrines and profited from the company of the holy men and scholars there. His heart bled at the sight of the devastation wreaked in the Iranian provinces by the Turks and Russians.

Fortunately for him, the rule of the Afghāns was short-lived. Nādir Qulī, a chieftain of the Afshārids of the Turkomān tribe settled in northern Khurāsān, joined the Safawid, Tahmāsp Mirzā, the fugitive son of Shāh Husayn who had crowned himself king with the title Tahmāsp II. In Tahmāsp's name Nādir seized Nishāpūr from the Afghāns. Their two desperate efforts to recapture it failed. In 1730 Shāh Tahmāsp occupied Isfahān to find his father murdered and the family ruined. Hazīn learned of these developments at Bandar 'Abbās through letters from his friends. As his previous attempts to go to Mecca had failed, he took an European boat to Jedda via Surāt. He was very pleased to have finally made this pilgrimage.³¹

Hazīn's ancestors had been on cordial terms with the Safawid rulers. Consequently Hazīn was friendly with Shāh Tahmāsp but the real ruler was Nādir. Nādir re-captured the areas seized by the Ottomans and, in 1732, dethroned Tahmāsp for concluding a treaty unfavourable to Iran with the Ottomans and Russians. Shāh Tahmāsp's infant son was proclaimed his father's successor, under the title of Shāh 'Abbās III. These continued political upheavals put a stop to the revenue from Hazīn's ancestral estates, and he was without funds. The whole region was reduced to extreme poverty and people were forced to pay taxes at gunpoint. Hazīn was also harassed by the tax collectors. He travelled to Lār intending to go on to Isfahān but again returned to Bandar 'Abbās. Nādir's invasion of Baghdād had forced the inhabitants of Iraq to escape through Basra to safer islands and countries. Hazīn disguised himself and moved to Kirmān but Muhammad Khān Balūch's quarrel with his master Nādir had made war imminent. Nādir's defeat at Baghdād induced Hazīn to move to Iraq again but then, in 1733, Nādir defeated the 'Irāqīs and the forces supporting the deposed Shāh were liquidated. Hazīn's future in Iraq was bleak. He had no hope of help from Nādir. Hazīn finally made up his mind to move from Iran to India. Fortunately for him a boat was ready to sail to Thatta from Bandar 'Abbās. From Kirmān to Bandar 'Abbās his companion was Nawwāb 'Alī Qulī Khān Wālih Dāghistāni, the author of *Ri'yāzu' sh-shu'arā'*. At Bandar 'Abbās Wālih caught an earlier boat and reached Thatta ten days before

31 *Ibid.*, pp. 33-85.

Hazin. An English captain tried unsuccessfully to persuade Hazin to move to England. Early in Ramazān 1146/February 1734, Hazin sailed for Thatta and arrived there the next month.³²

He had wished to remain unknown in India, but the Iranian merchants and noblemen learned of his presence and reputation. Before long he became home-sick and began to regret his decision not to move to England. The climate in Thatta and the neighbouring towns affected his failing health adversely. He stayed reluctantly in the region as he was unable to return to Iran. After two months he moved to Multan but suffered from a series of epidemics there. He went to Delhi and stayed there for more than a year. He was dissatisfied with life in Delhi, however, and returned to Lahore determined to move to Khurāsān via Kābul and Qandahār.

Meanwhile in March 1736, Nādir crowned himself king and assumed the title Nādir Shāh. At the end of 1737 Nādir Shāh marched at the head of 100,000 men against Qandahār, Kābul and India. He seized Qandahār and Kābul. Hazin did not stay at Lahore for fear of Nādir Shāh's army. He therefore returned to Delhi. Nādir Shāh entered Delhi on 20 March 1739 after his victory at Karnal. During Nādir's occupation of Delhi, Hazin remained concealed in the house of his friend, 'Alī Qulī Wālih Dāghistāni.³³ After Nādir's departure, Hazin returned to Lahore but there he quarrelled with its governor, Zakariya Khān. Wālih intervened to save him from destruction and he returned safely to Delhi. The Emperor and noblemen patronized him liberally. Nawwāb Sadru'd-Dīn Muhammad Khān Fā'iz and his son, Mirzā Hasan 'Alī Khān, entitled Ashrafu'd-Dawla, became friendly with him. Muhammad Shāh offered him the position of vizier several times but Hazin refused it. 'Umdatul-Mulk Amīr Khān Anjām obtained a *madad-i ma'āsh* grant for him from the Emperor. Hazin's financial position improved but he tactlessly ridiculed the Emperor's nobles in his poems. Wālih warned him but to no avail and was finally forced by self-interest to sever his relations with Hazin. The poet also came into conflict with the celebrated Persian poets at court. Sirāju'd-Dīn 'Alī Khān Ārzū, Mīr Muhammad Afzal Sābit, Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn Faqīr and others were the targets of his attack. Hazin's criticisms were based on racial prejudices and Indians in general were ridiculed. The Shi'i Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn Faqīr, was lampooned as much as the Sunn Ārzū. Ārzū wrote a book entitled *Tanbihu'l-ghāfilīn*, selecting verses from Hazin's *Dīwān* which he considered meaningless. Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgarāmī, however, defended Hazin.³⁴ Then Ārzū wrote another treatise entitled *Ihqāqu'l-Haqq* criticizing Hazin's verse. Hazin

32 *Ibid.*, pp. 86-117.

33 *Ibid.*, pp. 118-42, *Tuhfatu'l-'Ālam*, pp. 217-19, 518-26.

34 *Maktūb Shaykh 'Alī Hazin to Shamsu'd-Dīn Faqīr*, Aligarh University, Munir 'Ālam Ms; Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgarāmī, *Khizāna-i 'āmira*, Kanpur, 1900, pp. 195-97.

condemned Mīr Muhammad Afzal Sābit for plagiarism. Sābit's son, Muhammad Sabāt, thereupon picked out 500 verses from Hazīn's *Diwān* alleging they were all copies of other poets' works. This controversy exercised the minds of the poets until the mid-nineteenth century. In 1267/1850-51 Mawlānā Imām Bakhsh Sahbā'i wrote a treatise entitled *Qawl-i Faysal*. It was designed to arbitrate between Hazīn and Ārzū but, in fact, it was a defence of Hazīn. Sahbā'i also wrote *I'lā'ul-Haqq* as a rejoinder to Ārzū's *Ihqāqu'l-Haqq*. Subsequently, one of Ārzū's nephews, Mīr Muhsin 'Alī defended his uncle. Tek Chand, Mīrzā Qatil and Wārasta took Hazīn's side.³⁵

His opponents made Hazīn's life in Delhi unpleasant. The Emperor and the court were also alienated from him and Hazīn found ruin staring him in the face, so, around 1145/1742, he left for Agra. From there he moved to Banaras. Rāja Rāma Narāyan, the Governor of Patna became his disciple and, on his request, Hazīn visited Patna. He refused the invitation of Mahābat Jang, Sirāju'd-Dawla and other eminent nobles from Murshidabad to settle down there. He still hoped to return to Iran but was continually frustrated. Ultimately, he reconciled himself to life in Banaras. The local Shi'i community welcomed his presence in their town. Hazīn also made a point of paying tribute to Banaras. He lived there until his death on 10 Jumāda I 1180/14 October 1766.³⁶ One verse reads:

“Az Banaras na rawam ma'bad-i 'āmm ast injā,
har barahman bachcha-i Lachman wa Rām ast injā.”

(I am determined not to leave Banaras, the general centre of worship.
Every Brahman here is a child of Lakshmana and Rāma.)

He had his grave prepared before his death. The verses inscribed on his tablet reflect his deep poetical sensitivity:

“I have been expert in the language of love, nothing else I know,
Only this much I know that ears heard the message of the Friend
here, O Hazīn ! through my road-traversing-feet I have done a lot of
wandering, The agitated head reached here on the pillow of rest.”

Another verse on the tablet says:

“Union with Thee has brightened my dark nights
The lamp of my tomb is the morning of the day of judgement.”

35 Imām Bakhsh Sahbā'i, *Qawl-i faysal* written in 1260/1850-51, Kanpur, 1862.

36 'Abdu'l-Muqtadir, *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipur, Calcutta, 1912, III, pp. 226-27.*

The Shaykh's grave in the Banaras suburb, known as Fātmayn, became a pilgrimage centre. Each Monday and Thursday night a great crowd assembled there. The area is still an important Muslim centre. Its visitors are not Shī'is only. Hazīn is famous as a poetical genius. There is no doubt that from his childhood he showed great promise as a poet and that, despite his father's orders to stop composing poetry, he could not abandon it. According to his *Tazkiratū'l-ahwāl*, he wrote two *diwāns* while still a youth; the third *diwān* was collected in, or soon after, 1127/1715 and the fourth at Mashhad between 1139/1726 and 1142/1729. In 1155/1742, he compiled a recension of the fourth *diwān* in India; the first three are lost. The *diwān* in the Lucknow and Kanpur *Kulliyāt* is largely derived from the fourth one and consists mainly of *ghazals* and *masnawīs*. Some *masnawīs*, written after 1743, have also been included in the *Kulliyāt*. For example, the *Safar-i dīl* was composed in 1173/1759. The larger portion of the *diwān* is comprised of *ghazals*. The *qasidas* glorify the Prophet Muhammad, 'Alī and the Imāms.

Hazīn wrote an enormous amount of prose. The *Nujūmū's-samā'* quotes a tract by Hazīn which gives a list of 189 books of which he is the author.³⁷ Unfortunately most of them were lost during his travels. The titles of these treatises show that they were abridgements, glosses, commentaries and translations of standard works on Qur'ānic studies, *hadīs*, *fiqh*, *kalām*, *sūfism*, religious polemics, comparative religion, philosophy, mathematics, prosody and poetics. *Tazkiratū'l-ahwāl*, comprising his autobiography, was written at the end of 1154/1742 in Delhi. The *Tazkiratū'l-mu'āsirin*, consisting of an account of about one hundred contemporary Iranian scholars and poets, was completed towards the end of 1165/1752 and forms part of his published *Kulliyāt*. The *Tazkiratū'l-ahwāl* has also been published separately and translated into English. Thirteen of his treatises are mentioned in the manuscript catalogues in various parts of the world. *Al-Lam'ah min mir'āt Allāh fī sharh āyāt Shāhidū'llāh* is an Arabic commentary on Chapter III, 16 of the Qur'ān. It was composed at Ardabil in 1139/1726-27. *Shajrāt al-Tūr fī sharh āyāt al-Nūr* is an Arabic commentary on Chapter XXIV, 35 of the Qur'ān in Arabic and was composed at Mashhad in 1140/1727. *Mawā'idū'l-ashār* deals with Shī'i theology. *Muzākārāt fī'l muhāzarāt* is also on that subject. *Tahqīq-i ma'ād* discusses the resurrection. *Mas'ala-i hudūs u qidam* comprises a philosophical discussion on the Divine essence and created matter. *Risāla fī tahqīq ma'nī'l-wāhid* contains a note on Divine unity. It was written in 1134/1721-22. An untitled Arabic treatise on the same subject was written by Hazīn in 1133/1722. *Fī Tahqīq rafa' shubhātī'l-mushābbih*, is another short tract on the unity of God. *Fī tahqīq ismī'l a'zam* is a philosophical discussion on the Divine names in

37 *Nujūmū's-samā'*, pp. 287-293.

Arabic. In Ramazān 1139/April-May 1727, Hazīn compiled *Risāla dar tahqīq-i nafs wa tajarrud* which discusses the physical nature of man and his relation to the material world. *Risāla dar tahqīq-i awzān-i shari'i wa 'urfi* is a treatise on the weight of the *dirham* and *dinār* in Khurāsān. *Sharh-i Qasida-i Lāmiyya* is a Persian commentary by Hazīn on his own *qasida* in praise of Imām 'Alī. It was completed in 1178-1764. The *Risāla dar khawāss-i haywān*, or the *Risāla-i saydiyya*, discusses the rule of *fiqh* concerning hunting and slaying animals. It gives an account of animals living on the land or in the sea in alphabetical order, and deals with the origin of animal life and its nature. In his youth Hazīn had composed a treatise on farrier's work but it was lost in Iran. In India he compiled a simplified version of this work. Both editions were given the title *Faras-nāma*. The book discusses horses generally, their diet, diseases and treatment. The *Masābih al-zalām fi arā' al-kalām* was compiled by Hazīn in Ramazān 1157/September 1744. It concentrates on the origin and significance of *kalām* (scholastic theology). In Rabi' II 1153/July 1740, Hazīn wrote a treatise entitled the *Dastūrū'l-'uqalā'* on administrative ethics and measures to improve government efficiency. The *Hidāyat-nāma-i Pādshāhān* is a detailed version of this work. It defines the king as the guardian and protector of the state. According to Hazīn this implies that kings should be wise and pious. They should uproot from their heart all animal passions, licentiousness, jealousy, malevolence and avarice. Kingship, according to Hazīn, could not survive without wisdom, farsightedness, justice and mercy. The king should be able to control his wrath and must be kind and just to his subjects. To Hazīn, *futuwwa* or chivalry was indispensable to a monarch and depended on the following royal qualities. The king should never break a promise. He should be generous whether his deed would be popular or not. Thirdly, he should not wait to be asked for charity. Hazīn frequently quotes 'Alī bin Abi Tālib to make his arguments more forceful. The work seems to have prompted Muhammad Shāh to offer Hazīn the position of *wazīr* but he refused it.³⁸

In 1180/1766 Hazīn wrote a short piece on Nādir Shāh's invasion of India. Half a dozen collections of his letters are available in the Mawlānā Āzād Library, Aligarh Muslim University. Of these, the *Makātīb Shaykh 'Alī Hazīn*, containing Hazīn's letters to Shamsu'd-Dīn Faqīr, discuss the Indian's inability to understand Khāqānī's verses. It goes to the extent of accusing Indians of being unable to comprehend even the rules governing obligatory prayers.³⁹ The *Ruqa'āt-i Hazīn* is a modern copy containing 73 folios. Some letters in it, dealing with Nādir's onward march from Qandahār to India, contain much original information. These letters also

38 *Hidāyat-nāma-i Pādshāhān*, Aligarh University Ms., ff. 9a, 24b.

39 Aligarh University Ms., Farsiya 3, 46.

show Hazīn's bitter dissatisfaction with his life in India and his yearning for Iran. The letter to Sadru'd-Dīn Fā'iz and his son in this volume provide important information.⁴⁰

Shaykh Hazīn's fame made the Shī'i intellectual traditions very prestigious in India. The richness of Hindu saintly traditions in Banaras posed no threat to Hazīn being recognized as a saint. His works do assert the importance of Shī'ism but are not designed to encourage antagonism between Sunnis and Shī'is or between Hindus and Muslims.

The most outstanding Shī'i scholar to be inspired by Shaykh 'Alī Hazīn, was Mawlānā Sayyid Muhammad 'Askarī bin Sayyid Ziyā'u'd-Dīn Jawnpūrī. He belonged to the family of Muīti Sayyid Abu'l-Baqā' ibn Mullā Muhammad Darwīsh Jawnpūrī (d. 1040/1630). Although he had not widely studied the prescribed texts of higher learning, his intelligence and wit made him competent in the religious and rational sciences. Students from many parts of India sat at his feet. He was a man of humble disposition and did not criticize anyone, either directly or indirectly. Although Sayyid Abu'l-Baqā' and his descendants were known as Hanafīs, Sayyid Muhammad 'Askarī was a Shī'i. On one occasion, Shaykh Sadr-i Jahān, alias Miyān Angnū, an expert in Shī'i-Sunni polemics and the rational sciences, challenged Sayyid 'Askarī to a religious debate in order to finally settle which faith was the superior. Initially Sayyid 'Askarī claimed that he was too humble to argue with such a paragon of learning as the Miyān, but, when the latter insisted, he finally agreed. The Sayyid submitted that it was impossible to arrive at a decision on the basis of the Qur'ānic verses and *ahādīs* for the verses were very concise and the *ahādīs* were not only controversial, but were possibly misinterpreted and fabricated. Consequently the Sayyid suggested that the polemics should be confined to the question of 'Alī's superiority to Abū Bakr or *vice versa*. Sayyid 'Askarī made his adversary admit that knowledge was the highest virtue in mankind. Miyān Angnū added that the highest form of knowledge was gnosis of God. Thereupon Sayyid 'Askarī said that 'Alī's sermons, speeches and treatises on Divine unity, Attributes and gnosis were well-known and had been studied by Miyān Angnū himself. The onus was therefore now on the Miyān to quote similar sermons by other companions of the Prophet. The Miyān pondered over Sayyid 'Askarī's proposition and admitted that he had, until then, been leading a misguided life. Sayyid 'Askarī died in 1190/1777 aged more than seventy years old.⁴¹

A prominent disciple of Mullā Muhammad 'Askarī, who was also a close associate of Shaykh 'Alī Hazīn, was Muhammad 'Iwaz of Jawnpur.

40 Aligarh University Library; Munīr 'Ālam Ms., no. 24.

41 *Sīyar*, III, p. 951; *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 210-11; *Nuzha*, VI, p. 332.

He had a remarkable memory and delivered lectures without consulting either books or notes. Towards the end of his life he became lunatic but he did not give up his lectures and teaching. Scholars in large numbers were attracted to him and enjoyed discussions with him. Although urchins pelted him with stones, he ignored them and composed extempore verses. He died around 1200/1785-86.⁴²

'Ulamā' of 'Azimābād and Bengal

Mahābat Jang's patronage of the Shi'i 'ulamā' made both 'Azimābād and Murshidabad centres of Shi'i intellectual and religious life. Ghulām Husayn Tabātabā'i gives some details about the leading Shi'i personalities there. Some of them were Indian-born and others had moved from Iran.

A particularly well-known Shi'i was Mawlawī Nasir whose remote ancestor, Shamsu'd-Dīn Faryādras had been buried in Awadh. Some of Shamsu'd-Dīn's descendants subsequently moved from Awadh to Shaykhpur in Bihar. When Shāyista Khān was governor of Bengal (1663-78) Ākhund Mullā Shāh Muhammad Shīrāzi also moved to Bengal. He came from Iran. Mawlawī Nasir, who was still quite young and passionately desired a higher education, became his disciple. After some time, however, the Ākhund returned to Iran. Mawlawī Nasir accompanied him and completed his education there. In Iran, although he mastered *fiqh* and *hadīs*, he excelled in mathematics and astronomy. After a long stay in Iran, Mawlawī Nasir returned to India towards the end of Awrangzīb's reign. The Emperor assigned him a *jāgīr* (here *madad-i ma'āsh* land) in Bihar. The Mawlawī settled in 'Azimābād.

The Mawlawī's eldest son, Dāwūd 'Alī Khān, known as Zā'ir Husayn Khān, was a very holy man. He was educated by his father. Subsequently he performed a pilgrimage to the tombs of the Prophet and the Imāms. After his return to 'Azimābād, he adopted *Zā'ir-i Husayn* (a pilgrim to Imām Husayn's tomb) as his title. He treated all his dependents equally and made no distinctions among them as regards food, dress or stipends. He died between 1160/1747 and 1170/1756.⁴³

The ancestors of Ghulām Husayn Tabātabā'i were also eminent Shi'is. His great grandfather, Sayyid Fazlu'llāh Tabātabā'i, and his grandfather, Sayyid 'Alīmu'llāh Tabātabā'i, traced their descent from Imām Hasan. Sayyid 'Alīmu'llāh arrived in 'Azimābād in September-October 1155/1742-43 and died in Sha'bān 1156/September/October 1743. Ghulām Husayn composed *masnawī* on Sayyid 'Alīmu'llāh's piety, ascetic exercises and miracles. He named the work *Bashāratu'l-Imāmat*. Ghulām Husayn's

42 *Takmila-i Nujūm*, II, p. 32.

43 *Siyaru'l-muta'akhhirīn*, II, pp. 618-20.

uncle's uncle, Shāh Haydarī, was a descendant of the fourth Imām, 'Alī bin al-Husayn. He was very outspoken concerning Shi'i ideologies. He treated those who were proud of their position with indifference and those who were humble with courtesy. Shāh Haydarī settled in Bhagalpur. There he converted a staunch Sunnī nobleman, Muhammad Ghaws Khān who had also settled in Bhagalpur, and his maternal uncle, Shukru-'llāh Khān, to Shi'ism. The opportunity arose when Muhammad Ghaws learned he had a fatal illness. The Shāh knew Muhammad Ghaws and, although he was very deeply impressed with his heroic achievements, he hated his Sunnī bigotry. Nevertheless he visited him when he was on the verge of death. Shāh Haydarī promised Ghaws to pray for his survival if he would embrace Shi'ism when he recovered. Muhammad Ghaws agreed. Shāh Haydarī's prayers proved effective and Ghaws got converted to Shi'ism and became Shāh Haydarī's disciple.

In 1153/1740 Muhammad Ghaws fell at Murshidabad, fighting valiantly for Mahābat Jang's rival, Sarfarāz Khān. Shāh Haydarī went to Murshidabad and obtained Mahābat Jang's permission to transfer the corpses of Ghaws Khān, his sons and friends, to Bhagalpur where he buried them. A few years later Shāh Haydarī died also.

Shāh Haydarī's son, Shāh Ja'far, exceeded his contemporaries in forbearance, patience and resignation to God. Mahābat Jang and his descendants held the Shāh in great esteem, but he, for his part, was very humble and lived like a dervish. Although the Shāh did not pay his respects to the dignitaries, they did not interfere with him. On one occasion, Yāsin Khān, the *fawjdār* of Bhagalpur, stopped the daily stipends to the Bhagalpur dervishes but he left Shāh Ja'far's allowance unchanged. The Shāh, however, refused to accept it. He made no complaint to Mahābat Jang, who learning of the incident from his own sources, took the *fawjdār* to task. The payments to the dervishes were resumed. In 1158/1745, when Mahābat Jang's ablest general, Mustafā Khān, was quarrelling with his master, the Sunnī Afghāns in Bhagalpur induced the Khān to persecute the Shāh. Shāh Ja'far prepared himself for martyrdom and refused to seek shelter. Ultimately, however, Mustafā Khān decided to leave him alone.

Shāh Ja'far's fearless leadership and courage were highly praised by the historian Ghulām Husayn. The author tells us that on the occasion of Sirāju'd-Dawla's wedding, Abhay Rām, the deputy *fawjdār* of Bhagalpur, amputated a Sayyid's hand for killing a cow. The victim's complaints, however, fell on deaf ears. The Shāh decided to uphold the Sayyid and the Muslims of Bhagalpur, under his leadership, agreed to rebel against the government. The mob besieged the house of the *fawjdār*, 'Atā'u'llāh Khān. The authorities approached the Shāh. At his suggestion they made due compensation to the Sayyid in order to restore peace.

The Shāh was a liberal philanthropist. Both friends and strangers were fed liberally at his house and he selflessly answered any Shi'ī needs. He died at Munger during the governorship of Mir Muhammad Qāsīm (1760-1764). His corpse was sent to Bhagalpur and buried at a spot he had chosen during his lifetime.⁴⁴

One of Muhammad Ja'far's most prominent disciples was Hājjī Badī'u-d-Dīn. He was a resident of Saran. The Hājjī went on a pilgrimage with Hājjī Ahmad 'Alī, the son-in-law of Mawlawī Naṣr. After returning from Mecca and the holy shrines of the Imāms, he settled down in the village of Mustafabad owned by his wife. He was expert in *fiqh*, *hadīs* and *tafsīr* and was interested in the rational sciences. The learned men of his times considered him a doyen among scholars. Some even believed that he was superior to all the scholars of 'Azīmābād. He was exceedingly pious and spent most of his time in prayers and meditation. In 1781 he was eighty years old. He regretted his longevity, however, as no Imām had lived for such a long time.⁴⁵

Ghulām Husayn Khān Tabātabā'ī was the author of the *Siyarū'l-muta' akhkhīrīn*, a history of India from Awrangzīb's death in 1118/1707 to 1195/1781, and other historical works. He was famous only as an historian and administrator but, like his ancestors, he was deeply interested in writing scholarly Shi'ī works. An incomplete book in Khudā Bakhsh library is a commentary on the seventh *fātiha* (here meaning chapter) of the *Fawātih* of Husayn bin Mu'īnu'd-Dīn al-Maybuzī (d. 910/1504). This work discusses the virtues and prerogatives of Imām 'Alī and his descendants. He also wrote an exegesis on the Qur'ān. His *masnawī*, entitled the *Bashārat al-imāma* deals with the lives of his ancestors, specially the miracles of his great-grandfather Sayyid Fayzu'llāh Tabātabā'ī and his grandfather Sayyid 'Alimu'llāh Tabātabā'ī.⁴⁶

One of the descendants of the *Shahīd-i Sānī* (the second martyr, Shaykh Zaynu'd-Dīn) named Shaykh Muhammad Hasan, also moved to 'Azīmābād. His knowledge of *fiqh*, *hadīs* and Qur'ānic exegeses was unequalled but he was not interested in the rational sciences. Nevertheless he had some understanding of them and used to say that his followers belonged to both the rational and traditional schools. During the Afghān domination of Iran, he moved to Karbalā and Najaf. When he became poverty-stricken in Iraq, he moved to Delhi. There Safdar-Jang made him tutor to his son Shujā'u'd-Dawla and Muhammad Hasan was able to save some money to send his family in Iraq. Unfortunately, after Safdar-Jang's death, Shujā'u'd-Dawla took little interest in him. Consequently he

44 *Ibid.*, II, pp. 619-20.

45 *Ibid.*, II, p. 620.

46 Bankipur Supplement, I, no. 1991.

moved to 'Azimābād. There an Iranian gave him some money to invest in a partnership. The Shaykh, who had no experience in commerce, however, gave the money to someone else to invest for him while he spent his time at Burhānu'l-Mulk's tomb.

Rāma Narāin, the deputy Nāzīm, also treated him unjustly and he suffered great hardship. When Mīr Qāsim became governor of all three Bengal provinces, however, Rāma Narāin's rule was terminated. Mīr Qāsim's patronage improved the Shaykh's pecuniary condition and he paid off his debts. About two years later the Shaykh died and was buried near Burhānu'l-Mulk's father's tomb. His disciple and servant, Ākhund Abu'l-Qāsim who was originally from Kashmir, was made caretaker. Ākhund Abu'l-Qāsim was famous for his courteous behaviour and was a popular man. He died in 1197/1782 and was buried beside his teacher's grave.⁴⁷

An outstanding scholar and sage, who made a deep impression on Bengal, was Sayyid Muhammad 'Alī. His ancestors came from Yazd. His father, Mīr 'Abdu'llāh, moved to Awrangabad where Sayyid Muhammad 'Alī was born in Ramazān 1117/December 1705. When he was seventeen or eighteen years old, he moved to Iran and Iraq as a pilgrim and to further his education. He attained perfection in *hadīs* and *fiqh* under Mīr Muhammad Taqī Mashhadī Rizawī, Mīr Muhammad Husayn and Mīr Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn, the grandsons of Mullā Muhammad Bāqir Majlisi. He was indebted to Hājjī Nāsir of Shirāz and Mīr Muhammad Taqī Mashhadī of Isfahān for his insight into the Qur'ānic mysteries. For higher studies in *hikma* and *kalām*, he sat at the feet of Mullā Muhammad Sādiq Ardistānī. The Iranian scholars were deeply impressed with the depth of his learning, intelligence and fluency. His wife died two years after their marriage. He did not re-marry and led a celibate life.

After staying some twenty years in Iran and Iraq, the Sayyid set off on a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina but was shipwrecked. He managed to reach Sind and from there, travelling through Ahmadabad, Surat and Awrangabad, he arrived in Hyderabad. His next destination was Bengal where, at Hoogly, he stayed with an Iranian salt merchant named Khwāja Muhammad. He then set off towards Delhi stopping at Purnea, 'Azimābād and Lucknow. In 1165/1751 he again went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and the holy shrines of the Imāms. Four years later he returned to Murshidabad. Mahābat Jang accorded him a cordial welcome but, after his death, his successor Sirāju'd-Dawla expelled him from the house he had been offered. Hasan Rizā' Khān came to his rescue and suggested the Sayyid move into his mansion near the river.

The Sayyid wrote many tracts on religion and grammar. He also

47 *Siyaru'l-muta'akhhirin*, II, pp. 615-16.

compiled text books to facilitate the teaching of theology. Students from various disciplines attended his lectures and many scholars also benefited from them. During his stay at Murshidabad, the historian Ghulām Husayn took advantage of the Sayyid's learning and scholarship. He seems to have died sometime after 1781.⁴⁸

The 'ālim who brought new life to the scholarly traditions of the Majlisi family in 'Azimābād and Murshidabad, was Ahmad bin Muhammad 'Alī bin Bāqir al-Isfahānī, known as al-Bihbahānī. He was born at Kirmānshāh in 1191/1777 into a family of highly renowned 'ulamā' from Iran. Ahmad obtained his higher education in *fiqh* from his father, Muhammad 'Alī, and started writing tracts at the age of fifteen. After Sha'bān 1216/February 1796, he left his father's seminary to visit the holy shrines of the Imāms in Iraq and to make further studies. He spent three years at Najaf and then, after visiting Kirmānshāh for a month, returned to Najaf and from there moved to Qum for higher studies. While he was engaged in higher studies he kept himself busy writing books. From Qum he left for Mashhad and then set off for Bandar 'Abbās in 1219/1804, in order to visit India. In Muharram 1220/April 1805 he reached Masqat and participated in the Muharram ceremonies in that predominantly Khawārij land. From Masqat he went to Bombay and then to Hyderabad. From Hyderabad he wrote to Ghufrān Ma'āb Sayyid Dildār 'Alī at Lucknow saying that the Wahhābī invasion of Karbalā had prompted him to move to India in order to collect funds for the erection of a fort in Karbalā. Bihbahānī believed that the Sayyid's help would bring success to his mission.

Leaving Hyderabad he arrived in Calcutta in Rabi' II 1221/June 1806. Abu'l-Hasan Bihbahānī, the ambassador to the Nawwāb of Murshidabad, and other Iranian dignitaries gave him a warm welcome.⁴⁹

After a short stay, he left for Murshidabad. Nawwāb Mir Abu'l-Qāsim of Murshidabad invited him to his palace and they conversed seated behind a curtain. There Bihbahānī married into an eminent Iranian family.⁵⁰ He also wrote a book on the rules of prayer and fasting at the request of his distinguished hosts. Subsequently Bihbahānī took an interest in the management of the Husayniyya of Sirāju'd-Dawla. From Murshidabad he wrote a letter to Nawwāb Ghufrān Ma'āb stating that, due to the interest of the local Shi'īs in his teaching, he had prolonged his stay in Murshidabad but he hoped to visit him soon.⁵¹

Some seven months later he moved to 'Azimābād. The imposing mosque

48 *Ibid.*, pp, 613-14.

49 Bihbahānī, Ahmad bin Muhammad, *Mir'āt-i ahwāl-i Jahān numā'*, Aligarh University Ms., f. 72b.

50 *Ibid.*, f. 74b.

51 *Mā'āsiru'l-umarā'*, II, pp. 416-21.

and seminary built by Nawwāb Sayf Khān (d. 1049/1639-40) stood on the river bank. The descendants of Nawwab Sirāju'd-Dawla, however, had usurped its rich endowments and had erected their own buildings. Nevertheless the descendants of Sayf Khān and other Īrānis led an affluent life. Bihbahānī's journey from 'Azīmābād to Banaras prompted him to pay tribute to the caravanserais built by Sher Shāh for travellers. They still offered a home to travellers but the food and drink previously provided by the government were no longer available.⁵² The lofty structures of Banaras highly impressed Bihbahānī but he was appalled at its narrow streets. In that predominantly Hindu city there were about 100,000 Shi'is and Sunnis. Many of the local Shi'is visited Bihbahānī to seek his *fatwas* on religious problems. The tomb of Shaykh 'Alī Hazīn there was visited by all classes of people on each Monday and Thursday night. Bihbahānī considered that those people, particularly those of Lucknow, who alleged that Hazīn had believed in the Unity of Being, were ignoramuses. He added that '*ulamā'* such as Mullā Muhsin Kāshānī and Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn 'Āmilī had also been condemned as *sūfis* and followers of the Unity of Being doctrine but these allegations were baseless. The allegories for which Hazīn, Kāshānī and Shaykh Bahā'ī were condemned were also used in the *Haqq al-yaqīn* by Bāqir Majlisī.⁵³

After leaving Banaras, Bihbahānī visited Jawnpur and Ghazipur. In Muharram 1222/March 1807, he reached Fyzabad. It was no longer a capital city and was dependant on Lucknow. Shujā'u'd-Dawla's mother lived there. She was known for her courage and all the dignitaries and *zamīndārs* were submissive to her. The mother of Āsafu'd-Dawla, known as Bahū Begum, lived there also and she too was popular with her subjects. Bihbahānī was warmly welcomed by the Begum's dignitaries and the '*ulamā'*. Mullā Muhammad Jawād Kashmīrī, who had laid the foundation of the Friday congregational prayers in that city, was also loved by the people. His glosses on *Shara'ī al-Islām* and *Hāshiyā Sharh-i Lam'a* were very widely-read. A pious '*alīm* there, Mīr Najaf 'Alī was a man of ascetic temperament but he was known as a *sūfi*. Bihbahānī comments sarcastically that all those who were able to gain popularity were condemned as *sūfis* or *akhbāris*.⁵⁴

On 15 Rajab 1222/18 September 1807 Bihbahānī moved from Fyzabad to Lucknow. According to the Indian Shi'ī custom, gold and silver coins in the name of the eighth Imām were tied on his arms to ensure a safe journey. Just before he reached Lucknow, he was welcomed by Ghufrān Ma'āb. Bihbahānī had kept Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī regularly informed

52 *Mir'āt-i ahwāl-i jahān-numā'*, f. 81b.

53 *Ibid.*, f. 83b.

54 *Ibid.*, ff. 85a-88b.

of his movements and Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī's son, Sayyid Muhammad, and other eminent 'ulamā' and dignitaries also accompanied Ghufrān Ma'āb. Bihbahānī's presence in Lucknow stimulated religious studies but Āsafu'd-Dawla was annoyed with him for staying so long in Fyzabad, claiming that Bihbahānī should have reported to the capital first. Bihbahānī spent most of his time writing religious tracts. Ultimately Āsafu'd-Dawla also began to refer important religious problems to him and was deeply impressed with Bihbahānī's *fatwas*. Unfortunately Āsafu'd-Dawla's admiration for Bihbahānī provided the Lucknow mischief-makers with an opportunity to alienate Ghufrān Ma'āb from him. Some of Ghufrān Ma'āb's disciples went to the extent of arousing public resentment against Bihbahānī by misrepresenting his views. Bihbahānī wrote a treatise entitled the *Tanbihu'l-ghāflīn* explaining the true significance of the *ijāza* (certificates) obtained by scholars for *ijtihād*. This also misfired, for, Ghufrān Ma'āb believed it was designed to criticise him.⁵⁵

The mounting hostility prompted Bihbahānī to move to Fyzabad in Shawwāl 1202/July 1788. Bahū Begum's dignitaries again extended him a warm welcome and a comfortable mansion with an adjoining bath was assigned as his residence. At his suggestion attempts were made to stop the beating of drums during the Muharram procession but they were unsuccessful.⁵⁶ His stay in Fyzabad was, however, very pleasant. On 15 Sha'bān 1203/11 May 1789 he was allowed to leave Fyzabad. He spent Ramazān at 'Azīmābād. Early in Muharram 1224/February 1809 Bihbahānī arrived in Jahāngīrnagar (Dacca). There he found the *ta'ziya-khāna*, known as Husaynī Dālān, built 150 years earlier by the proud Mīr Murād Bāshī, well managed.⁵⁷ Three months later Bihbahānī left for Murshidabad and from there went to 'Azīmābād. Many scholars took the opportunity to study advanced texts of *fiqh* under him; some studied works by Bihbahānī himself.⁵⁸ On 25 Sha'bān 1224/4 October 1809, he led the Friday congregational prayers in the mosque of Nawwāb Sayf Khān in accordance with the Shi'ī practices at the request of the 'Azīmābād dignitaries.⁵⁹ On the 'id day the noblemen and leading citizens, who were unused to walking, walked bare-foot from Bihbahānī's house to the mosque shouting "*takbīr*" (Allāh is great).⁶⁰ During Muharram he again urged the Shi'īs not to beat drums in the Muharram procession. As was the case in Fyzabad, he met a great deal of opposition. People quoted Mīr Bāqir Majlisi who is said to have seen the Prophet in a vision asking

55 *Ibid.*, ff. 89a-91b.

56 *Ibid.*, f. 103a.

57 *Ibid.*, f. 109b.

58 Cf. Imām Rizā' for 'id, *Isnā 'Asharī Shi'īs in India*, I, p. 62.

59 *Mīr'āt-i ahwāl-i jahān-numā'*, ff. 110a-b.

60 Najaf 'Alī, *Ā'ina-i Haqq-numā'*, Aligarh University Ms., f. 317a.

him to let drums be beaten. Majlisī in his enthusiasm to comply with this request, went to the extent of beating a drum himself. Bihbahāni, however, rejected this argument and urged that the practice be stopped. Gradually, the opposition to his reforms subsided.

In 1225/1810, while still in 'Azimābād, he wrote the *Mir'āt-i ahwāl-i jahān-numā'* comprising an account of his own life, and travels as well as biographies of the 'ulamā' and other eminent people he had met. He dedicated it to Muhammad 'Alī Khān Qājār (d. 1237/1821), son of Fath 'Alī Shāh Qājār. In this work he gave a list of books written by himself:

1. *Hāshiya-i Samadiyya*, known as *Mahmūdiyya*, written by him at Kirmānshāhān;
2. *Nūr al-anwār*, an exegesis on *Bismi'llāh*, written about the same time;
3. *Kitāb ad-duraru'l-ghurawiyya fī usūli'l-ahkāmī'l-Ilāhiyya*, written at Najaf. It was still not finally transcribed;
4. *Sharh-i mukhtasar-i Nāfi'* written at Qum.
5. *Qūt-i lā Yamūt*, commenced at Murshidabad and completed at Lucknow on 12 Ramazān 1222/13 November 1807 (Bankipur 1271). It deals with rules for purification, ablution and other preliminary observances of prayer.
6. *Risāla jawāb mas'āl Murshidābād*.
7. *Rabī' al-azhār* written on the boat from Murshidabad to 'Azimābād. It deals with problems of *fiqh*.
8. *Makhzanu'l-qūt*, Part I, an exegesis of the *Qūt lā Yamūt*, written at Fyzabad in four months.
9. *Tuhfatu'l-mu'minin*, discusses the importance of the Imāms and Imām 'Alī's right to become the first caliph. It was written at Fyzabad. The Bankipur copy (XIV. 1321) is called *Tuhfatu'l-muhibbin*.
10. *Jawāb mas'āl-i Fyzābād* is a reply to the religious questions raised at Fyzabad.
11. *Tārikh-i nik wa bad-i ayyām* written at the request of Āsafu'd-Dawla's mother contains an account of auspicious and inauspicious dates in the year.
12. *Tārikh-i wilādat wa wafāt Sādāt-i athār alayhi's-salām*, written at Fyzabad, contains the dates of the birth and death of the Imāms and holy Sayyids. The title in the Asiatic Society Bengal, Calcutta copy [Ivanow 2nd supplement, 63(2)] is *Risāla-i wilādat wa wafāt-i Chahārdah ma'sūmin*.
13. *Tārikh-i Baqlī* also called *Tuhfat-u'l ikhwān*, contains an account of prominent prophets and imāms.
14. *'Iqdu'l-imāma jawāhir al-hisām*, answers the questions posed at Hyderabad.
15. *Tanbihu'l-ghāffin*, written at Lucknow, discusses the *mujtahids*,

- Bahā'u'd-Dīn 'Āmilī and Mullā Muhsin Kāshānī. (Bankipur XIV, 1322).
16. *Risāla Kashfū'l ra'yb wa'l-mayn*, written at 'Azīmābād, relates to congregational prayers on Fridays and 'ids.
 17. *Mir'āt-i ahwāl*.
 18. *Kashfū'sh-Shibh 'an hukm al-mut'a*, is concerned with *mut'a* or marriage for a fixed period only. The work is designed to refute Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz's objections.
 19. *Jidwal ahkām-i shakkiyyāt* deals with doubts during prayers. A later book, the *Sabab al-najāt*, completed at 'Azīmābād in 1225/1810 or 1226/1811, is preserved in the Asiatic Society Bengal library (Ivanow 1128, Ivanow Curzon 392).

Bihbahānī settled down in 'Azīmābād and seems to have died there in 1235/1819. His works were popular in the Bihar and Bengal region but Ghufrān Ma'āb Sayyid Dildār 'Alī's disciples were strongly critical of them. Najaf 'Alī, who gave a detailed account of Ghufrān Ma'āb in his *Ā'ina-i Haqq numā'*, completed in Zu'lqā'da 1231/September 1816, took the occasion to condemn Bihbahānī's works as frivolous. The *Tanbihu'l-ghāflīn*, according to Najaf 'Alī, deserved only destruction, for the *fatwas* in it were designed merely to condemn the Indian Shi'i 'ulamā' without any justification. Najaf 'Alī also accused Bihbahānī of plagiarism and pointed out that the rules of conduct for rulers and governors in the *Mir'āt-i ahwāl-i jahān-numā'* were copies of those in the *Abwāb al-Jinān*.⁶¹ Najaf 'Alī took Bihbahānī to task for defending *sūfism* and the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* of Shaykh 'Alī Hazīn. To Najaf 'Alī, Hazīn's book and his statement on bodily resurrection on the Day of Judgement violated Shi'i beliefs. For instance Hazīn's assertions about *samā'* imply that he endorses the legality of music and licentiousness.⁶² According to Najaf 'Alī, Ghufrān Ma'āb's opposition to *sūfism*⁶³ was based on a similar attack by the Iranian 'ulamā'. Najaf 'Alī accused Bihbahānī of misinterpreting the Īrānī 'ulamā''s attitude towards *sūfism*. The battle waged by the Lucknow 'ulamā' did not, however, succeed in undermining it. *Sūfi* poetry, in particular, was still admired and the two *sūfi* sympathisers, Hazīn and Bihbahānī, continued to enjoy considerable respect among the Shi'is.

One of Bihbahānī's leading disciples was Ashraf Husayn 'Azīmābādī. He enhanced Shi'i popularity in the region. He died around 1230/1814-15.⁶⁴

61 *Ibid.*, ff. 245b-263b.

62 *Ibid.*, ff. 263b-269b.

63 *Infra*, pp. 133-35.

64 *Bi-bahā'*, p. 6.

An important Iranian visitor to India, who made significant contributions to Shi'ism in the Bengal region, was Sultānu'l-Wā'izin Abu'l-Fath Hasanī Husaynī. He began his journey in 1221/1806 and wrote an account of his travels in 1231/1815. He visited many important towns in both northern and southern India. At Murshidabad he initiated the Friday congregational prayers for the Shi'is in a mosque under Sunni control. A large crowd consisting of all classes of Shi'is met to participate in the prayers. Nawwāb Zaynu'd-Dīn 'Alī Khān, a grandson of Nawwāb Ja'far 'Alī Khān, the erstwhile governor of Bengal, was also present. After 'id prayers, Husaynī recited the *khutba* in the name of the Iranian ruler, Fath 'Alī Shāh Qājār (1212-1250/1797-1834). This innovation astounded the populace. Subsequently many Sunnis became hostile to Husaynī and they submitted a petition condemning this practice to the Governor-General at Calcutta. The chief *Qāzi* in Calcutta supported the Sunnis. The Governor-General, therefore, ordered the English magistrate at Murshidabad to suppress these prayers in order to maintain law and order. Meanwhile a Sunni mob had invaded the English magistrate's court and threatened to resort to violence unless Husaynī's innovations were dropped immediately. The magistrate called on Husaynī and ordered him to refrain from reciting the *khutba* in the Iranian ruler's name and to follow the Sunni custom of using the Mughal Emperor's name instead. Placing his trust in God and the Imāms, Husaynī refused. The Shi'is supported him and began preparations to repel a Sunni attack. They also submitted a counter-petition to the Nawwāb who was an agent of the East India Company. The Nawwāb forwarded it to the Governor-General. Confronted with opposing petitions, the Governor-General called for an explanation from Husaynī. The Shi'i scholar drafted a reply based on sound arguments. The Governor-General approved of Husaynī's defence but, nevertheless, the magistrate urged him to change his mind. Husaynī again refused. The Shi'is were determined to resort to violence if necessary. For a few days the agitation on both sides mounted to threatening proportions. Then, during the next post 'id prayers Husaynī recited a well-written *khutba* in the name of Fath 'Alī Shāh. The Sunnis were defeated. After a short time, the Hanafi Imām was expelled from the mosque and the Shi'i *azān* was called instead. During the three years of Husaynī's sojourn the *khutba* was recited in Fath 'Alī Shāh's name on Fridays and two 'ids. The news spread throughout India. Husaynī's visit to Murshidabad saw the implementation of Shi'i law there and even the East India Company authorities respected his *fatwas*.⁶⁵

Husaynī claims that he organized assemblies to debate Shi'i-Sunni

65 Sultānu'l-Wā'izin Abu'l-Fath Hasanī Husaynī, *Safar-nāma*, Tehran University Library, no. 3144, pp. 140-51.

controversies and converted both Sunnis and Hindus to Shi'ism. It was only after an urgent summons from Iran that he left Murshidabad. He had no time to inform the Nawwāb of his departure.

At Madras, a Shi'i who worked for the British governor called on Husayni and asked for a *fatwa* regarding the legality of serving the British. Husayni advised him that involvement in such controversies was against their respective interests. The Shi'i replied that he held a clerical position in the administration and wished to learn the truth. Husayni replied that, as service under the British promoted the enemy interest, it was unlawful. Consequently the Shi'i 'ulamā' did not approve of employment under the British. The Shi'i immediately tendered his resignation to the governor and, steadfastly refusing to withdraw it, showed him Husayni's *fatwa*. The governor made enquiries about Husayni and sent the city police superintendent, who happened to be an Iranian, to Husayni with a letter saying that political *fatwas* were undesirable. Husayni wrote on the back of the letter that the governor's orders were contrary to European law, for the English in particular had granted complete religious freedom to their subjects. Therefore, if the governor insisted on compliance with his orders, an appeal would be lodged with the Supreme Court. After reading the letter the governor rescinded his orders. He invited Husayni to call on him but he did not accept the invitation.⁶⁶

No details of the Shi'i 'ulamā' in Jahāngīrnagar (Dacca) are available but it would seem that, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, some of them settled there and established schools for higher learning. It was in Dacca that Ziyā'u'llāh bin Sayyid Muhammad Fākhir Husayni of Zangipur (Ghazipur) studied *hadīṣ*, *fiqh* and *hikma* under Shi'i 'ulamā'. After completing his education he returned to his home town and fearlessly disseminated Shi'ism. He died on 4 Muharram 1168/21 October 1754. Mawlānā Ziyā'u'llāh's piety and religious zeal made Shi'ism popular in Ghazipur and the neighbouring districts of eastern India.⁶⁷

Mawlānā Ziyā'u'llāh's most prominent disciple was Mawlānā Sayyid 'Atā' Husayn bin Ghulām Murtazā Zangipūri. He was a specialist in Qur'ānic exegesis and compiled a dictionary of the unfamiliar words in the Qur'ān. He was also an expert calligraphist. The Emperor Muhammad Shāh gave him a position at his court. Specimens of his calligraphy are still available. He died in 1292/1797.⁶⁸

The improved facilities for Shi'i education in Lucknow and Fyzabad strengthened the Zangipur Shi'i 'ulamā' centre there. Other centres were based in Nawnahra, Para and Ghazipur. The leading Shi'i 'ulamā' and

66 *Ibid.*, pp. 192-93.

67 *Bī-bahā'*, p. 196.

68 *Ibid.*, p. 212.

authors in nineteenth century Ghazipur were Najaf 'Alī Nawnahrawī (d. 1261/1845), Karam Husayn Zangīpūrī (d. 1262/1846), Mansab 'Alī Ghāzīpūrī (d. 1266/1850), Safdar 'Alī Zangīpūrī (d. 1267/1852), Asghar Husayn Zangīpūrī (d. after 1270/1853), Husayn bin Ramzān 'Alī (d. 1271/1854) and Ramzān 'Alī Nawnahrawī (d. 1274/1857).

In Deva-Khatta (Ghazipur) lived 'Abdu'l-'Alī, who was born in 1162/1749. After obtaining an elementary education in Ghazipur, he moved to Fyzabad and completed his education under Mullā 'Alī Pādshāh Kashmīrī. Subsequently, Āqā Muhammad Bāqir Isfahānī Hā'irī authorized him to lead congregational prayers. This led to his appointment as the *imām* of congregational prayers in Fyzabad. Later Āsafu'd-Dawla offered him a lucrative land grant. In 1222/1807-8 he built a beautiful mosque in Deva-Khatta. His death occurred in 1243/1827.

Among Mawlānā 'Abdu'l 'Alī's disciples were a number of students from Ghazipur, Azamgarh and Jawnpur. The most prominent among them was Mawlānā Sayyid Ahmad 'Alī bin 'Ināyat Haydar of Muhammadabad in Azamgarh. His ancestors were scholars also. Mawlānā Ahmad 'Alī was born in 1206/1791-92. He received his primary education in his home town. From there he moved to Fyzabad where he studied under Sayyid 'Abdu'l 'Alī.⁶⁹

THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURY LUCKNOW 'ULAMĀ'

Mawlānā Sayyid Dildār 'Alī Ghufrān Ma'āb

Mawlānā Sayyid Dildār 'Alī's ancestors were descended from the tenth Imām, Imām 'Alī Naqī. Legends claim that one of his forefathers moved to Lucknow with the army of one of the Mahmūd Ghaznawī's commander, Sālār Mas'ūd Ghāzī, conquered a fort called Adyanagar and re-named it *Jā'i 'Aysh* (Land of Luxury). Gradually this was corrupted to Jā'is. Likewise Sayyid Zakariyya, who was also one of the Mawlānā's ancestors, captured a fort and named it Nasirābād after his ancestor Nasiru'd-Dīn. The legend of Sālār Mas'ūd is associated with a number of the north-Indian Muslim towns which emerged after the thirteenth century.⁷⁰ It would seem that Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī's family, like many other Sayyid families, left Nīshāpūr, or some other town in Khurāsān, because of the Mongol invasions and settled east of Lucknow, in Jā'is.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 212-13.

⁷⁰ *Ā'ina-i Haqq-numā'*, ff. 31b, 33b-36b. Sayyid Mahdī bin Sayyid Najaf 'Alī, *Tazkiratu'l-'ulamā'*, Ms. in personal collection, II, f. 175b; 'Allāma Hindī, Mawlānā Sayyid Ahmad, *Warāsatu'l-anbiyā'*, Lucknow 1336/1918, p. 3.

Like all Sayyids, they also obtained *madad-i ma'āsh* grants and lived in affluence.

Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī's father, Sayyid Muhammad Mu'in bin Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Hādī was a rich *zamīndār* in Nasirābād. It was there that Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī was born on a Friday night in 1166/1752-53. He received his higher education from Sayyid Ghulām Husayn Dakhinī Ilāhābādī and Mawlawī Haydar 'Alī Sandīlawī.⁷¹ Haydar 'Alī, the author of *Takmila Sharh Sullāmu'l-'ulūm*, *Hāshiyā Sharh Sullam*, *Hāshiyā Mīr Zāhid* and *Hāshiyā Mīr Zāhid Mullā Jalāl*, was a Sunnī, but Haydar 'Alī's father, Mullā Hamdu'llāh, was a Shi'i. Mullā Hamdu'llāh wrote commentaries on the *Sharh Sullam* and *Shams Bāzigha* by Mullā Mahmūd Jawnpūrī and the *Zubdatul-usūl* by Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn Āmīlī. Mullā Hamdu'llāh's disciple, Mawlawī Bābu'llāh of Rae Bareli, also taught Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī. Most of his teachers were Māturidiyya Hanafīs. Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī travelled extensively and came in contact with both Sunnī and Shi'i 'ulamā'. At Shahjahanpur he met Mullā 'Abdu'l-'Alī Bahru'l-'Ulūm (d. 1225/1801), the son of Mullā Nizāmu'd-Dīn of Firangī Mahal (d. 1161/1748) and spiritedly defended a statement by Mawlawī Hamdu'llāh which Bahru'l-'Ulūm considered ungrammatical. In Delhi Mullā Hasan was deeply impressed with Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī's deep understanding of the *Hidāyat al-Hikmat* by Mullā Sadra.⁷¹

Like other Shi'i intellectuals, Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī became an *akhbārī* and a rationalist as he greatly admired the *Fawā'id-i Madaniyya*⁷² by Mullā Muhammad Amin Astarābādī which endorsed this stance. In 1193/1779 Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī, financed by Mīrzā Hasan Rizā Khān, left for further studies in Iraq and Iran. He took the *Fawā'id-i Madaniyya* with him. On his way from Basra to Najaf his boat was wrecked and his baggage destroyed. He was very upset at the loss of his book but somehow it was recovered. Although heavily water-stained it was still legible. On the way to Najaf an Arab scholar upheld the *usūl* basis of *fiqh* but the Mawlānā vehemently defended the *akhbārī* point of view. The Mawlānā was unable to accept the *usūlī* theory of *ijmā'* (consensus). He supported the *akhbārī* position that it was meaningless to consider religious questions finally decided on the basis of *ijmā'* or a unanimous decision by a number of qualified scholars. The *akhbārī* belief that such questions could never be finally settled appeared true to him.

At Najaf he called initially on Sayyid Muhsin Baghdādī, the author of *Wāfi*, *Sharh Wāfiyya*, *Kitāb Mahsūl dar 'ilm usūl* and *Wasā'ilul-sh-Shi'a*. Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī submitted to the Sayyid that the *Fawā'id-i Madaniyya* had converted the Indian Shi'i 'ulamā' to the *akhbārī* point of view and

71 *Ā'ina-i Haqq-numā'*, ff. 33b-36b; *Tazkiratu'l-'ulamā'*, ff. 176a-178b.

72 India Office Library, London.

even he himself was confused. Sayyid Muhsin replied that ignorance of the *usūl* theories was responsible for the popularity of the *akhbārī* traditions. The Sayyid then gave him the *Fawā'id al-Makkiyya* by Nūru'd-Dīn 'Alī bin Husayn (d. 1068/1657-58) stating that the arguments it presented against the *Fawā'id-i Madaniyya* would satisfy him. The Mawlānā studied some chapters but found the refutation unconvincing.

Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī then called on Shaykh Ja'far Najafī, the author of *Kashfū'l-ghitā*. They too discussed the problem of *ijmā'* but the Mawlānā's doubts and anxieties remained unresolved. Next day Sayyid Muhsin again explained the *usūlī* theory of *ijmā'* and the circumstances under which it was permissible. The Mawlānā, in the interest of his further studies, did not press him, for the 'Irāqī 'ulamā' were touchy on this point. The *akhbārīs* were in the majority there and had nicknamed the *usūlīs* as "Qāzi Abū Hanīfa."

From Najaf the Mawlānā moved to Karbalā but he did not raise the controversial question again. There he studied under Bāqir Bihbahāni, the author of the commentary on the *Istibsār* and under Sayyid 'Alī Tabātabā'i. The libraries in Karbalā contained a large number of *usūlīs* and *akhbārī* works and this prompted the Mawlānā to study the problem thoroughly. His intensive reading convinced him that Mullā Muhammad Mu'in Astarābādī, the author of *Fawā'id-i Madaniyya*, had condemned the *mujtahids* unjustly.⁷³ His mental satisfaction made his studies meaningful. At Karbalā he was also one of Sayyid Mahdī Shahrastāni's students. At Najaf his teacher was Bahru'l-'Ulūm Āqā Sayyid Muhammad bin Murtazā bin Muhammad al-Hasanī al-Husaynī, known as Mahdī Tabātabā'i Burūjardī. Later on he visited Mashhad and studied under Sayyid Mahdī bin Sayyid Hidāyatu'llāh Isfahāni. From Mashhad he returned home with *ijāza* (certificates) of *ijtihād* from Sayyid Mahdī Tabātabā'i, and Mirzā Mahdī Isfahāni. Sayyid 'Alī Tabātabā'i and Sayyid Mahdī Tabātabā'i wrote eulogistic references extolling the Mawlānā's competence in *ijtihād*.⁷⁴

In Lucknow the Mawlānā plunged himself into attacking the *akhbārī* position and defending the 'Ilm al-Usūl. He wrote a book on the subject entitled *Isās al-Usūl*. Meanwhile Mullā Muhammad 'Alī Kashmīrī, known as Mullā Pādshāh, wrote a treatise on the importance of Friday congregational prayers and dedicated it to Nawwāb Āsafu'd-Dawla's prime-minister, Nawwāb Hasan Rizā'. In it he stated that Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī was a most competent and pious 'ālim. The outstanding 'ulamā' of Karbalā and Mashhad had authorised him to perform *ijtihād*. He should, therefore, be invited to lead the congregational prayers. The Mullā also

73 *Ā'ina-i Haqq-numā'*, ff. 51b-56a; *Tazkiratu'l-'ulamā'*, ff. 186a-188b.

74 *Ā'ina-i Haqq-numā'*, ff. 90b-104a; *Tazkiratu'l-'ulamā'* ff. 188a-189b.

urged Nawwāb Hasan Rizā' to make his obligatory five-times-a-day prayers behind Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī. The treatise made a deep impact on the Nawwāb and the first Friday congregational prayer was organised by him in his own palace on Friday 13 Rajab 1200/12 May 1785. This was the anniversary of Imām 'Alī's birthday. On 27 Rajab, the anniversary of Prophet Muhammad's call to the Prophethood, the Friday congregational prayers were held in public. The Mawlānā led the prayers and gave a sermon on historical, ethical and religious topics. Fifty of the sermons delivered on the Fridays during 1200 and 1201 were compiled into a book. It was called *Fawā'id-i Āsafīyya wa Mawā'iz-i Husayniyya*. The preface says that the rule of tyrants had prevented the Shi'i dignitaries from implementing the obligatory Friday congregational prayers. This led the Sunnis to believe that the Shi'i faith forbade these prayers, although it was the *sunna* of the Prophets and the Imāms. Consequently they ridiculed them. Unfortunately for them the illiterate and ignorant Shi'is also believed that until the twelfth Imām re-appeared, congregational prayers were prohibited. Nawwāb Āsafu'd-Dawla's interest in promoting the faith of the impeccable Imāms (Shi'ism) had made the introduction of congregational prayers inevitable.⁷⁵

The early sermons in the *Fawā'id-i Āsafīyya* deal with the *ahādīs* relating to Friday congregational prayers. In his sermon on 27 Rajab, the Mawlānā stated that, according to Imām Bāqir, if seven people happened to assemble somewhere and there was no danger to life in congregational prayers, it was incumbent upon them to perform it. According to Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq, if five people met in a village and one of them could recite the *khutba*, they should hold congregational prayers. The Mawlānā added that, according to Mawlānā Muhammad Bāqir Majlisi and Mawlānā Muhammad Taqī Majlisi, Friday congregational prayers were *wājib-i 'aynī* (unavoidably obligatory).⁷⁶

In his third sermon the Mawlānā declared that the Shi'is and Sayyids should not be unduly proud of their faith and lineage. They should not ignore prayers and must avoid sins. He added that Imām Muhammad Bāqir had declared that those who did not participate in congregational prayers were not his Shi'as and friends. The true Shi'is were humble and courteous to their brethren, prayed regularly, observed fasts, were good to their parents, helped the poor, the beggars and those who were unable to pay their debts.⁷⁷

Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī's sermons and teachings raised the deteriorating

75 *Ā'ina-i Haqq-numā'*, ff. 49b-50a; Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī, *Fawā'id-i Āsafīyya wa Mawā'iz-i Husayniyya*, Aligarh University Ms., ff. 3b-4a; *Warāsatu'l-anbiyā'*, pp. 5-32.

76 *Fawā'id-i Āsafīyya*, ff. 13b-14a.

77 *Ibid.*, ff. 18b-25b.

ethical standards of the Shī'i aristocracy in Awadh. He strengthened the Shī'i intellectual traditions and stimulated the production of scholarly religious works. The Mawlānā's writings can be divided into six categories :

1. Books relating to the refutation of the *akhbāris*;
2. Works discussing the basic principles of the Shī'i faith and *fiqh*;
3. Books relating to the history of the Imāms and the promotion of the mourning ceremonies of Muharram;
4. Glosses and commentaries on classical text books;
5. Anti-Sūfi literature;
6. A refutation of the Sunni condemnations of the Shī'is aroused by the *Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya* by Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz.

Not only does the *Asāsū'l-usūl* (in Arabic) refute Mullā Muhammad Amin's *Fawā'id-i Madaniyya* but it spells out in detail the process of *zan* (opinion) and *qiyās* (analogy) in the Shī'i *ijtihād*. It also seeks to remove any misunderstandings created by the Mullā Amin regarding *ijmā'* and asserts that any opposition to it among the elite of the *umma* is not permissible. The work contends spiritedly that although a *mujtahid* might commit an error, he would still be rewarded by God.⁷⁸

Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī's *magnum opus* on *kalām*, the *Mirā'u'l-uqūl fī 'ilmū'l-usūl*, is popularly known as *'Imādu'l-Islām* in Arabic. It counters the anti-Shī'i arguments in *Nihāyahu'l-uqūl* by Fakhru'd-Dīn Rāzī (467/1075-538/1144). It is divided into five large '*maqāsid*' (here meaning volumes). The first volume deals with *Tawhīd* (Divine Unity), the second discusses *'Adl* (Divine justice), the third deals with prophecy, the fourth with *Imāma* and the fifth with *al-ma'ād* (eschatology).⁷⁹

In the preface the Mawlānā states that he is fully conscious of the '*ulamā'*'s duty to defend the faith and disseminate knowledge. He quotes Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq's statement to the effect that the Shī'i '*ulamā'* were the custodians of the frontiers of Shī'ism, which were threatened by the incursions of the devil and slanderers. Those who prepared themselves to defend it were bound to receive unlimited Divine rewards. Those who busied themselves in the acquisition of knowledge were reminded that the Qur'ān urges the Prophet to pray for the enhancement of knowledge. Further Imām 'Alī says, "My Shī'as, who are endowed with knowledge of the *sharī'a*, who help the ignorant Shī'is to enter into the realm of the light of knowledge and leave the darkness of ignorance, are guaranteed salvation on Judgement Day".⁸⁰

Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī's *Muntahiū'l-afkār*, in Arabic, contains a detailed

78 *Asāsū'l-usūl*, Aligarh University Ms.; *Ā'ina-i Haqq numā'*, ff. 54b-59b.

79 *I'jāz* Husayn, no. 2133.

80 *'Imādu'l-Islām*, Lucknow n.d., pp. 2-5.

exposition on the principles of *fiqh*.⁸¹ The commentary on the *Hadīqatū'l-muttaqīn*, in Persian, is also an important work on *fiqh*. It is divided into three volumes dealing with purification, fasting and *zakāt* respectively.⁸² The Mawlānā's *Risāla-i Jum'a*⁸³ in Persian, is a well-argued treatise on Friday prayers. The *Jawāb-i masā'il-i fihiyya*,⁸⁴ in Persian, lists important rules of *fiqh*. The Mawlānā wrote the *Risāla-i Arzayn*⁸⁵ on the problem of land ownership; particularly the rights of Hindus over land and property under an Islamic government. The *Zahabiyya*⁸⁶ is a short treatise on the use of gold and silver utensils.

The *Atārat al-ahzān 'alā' qatīl al-'atshān*,⁸⁷ in Arabic, contains an account of the martyrs of Karbalā. The *Musakkin*⁸⁸ *al-qulūb* deals with the tragedies suffered by the Prophets and Imāms.

Hāshiya Sharh Musallam al-'ulūm,⁸⁹ in Arabic, is a commentary on Mullā Hamdu'llāh's *Musallam al-'ulūm* on logic. The *Hāshiya Sharh Hikmatu'l-'ayn*⁹⁰ is a commentary on Mullā Sadra's philosophical and mathematical theories in the *Hidāyatū'l-hikma*. The book refutes Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-'Alī's objections against Mullā Sadra. It also takes issue with the Shī'ī rationalists such as Mawlānā Tafazzul Husayn.

Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī toed the line of the Safawid 'ulamā' in fiercely opposing *sūfism*. Like them he considered it was a threat to Shī'ism. He wrote a detailed work entitled the *Shihāb-sāqib* refuting *sūfī* doctrines and condemning the leading *sūfīs*. The principal target of his attack is the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* (Unity of Being) of ibn 'Arabī. The Mawlānā points out initially the differences between scholars, philosophers and *sūfīs* in their approach to *Wujūd* (Being) and *Wājib* (Necessary Being). It goes on to explain in detail the *sūfī* theory of the *Wujūd al-Mutlaq* (the Absolute). The *sūfīs* believe that Necessary Being is the essence of the Absolute Being, the Mawlānā asserts, and that essence is found in all objects. The Mawlānā summarises the *sūfī* arguments on the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* and counters each of them. He also demolishes Haydar 'Alī 'Āmilī's proposition concerning it and condemns the views of Sharif Juzjāni and Sadru'd-Dīn Shīrāzi. To the Mawlānā, the self-delimitation⁹¹ theory of the Absolute is misleading. He quotes the Qur'ānic verses

81 I'jāz Husayn, no. 3156.

82 *Ā'ina-i Haqq-numā'*, f. 63b.

83 *Ibid.*, ff. 64b-65a.

84 I'jāz Husayn, no. 809.

85 Nāsiriya Library, Lucknow.

86 I'jāz Husayn, no. 1164.

87 Nāsiriya Library, Lucknow.

88 I'jāz Husayn, no. 2936.

89 Lucknow n.d.

90 *Ā'ina-i Haqq-numā'*, f. 65a.

91 *Sūfism in India*, II, pp. 36-53.

which, according to the *sūfis*, endorse the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* belief and marshalls arguments showing that the *sūfi* interpretations have no relevance to the real meaning of the verses. The Mawlānā gives verses and *ahādīs* which contradict the *sūfi* views of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd*. The book also shows that the best description of God and His Attributes is available only in the sayings of the Imāms of the Prophet's family. According to them, God is omnipresent by His own essence and He demonstrates His essence by His essence and not through worldly objects.⁹²

A chapter of the work deals with the definition of *kashf* (*sūfi* revelations) and asserts that knowledge obtained through this process was not necessarily correct. *Kashf* did not discriminate between truth and falsehood and so could not be made the basis for a final decision. If it could, the past-masters of *kashf* would have been infallible.

A section of the chapter points out the faults of eminent *sūfis* starting with ibn 'Arabi. It quotes the correspondence between ibn 'Arabi's supporter, 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Kashī, and ibn 'Arabi's opponent, 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Simnāni, and refutes the statements made by his followers, including those of Haydar 'Āmili.⁹³ The mystic Hasan Basri is accused of introducing anti-Islamic monastic practices into the faith. According to the Mawlānā, the Imāmiyya works did not justify Sayyid Haydar 'Āmili's statement that Hasan Basri was one of Imām 'Alī's most eminent disciples.⁹⁴

Section three of the same chapter accuses Safyān Sawri of hostility to Ahl-i bayt and blames him for disseminating many baseless *ahādīs*. The famous utterances of Abū Yazīd Bistāmī (d. 261 or 264/874 or 877) such as "Glory be to me. How great is my Majesty" are condemned as heretical by the Mawlānā and Abū Yazīd is described as a propagator of theories supporting *hulūl* (infusion of God into a creature) and *ittihād* (unification of the Divine and human nature). He quotes Sayyid Mur-tazā ar-Razī who, comparing 'Abdu'llāh ibn Sabā with Abū Yazīd, wrote that it was surprising that the Sunnis condemned 'Abdu'llāh ibn Sabā because he attributed Divine attributes to Imām 'Alī ibn Abi Tālib, but raised no objections against Abū Yazīd who thought himself superior to God.⁹⁵ Referring to Abū Yazīd's services to Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq, the Mawlānā says that these did not reduce the weight of his sins. He reiterates that the respect shown by authors such as Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustari and Bahā'u'd-Dīn 'Āmili to some *sūfis* did not indicate that they supported the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* doctrines.⁹⁶ The section on Abū Yazīd also

92 Cf. *Du'ā Sabāh* by Imām 'Alī.

93 *Shihāb-sāqib*, Aligarh University Ms., f. 35b.

94 *Ibid.*, f. 46b.

95 *Ibid.*, f. 98b.

96 *Ibid.*, f. 50a.

condemns Mansūr al-Hallāj (killed 309/922). There is another section devoted solely to Mansūr in which he is castigated as a *zindīq* (believer in a Magi sect), an heretic and an infidel.

In the section dealing with Ghazālī, the author states that he was a bigoted Sunni whose life-mission was to strengthen enmity towards Ahl-i bayt. The Mawlānā remarks that Ghazālī's defence of Yazīd was preposterous and showed that he had no respect for Imām Husayn. His assertion that the Shī'ī faith was false was based merely on personal *kashf* and flimsy arguments.⁹⁷

Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jilāni (d. 561/1166) hated the Shī'īs even more deeply than his predecessors, claims the Mawlānā. The Shaykh fervently believed that the tenth of Muharram was not a day of mourning but of rejoicing, for, before the advent of Islam, it had proved an auspicious day for some of the early prophets. According to Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Qādir, 'Ā'isha was superior to all other women and the Shī'ī beliefs resembled those of the Jews.⁹⁸

In the section on Rūmī, the Mawlānā quotes verses from his *Masnawī* to show that Rūmī did not discriminate between Islam and infidelity and that his similes and metaphors were sacrilegious. The Mawlānā continues that the poetry of 'Attār, Sanā'ī and other *sūfī* poets was heretical and irreligious.⁹⁹

The last but one chapter condemns the mystical practices of *sūfīs* and accuses them of violating the basic principles of Islamic teachings. The *sūfī* meditational postures, music, ascetic exercises and love affairs with young boys are, according to the Mawlānā, unlawful. He claims that their practices of wearing woollen garments and loud and silent *zikr*, the system of *bay'a* and the presentation of *khīrqa* (*sūfī* robes) are acts of perversion and apostasy.¹⁰⁰

The last chapter deals with various *sūfī* orders which, in the Mawlānā's opinion, are totally profane, blasphemous and inculcate materialism and licentiousness.

Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī's tirades against *sūfism* are similar to those by puritanical Sunni scholars such as ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) and ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1126/1200). The most ardent opponent of the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* doctrine, however, was 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Simnāni (659/1261-736/1336). In India his mission was reinforced by Mujaddid Alf-i Sāni (971/1564-1033/1624). Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī's attacks on *sūfism* were largely retaliatory, for some leading *sūfīs*, both in Lucknow and Delhi, had dec-

97 *Ibid.*, ff. 56b-57a.

98 *Ibid.*, ff. 58b-59a.

99 *Ibid.*, ff. 60a-64a.

100 *Ibid.*, ff. 83b-85a.

lared war on Shī'i beliefs, Shī'i heroes and Shī'i practices, particularly the *ta'ziya* rituals. Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī's descendants and disciples successfully eroded the Shī'i custom of visiting *sūfi* tombs and music but they were unable to undermine the appreciation of *sūfi* poetry. The Shī'is now devoted themselves single-mindedly to the commemoration of their Imāms' martyrdom but the eloquent similes and metaphors abounding in *sūfi* poetry could neither be ignored nor forgotten.

The Mawlānā's rejoinder to a treatise on *sūfism* by Mawlāwī Muhammad Samī' Sūfi summarizes the arguments in the *Shihāb-sāqib* against *sūfism*.¹⁰¹ His polemical works also refer to this book. The Mawlānā was provoked into countering the *Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya* because its author, Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz, considered it irrefutable and the last word on the truth of Sunnī-ism. In fact, the Shāh himself challenged the Shī'is to write a refutation.¹⁰² The first Shī'i scholar to reply to the first and second chapter of the *Tuhfa*, however, was Mirzā Muhammad Akhbārī al-Nishāpūri (d. 1232/1816-17). Another Shī'i scholar Hakim Mirzā Muhammad Kāmil undertook to compile the rejoinders to the *Tuhfa* in Delhi. Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī and his disciples were also most prominent in writing a rebuttal.

Initially the Mawlānā produced the *Zu'lfaqār* refuting the twelfth chapter on *Tawalla* and *Tabarra*. In his introduction he quotes the Shāh's insulting and disgraceful remarks concerning the most revered Shī'i '*ulamā'*, such as Mutahhar Hillī and ibn Shahr Ashūb Māzandarānī. Nevertheless he requests the readers' forgiveness for using crude language against the Shāh in retaliation. He adds, "Those who throw unburnt bricks at others are hit in turn by stones." The work defines Sunnis and *sūfis* respectively and then details and condemns the hostility of Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jilānī and Ghazālī towards Imām Husayn.

The book highlights the Shāh's distortion of Shī'i evidence, such as the doctrinal statements by Nasiru'd-Dīn Tūsī and blames him for glossing over the Sunnī enmity towards Ahl-i Bayt. The work demonstrates that the cornerstone of the Islamic faith is belief in the impeccability of the Imāms coupled with devotion to 'Alī and Ahl-i Bayt. Those who deprived 'Alī of his rightful succession to the caliphate and rejected Fātima's right to inherit her father's gift of Fadak, were not their friends. If the Prophet's wife, 'Ā'isha, who fought against 'Alī at Basra (Jamal), and Mu'āwiya, who fought against him at Siffin were given the benefit of erring in *ijtihād*, the same benefit must be granted to Khawārij who fought against 'Alī in the battle of Nahrawān. The Mawlānā's analysis

101 *Ā'ina-i Haqq-munā'* ff. 261a-b.

102 *Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz*, pp. 259-60.

effectively proves that *tawalla* (devotion) to the Ahl-i Bayt cannot be demonstrated without *tabarra* (dissociation) from their enemies.

The Mawlānā sent a copy of the *Zu'lfaqār*, with a copy of his *magnum opus*, the *'Imād al-Islām* to Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz in order to bring home to him the basic principles of the Shi'i faith. He waited for the Shāh's reply but none was received either by him or his disciples.¹⁰³ He then wrote the *Sawārim-i Ilāhiyat* refuting Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz's presentation of *Ilāhiyat* (Divinity) in the fifth chapter of the *Tuhfa*. The Mawlānā wrote that he embarked reluctantly upon writing the *Sawārim* and had only done so for the sake of his contemporaries and posterity. He thought that the Shāh's "stupidity and lies did not call for any counter-arguments". The Mawlānā claimed that he had not confined himself to refuting the Shāh but had also included a relevant discussion on *kalām* in the *Sawārim* to serve as an eye-opener to the Shāh and others. He again sought the forgiveness of scholars for using harsh retaliatory language against the Shāh and his ancestors but it was the Shāh himself, who, despite his claims to humility, had initiated it.

The work points out the role of reason, as understood by Shi'is, in obtaining divine *ma'rifa*. The Shi'is, according to the Mawlānā, correctly believe that reason should not be given precedence over Divine injunctions but that it was indispensable for the true perception of Divine commands; or else Islam would be reduced to the faith of fools. He says that the way the Sunnī *mutakallimīn* (scholastic theologians) and *sūfīs* attack each other's ideas on Allāh suggests that the *corpus* of Sunnī beliefs concerning Him is sacrilegious. The Mawlānā quotes Sayyid Sharif Juzjāni's observation concerning the respective perceptions of the *mutakallimīn* and the *sūfīs* as given in the *Fawātih* by Maybuzī. In this book a *mutakallīm* said to a *sūfī*, "I detest that God who manifests Himself in dogs and cats". The *sūfī* replied, "I detest that God who does not manifest Himself in dogs and cats." The Mawlānā concludes that belief in anthropomorphism, *hulūl* (infusion of God into a creature), *imtizāj* (the combination of Divine and human nature) and *ittihād* (unification of Divine and human nature) are not confined to the *sūfīs* but form the cornerstone of Sunnī ideology. The Mawlānā goes on to say that the Shi'i belief in *qadar* (free will) does not interfere with belief in Divine omnipotence. The Mawlānā blames the Shāh for misinterpreting the Imāms' *ahādīs* stating that human choice lies between *jabr* (compulsion) and *qadar* (free-will). The Mawlānā asserts that the Sunnī belief in the vision of God in any form reduced them to anthropomorphists. He rebukes the Shāh for maliciously spreading the story that the Shi'is did not believe in the Qur'ān which the Sunnis used. The Mawlānā asserts that the Shāh

103 *Ibid.*, ff. pp. 461-66.

knew that Shaykh Sadūq, the most revered Shi'i authority, had categorically declared that there was no Qur'ān but the one that was between two boards and was in the hands of men.¹⁰⁴

Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī also wrote a rebuttal of the sixth chapter of the *Tuhfa* dealing with Shi'i beliefs concerning the prophethood. The book is called the *Husāmū'l-Islām*. It says that the Shi'i belief in 'Alī's superiority over pre-Muhammad prophets was based on the Qur'ānic verses and the argument that, since the Prophet Muhammad was superior to all preceding prophets, his true deputy, 'Alī, was inevitably superior to them also.

The Shi'i belief in the Divine obligation to appoint a Deputy did not refer to any external orders but was based on His promise as a self-imposed obligation. The Mawlānā remarks that the Shāh accuses the Shi'is of considering 'Alī superior to the Prophet Muhammad. The Shi'i beliefs, the Mawlānā goes on to say, are based on the most reliable traditions of the Imāms themselves, whereas the contradictions in the Sunnī *ahādīth* are innumerable and reduce Muslims to the position of heretics. The 'ismat (impeccability) of the Prophet Muhammad is not undermined by Shi'i traditions. It is destroyed by Sunnī traditions which state that he was dependent on 'Umar for guidance on questions of *fiqh*. It was 'Umar who rejected the Prophet's request for some paper and a pen and did not allow him to dictate his will. According to the Mawlānā the Shāh was not entitled to question the Isnā 'Ashariyya doctrine concerning the *Imāma* for it was the cornerstone of their faith.¹⁰⁵

The Mawlānā wrote the *Risāla-i Ghaybat*¹⁰⁶ in order to refute the seventh chapter of the *Tuhfa* dealing with *Imāma*. It contains a detailed discussion on the occultation of the twelfth Imām.

The Mawlānā wrote the *Ihya al-Sunna*¹⁰⁷ to counter the Shāh's allegations against the Shi'i beliefs on *ma'ād* (bodily resurrection) in the eighth chapter of the *Tuhfa*. The Mawlānā states that the Shāh had borrowed his account on non-Imāmiyya sects from the bigoted Nāsibī, al-Shahras-tānī, and did not quote any reliable authorities. Conversely the Sunnī authorities such as Rūmī and Jāmi believed in the transmigration of souls. For example Rūmī wrote :

“I have seen 770 bodies,
Like grass I have been born and reborn.”

Leading *sūfi* authorities boldly assert that God moves into the body of a pig or a dog. The Shi'is believe that Allāh inflicts punishments on sinners

104 *Ibid.*, pp. 388-92.

105 *Ibid.*, pp. 392-96.

106 *Ibid.*, pp. 396-99.

107 *Ibid.*, pp. 410-13.

as part of His justice. Like the Sunnis, the Shī'īs believe that the Prophet intercedes for his people. The *sūfīs*, however, sinfully assert that their *pīrs* enter directly into paradise and take their followers with them without any intercession.¹⁰⁸

Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī was a very pious man who devoted his entire life to teaching and writing scholarly works. His *fatwas* were accepted unquestioningly by the Shī'īs. He was also a successful arbitrator in many complex disputes. Even disagreements of longstanding between Shī'īs and Sunnis were resolved by his verdicts. Although he did not hold any official positions he was deeply respected by all sections of the populace. He built two Imāmbārhas and two mosques; one of each at Lucknow and the others at Nasirabad. Dildār 'Alī's devotion to Friday and congregational prayers made them popular among the Shī'īs in India. His sermons raised the standard of Shī'ī lectures and the patterns he set were taken up even by the Shī'īs outside Lucknow.

At his suggestion Nawwāb Āsafu'd-Dawla built a canal in Karbalā and financed the re-building of the Imāms' tomb there. The Nawwāb and his successors also sent liberal gifts to the seminaries, students and deserving people at Karbalā, Najaf and other holy Shī'ī centres in Iraq.¹⁰⁹

Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī's sons and disciples were also pious, dedicated scholars and teachers. The Shī'īs considered them the undisputed leaders of the community.

On 23 Jumāda I 1235/8 March 1820, Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī made his eldest son his successor. The Mawlānā died in the night of 19 Rajab 1235/2 May 1820. His body was buried in his Imāmbārha at Lucknow. He was given the title *Ghufrān Ma'āb* (he who has taken refuge in Divine forgiveness) to show respect to his memory.

Ghufrān Ma'āb's Sons

Ghufrān Ma'āb's eldest son, Sayyid Muhammad, was born at Lucknow, on 17 Safar 1199/30 December 1784. He was a precocious child and his father's teaching resulted in his being made a *mujtahid* at the young age of nineteen. His father in his *ijāza* wrote that previously his enemies' jealousy had prevented him from writing the *ijāza*. Now that Sayyid Muhammad had developed exceptional talents in *hadīs*, *tafsīr* (exegesis), *kalām* (scholasticism), *usūl* (principles of jurisprudence), *fiqh* (jurisprudence), *rijāl* (biography) and grammar he was now ripe to undertake the arduous duties of a *mujtahid*.

Ghufrān Ma'āb assigned teaching responsibilities to Sayyid Muhammad

108 *Ibid.*, pp. 410-11.

109 *Sawānīhāt-i salāṭīn-i Awadh*, pp. 112-14; *Ā'ina-i Haqq-numā'*, ff. 142a-144a; *Tazkiratu'l-'ulamā'*, ff. 197a-200b.

while he was still very young. His lectures on *fiqh*, *usūl* and other important branches of learning aroused considerable interest in higher learning among his contemporaries. Sayyid Muhammad maintained very high standards and during Sultan Nasīru'd-Dīn Haydar's reign had an uphill task in preventing the Sultan from implementing childish and frivolous innovations into the ceremonies commemorating the birth and death of the Imāms. Despite their efforts, Sultan Nasīru'd-Dīn and his successors were unable to overrule the Mawlānā's directive that whatever had been made unlawful by Prophet Muhammad during his lifetime was unlawful until the day of resurrection.

Amjad 'Alī Shāh appointed Sayyid Muhammad as the head of his newly established judicial department called the *mīrāfi'a-i Shari'a*. Sayyid Muhammad engaged *mūftīs* throughout the kingdom in order to introduce legal uniformity among the Shi'is throughout Awadh. On his initiative, *zakāt* was deducted from the king's property and distributed among the deserving in accordance with Shi'i law. Subsequently he persuaded Amjad 'Alī Shāh to found a college in Nawwāb Sa'ādāt 'Alī Khān's tomb at Lucknow. The Shāh ordered that a seal be engraved for the Sayyid with the titles *mujtahidul-'asr* (the *mujtahid* of the age) and *Sultānu'l-'Ulamā'* (the Prince of the '*ulamā'*'). The king also commanded that these titles should be used in official correspondence and, ultimately, the Mawlānā was known by them. The celebrated poet Mirzā Asadu'llāh Khān Ghālib addressed him as *mujtahidul-'asr* but generally he was known as *Sultānu'l-'Ulamā'*.

Amjad 'Alī's successor, Wājid 'Alī Shāh, was also deeply devoted to *Sultānu'l-'Ulamā'* and his authority remained undiminished. On his recommendation, Wājid 'Alī Shāh sent donations to monuments, institutions and individuals in Mecca, Medina, Najaf, Karbalā and Mashhad. The *Sultānu'l-'Ulamā'* also suggested that grants be made in Lucknow and other places in Awadh and the Shāh complied with. *Fatwas* were issued by the *Sultānu'l-'Ulamā'* on all religious, social and economic issues, while Shi'is from all over India asked him for rulings on their problems. His considered opinion was highly respected. The Sunni '*ulamā'*' were also impressed with his learning and frequently called on him. His courtesies had endeared him to all sections of the society. Even after the fall of the Awadh rule his popularity did not decline. When Awadh was re-occupied by the British forces he moved to a remote town with his family members and dependants. His house was besieged by some British soldiers but the recommendations of some loyal dignitaries of the British saved him and his family.

110 *Nujūmū's-samā'*, pp. 346-51; *Warāsatul-'anbiyā'*, pp. 16-19.

111 *Warāsatul-'anbiyā'*, pp. 20-25, Mahdī b. Najaf 'Alī, *Tazkiratu'l-'ulamā'*, Ms. Personal collection, ff. 224a-240a.

Besides his vast knowledge of Shi'ī and Sunnī works, the Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' was endowed with ready wit and humour. He disposed of even the most tangled issues in a quick and amusing manner which saved embarrassment. When he was summoned to court and asked to express his opinion on *jihād* against infidels by the British magistrate, he replied that it was not permissible during the occultation of Imām Mahdī. The magistrate asked what the Shi'ī reaction during his presence would be. The Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' responded that in that event, Christ would also accompany the Imām and the Imām's order would be universally obeyed. No action could be taken against him. The respect he commanded among the populace made the British authorities considerate towards him. His salary was stopped but he was granted a pension of one thousand rupees and exempted from attendance at court. He was allowed to keep arms without a licence and assigned a seat in the British *durbār*.

On 22 Rabi' I 1284/24 July 1867, the Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' died at Lucknow.¹¹² Like his father he was a devoted teacher and a prolific author. His works were also designed to refute the *akhbārīs*, to explain the fundamentals of the Shi'ī faith and *fiqh* and the contributions of Ahl-i Bayt to Islamic life. They include glosses and commentaries on classical texts of religious knowledge, and the refutations of the *Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya*. The Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' also wrote rejoinders to the statements made by Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz's leading disciple, Mawlānā 'Abdu'r-Rashīd.

One of Ghufrān Ma'āb's disciples, Sayyid Murtazā Akhbārī (d. around 1230/1815), wrote a refutation of his teacher's *Isās al-usūl*. The Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' wrote the *Asl al-usūl* to vindicate his father. Another book, the *Ihya' al-ijtihād* by the Sultānu'l-'Ulamā', is an important contribution to the study of *fiqh*. The *Fawā'id-i Nasiriyya* discusses the rules on *zakāt* and *khums*. The *Risāla dar namāz-i jum'a* deals with the importance of congregational prayers. The Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' wrote commentaries on the *Sharh Sullam* by Mullā Hamdu'llāh, *Sharh Saghār* by Sayyid 'Alī Tabātabā'i and the *Zubdat al-usūl*. *Gawhar-i Shāhwār* comprises answers to Sultan Nasīru'd-Dīn Haydar's questions on the Qur'ān and the Imāms. The correct recitation of the Qur'ān is discussed by the Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' in the *Saba' al-masānī fi'l-qir'at wat-tajwīd*. The *Samrātū'l-khilāfa* is designed to prove that the Sunnīs do not believe in the martyrdom of Imām Husayn. The Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' compiled *al-Ujalātū'n-nāfi'a* in 1228/1813-14. It is a major work on *kalām* and discusses the basic principles of the Shi'ī faith. The seventh chapter of the *Tuhfa*, criticising the Shi'ī belief in the *Imāmat* and the occultation

112 *Nuzha*, VII, p. 415; *Tazkira-i Bī-bahā'*, pp. 249-51; *Tāju'l-'ulamā'*, *Tārā'if wa zarā'if*, Ms. Aghā Mahdī, *Tārikh-i Sultānu'l-'Ulamā'*, Karachi, 1967.

of the twelfth Imām, was rebutted by Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' in his *Bawāriq-i mūbiqa*. He also refuted the tenth chapter dealing with Shi'i *matā'in* (indictments) against the enemies of Ahl-i Bayt, in three important works. His *Ta'nu'r-rimāh* discusses Abū Bakr's confiscation of Fadak and 'Umar's obstruction of the presentation of pen and paper to the Prophet on his death-bed. The *Bāriqa-i Zayghamiyya* defends *mut'a* (marriage for a limited period) which 'Umar banned. The *Barq-i Khātif* by him deals with the *nifāq* (hypocrisy) of Prophet's wife, 'Ā'isha. *Samsām-i Qāti'* discusses the popular *ahādīs* regarding the liberated sect of Islam and asserts that only Shi'is belong to it.

In 1237/1822 Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz's favourite disciple, Mawlānā Muhammad Rashīdu'd-Dīn (d. 1249/1833) wrote the *Sawlat-i Ghazanfariyya wa Shawkat-i 'Umarīyya* refuting the *Bāriqa-i Zayghamiyya* by the Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' on *mut'a*. Initially, Rashīdu'd-Dīn stated that he would not reply to the disparaging phrases, sneering sarcasm and personal attacks which the *Bāriqa's* author had made on Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz for the following reasons:

1. The author belongs to a Sayyid family and it is obligatory for Muslims to show them respect;
2. Obscene language does not behove 'ulamā', it is the language of the vulgar mob;
3. The use of harsh language does not make a reply effective.

The reply to the *Sawlat-i Ghazanfariyya* was written by the Sultānu'l-'Ulamā', although he attributed it to his disciple, Sayyid Bāqir Shāh. The Mawlānā retorted that the harsh language against the *Tuhfa's* author in the *Bāriqa-i Zayghamiyya* was used in retaliation for the abusive statements made by that author against the most revered and pious Ja'fariyya 'Ulamā'. The Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' wrote that the title chosen by the Mawlānā for his work was most inappropriate. *Ghazanfar* (Lion) was 'Alī's title and he had favoured the legality of *mut'a*, contending "Had Khattāb's son ('Umar) not forbidden *mut'a*, only felons would commit adultery or fornication." A more relevant title for the Khān's book would be *Sawlat-i Bakriyya* (*Abu Bakr's Intrepidity*) or *Farrāh-i 'Umarīyya* or *Nāsabiyya* (*The Ingenuity of 'Umar or Na'sal*; the latter was the title given to 'Usmān by 'Ā'isha).¹¹³

The works of both authors, however, exhibit considerable restraint. Mawlānā Rashīd referred to the Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' as *Sayyidu'l-Wahīd* (the unique Sayyid) and the Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' called him *Fāzilu'r-Rashīd* (learned Rashīd or guide).¹¹³

The Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' also wrote the *Risāla-i Taqiyya* justifying the

113 *Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz*, pp. 466-67; *Infra*, p. 402.

Shi'i practice of *taqiyya* and condemning the Sunni vilification of Shi'i beliefs.

Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī's second son, Sayyid 'Alī, was born at Lucknow on 18 Shawwāl 1200/14 August 1786. He was educated by his father and became a specialist in the recitation of the Qur'ān. He had an attractive personality and delivered sermons very effectively. In 1245/1827-28, he travelled to Karbalā and, both en route and in Karbalā, engaged unhesitatingly in religious debates. He returned to Lucknow a year later. In 1256/1840-41 he travelled to Karbalā via Mashhad with a large party but suffered considerable hardship because of inadequate funds. On 18 Ramazān 1259/12 October 1843 he died in Karbalā and was buried there. His only son was Sayyid Kalb-i Husayn.

Of his works, two volumes of Qur'ānic exegesis are very important contributions to religious literature. He also wrote a treatise on the recitation of the Qur'ān. In another treatise he refuted the *Akhbārī* arguments. The Sayyid wrote a book on the legality of the mourning ceremonies for Imām Husayn. He wrote several polemical treatises, one discusses Fadak and two others endorse the legality of *mut'a*.¹¹⁴

Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī's third son, Mawlānā Sayyid Hasan, was born on 21 Zu'lqā'da 1205/21 July 1791. He was a man of ascetic temperament who did not appear very intelligent. Nevertheless, like his brothers, he also attained a very high standard of scholarship, but he kept his talents hidden. He secretly helped the poor Shi'is and was interested in the welfare of the congregation who assembled in the mosque. He died on 11 Shawwāl 1260/24 October 1844 leaving behind two sons: Mawlāwī Sayyid Hasan Musanna and Sayyid Minha.

Sayyid Hasan wrote a book on *kalām* and a treatise on the recitation of the Qur'ān. His sermons were also compiled in a book. In a treatise he discussed the rules concerning the disposal of corpses. He also wrote an Arabic treatise on the phrase *Inshā Allāh* (If God wills). His commentary on Euclid shows his varied-interests.¹¹⁵

Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī's fourth son, Sayyid Mahdī, was born at Lucknow in 1208/1793-94. Like his brothers he also studied under his father, with extra tuition from the local 'ulamā'. He died while still young in 1231/1815-16. He wrote commentaries and glosses on classical works. The name of his only son was Sayyid Hādī.¹¹⁶

Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī's youngest son was Sayyid Husayn. He was born on 14 Rabī' II 1211/17 October 1796 and was taught by his father

114 *Nujūmūs-samā'*, ff. 402-5; *Warāsatul-anbiyā'*, pp. 39-45; *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 214-15. *Matla'-i anwār*, p. 336.

115 *Nujūmūs-samā'*, pp. 405-6; *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 122-23.

116 *Nujūmūs-samā'*, pp. 406-7; *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 325-26; *Warāsatul-anbiyā'*, pp. 54-57; *Matla'-i anwār*, pp. 648-49.

and the Sultānu'l-'Ulamā'. Sayyid Husayn and his brothers, Sayyid Mahdi and Sayyid Hasan, studied together. Despite his youth, Sayyid Husayn exhibited more perspicacity than his brothers. At the age of seventeen Mawlānā Sayyid Husayn obtained the status of a *mujtahid* and began to write like a mature scholar. Sayyid Mahdi encouraged Sayyid Husayn to develop his talents and never hesitated to admit his younger brother's superiority in understanding problems in *fiqh*. Sayyid Husayn's angelic temperament had a strong impact on his contemporaries. He never complained when unpalatable food was served at his table and, when he was given appetising meals, mixed them with water to render them distasteful. He was also very generous, especially to the poor and needy. The Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' had delegated his responsibilities for teaching, writing and the distribution of *zakāt* to the Mawlānā while he concentrated on his official duties in the judiciary of the kingdom. The Mawlānā never relaxed. When afternoon prayers were over, on Mondays, Thursdays and Fridays he delivered sermons. Throughout the month of Ramazān he gave constant orations. His sermons were devoted mainly to Qur'ānic exegesis, and the fundamentals of Islamic beliefs. His activities did not prevent him from calling on the sick and consoling them.

At his instance the Nawwāb of Awadh contributed rupees 150,000 for the construction of the Āsafi canal in Najaf, and rupees 15,000 to build tombs for Muslim bin 'Aqil and Hānī at Kūfa. The money was sent to Mawlānā Muhammad Hasan and the projects were completed in 1263/1846-47. Rupees 30,000 were also remitted to Hujjatu'l Islām Sayyid Ibrāhīm Hā'iri by the Awadh government for the ornamentation of the gateway and portico of the tomb of Imām Husayn's brother, 'Abbās. A further rupees 150,000 were sent to Mawlānā Sayyid Ibrāhīm for the construction of the Husayni canal at Karbalā. Mawlānā Sayyid Husayn was instrumental in the allocation of funds to other '*ulamā'*' at the holy shrines in Iraq. Nawwāb Amjad 'Ali Shāh granted him a seal engraved with honorary titles including *Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā'* (the leader of the '*ulamā'*'). The Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' associated him in his official duties.

Incessant work and long hours of prayers and fasting shattered the Mawlānā's health. He died on 17 Safar 1273/17 October 1856. Not only was Lucknow plunged into sorrow, but the whole country mourned his loss. In a letter to Anwāru'd-Dawla Sa'du'd-Dīn Khān Shafaq of Kalpi, the famous Urdu poet Ghālib wrote:

“Possibly you know that Miran Sāhib has died. He was the younger brother of Mujtahidu'l-'Asr of Lucknow. His name was Sayyid Husayn and Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā' was his title. On his signet ring Mir Husayn ibn 'Ali was engraved. I have written a chronogram of the date of his death. The total number of the letters in it exceed by five i.e. the total is 1278.

A new style of adjustment has come to my mind. To me it looks nice.
Let us see if you like it.

Husayn ibn 'Alī, honour to knowledge and action.

On his signet ring was engraved Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā'.

He died, had he lived for five more years,

The year of his death would have been "the mourning of Husayn son of 'Alī."¹¹⁷

Other eminent poets also wrote chronograms on Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā's death. He had written about twenty books. *The Risāla tajzī fi'l ijtihād* was composed when he was seventeen and was admired both by the Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' and Ghufrān Ma'āb. The *Manāhij al-tahqīq wa ma'ārij al-tahqīq* is a comprehensive work on prayers in Arabic which the Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā' completed after his father's death. It was held in great esteem by contemporary Arab scholars who could hardly believe that it had been written by an Indian scholar. The *Mukhtasar al-rā'iq al-ghā'iq*, also known as the *Wajizat al-rā'iq*, is a treatise on the acceptance of prayers. The *Rawzat al-ihkām fi masā'il al-halāl wa'l-harām* contains a concise and sharp discussion on the problems of *fiqh* in Persian. *Ifādāt-i Husayniyya* deals with Shī'ī beliefs and the occultation of the twelfth Imām. The work also refutes the theories of Shaykh Ahmad bin Zaynu'd-Dīn ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ahsa'ī (d. 1243/1827-28), the founder of the Shaykhiyya movement in Iran. At the request of Amjad 'Alī Shāh, Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā' wrote the *Hadiqa-i Sultāniyya* containing a discussion on the fundamental principles of Islam. The discussion on *Imāma* is very comprehensive. His notes on the *Kitāb al-Sawm* (book on fasting) in the *Riyāzu'l-masā'il* are an analytical study. The Sayyid's comments on the *Sharh al-Hidāya* by Mullā Sadra exhibit his mature philosophical thinking. The *Risāla Tabhar al-'uqūl fi tahqīq al-nisbat bayn al-haqīqa wa'l-majāz al-manqūl* is an Arabic work on the principles of *fiqh*. The *Amāli al-tafsīr wa'l-mawā'iz al-nāfi'a* comprises his sermons. The *Kitāb fi majālis al-'azā*, in two volumes, contains lectures related to the mourning ceremony of Muharram. *Risāla Mufardah fi'l-mirās* deals with patrimony. The *Risāla fi taswīgh al-la'n 'alā'l-munāfiqīn* justifies the condemnation of hypocrites. The Sayyid also produced treatises on the recitation of the Qur'ān and the doubts in the first two *raka't* (genuflection) of prayers. The *Risāla Wasīlatu'n najāt* comprises a philosophical discussion on Divinity, prophethood and *Imāma*. Mawlānā Sayyid Husayn also wrote treatises on exegeses of the following chapters and verses in the Qur'ān.

1. The first chapter.
2. The chapter on Unity.
3. The opening verses of the chapter "Cow".

117 *Urdū-i Mu'alla*, Lahore, 1920, p. 232.

4. Chapter 79, verse 1.

The Mawlānā's *fatwas* were not collected and compiled. They would have formed several volumes of *fiqh* literature.¹¹⁸

Ghufrān Ma'āb's Grandsons and their Descendants

Sultānu'l-'Ulamā''s eldest son, Muhammad Bāqir, was born in 1214/1799-1800. He was educated by his father, Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā' and other contemporary scholars. Amjad 'Ali Shāh appointed him to the presidency of the civil court and conferred the title *Munsifū'd-Dawla* (judge of the kingdom) and *Sharifū'l-mulk* (the illustrious one of the country) on him. The Mawlānā, however, led a simple, ascetic life. His house in the Sarā'i Ma'āli Khān was made from village tiles but he built an imposing imāmbāra and a mosque in Mahdiganj. He donated flowers made of gold and silver for the *ta'ziyas*. Muhammad Bāqir collected an extensive library of books relating to *hadīs*, *fiqh* and history. He died on 10 Jumāda II 1276/4 January 1859. His *Tash'id Mabāniū'l Īmān* refutes the *Basāratu'l 'ayn* by Mawlānā Haydar 'Ali. The *Sayf-i Sārim* is also an important polemical work. Mawlānā Muhammad Bāqir wrote a treatise on *Hajj* and another on the problems involved in the marriage of an adulteress's daughter.

Sultānu'l-'Ulamā''s second son, Sayyid Muhammad Sādiq, was an eloquent preacher. He argued competently in polemics with the Christians. He died on 4 Rajab 1258/11 August 1842. He wrote a treatise entitled *Tā'idū'l-Muslimīn fi asbāt Khātamu'n-Nabiyīn wa'r-rad 'alā'l-Masihīn* contradicting the Christian beliefs about the advent of a Messiah. The *Qāṭi' al-aznāb* and *Qāmi'an-nisāb* are important polemical works by the Mawlānā.¹¹⁹

Sultānu'l-'Ulamā''s third son, Sayyid Murtazā, acquired an extensive religious education and a good military training. The Nawwābs of Awadh assigned him an important position in the police department. He was given the title *Khulāsatu'l-'Ulamā'* (The essence of 'Ulamā'). During the 1857-58 struggle for independence he very ably defended his father from the British sepoys. He was also a good teacher and a competent *mujtahid*. He died on 18 Ramazān 1276/9 April 1860. Apparently he was too busy to write a book.¹²⁰

Sultānu'l-'Ulamā''s fourth son, Sayyid 'Abdu'llāh, was expert in *fiqh*, Arabic literature and history. His *Bustānu'l-wā'izin* is an important work on religious sermons. *Radd-i Ghulāt-i Shi'a*, is designed to counter the Shi'i *ghulāt* (extremist). His *Khulāsatu'l ā'māl* and *Sabīlu'n-najāt* are works on prayer. He died on 19 Ramazān 1266/29 July 1850.¹²¹

118 *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 124-28; *Warāsatu'l-anbiyā'*, pp. 57-158; Muftī Muhammad 'Abbās, *Awraqū'z-zahb*, Ms.; *Takmila-i Nujūm*, II, pp. 125-28.

119 *Nuzha*, VII, p. 217; *Bī-bahā'*, p. 194; *Takmila-i Nujūm*, II, pp. 39-41.

120 *Nuzha*, VII, p. 479; *Bī-bahā'*, p. 335; *Takmila-i Nujūm*, pp. 180-84.

121 *Nuzha*, VII, p. 303; *Takmila-i Nujūm*, II, p. 61.

Sultānu'l-'Ulamā's fifth son, Āqā Banda Husayn, was also tutored by his father and subsequently granted the status of a *mujtahid*. Since his four elder brothers had died during their father's lifetime, Āqā Banda Husayn became his father's successor. He achieved fame as a logician, a philosopher and a *faqih*. He also received excellent military training. The Awadh government awarded him the title Maliku'l-'Ulamā' (the Prince of 'ulamā'). He died on 29 Jumāda 1269/20 June 1879. He wrote an exegesis of the Qur'ān entitled the *Tafsīr-i Shīrīn*. His *Mawā'iz-i Husayniyya* is a collection of sermons. The *Qawā'id al-mawāris*, in Urdu, contains tables relating to patrimony. His *Risālatu'l-Khalīliyya*, *Tuhfatu's-sālikīn*, *al-Sirāt al-Sawī* and *Nahj al-Sadād*, deal with different aspects of Shi'i beliefs. Several volumes of his *fatwas* were compiled. He also wrote a treatise dealing with legal objections in dining with Jews and Christians.¹²²

Āqā Banda Husayn's two sons, Sayyid Muhammad Husayn and Mawlānā Abu'l-Hasan, made a singular contribution to the Ghufrān Ma'āb tradition of teaching and research. Sayyid Muhammad Husayn was born on 1 Rajab 1267/2 May 1851 and was known by his pet name 'Allan Sāhib. He was educated by his father, Muftī Muhammad 'Abbās and other leading 'ulamā' in Lucknow. He studied medicine under Hakīm Kamālu'd-Dīn of Mohan and practised in the surgery of Hakīm Nabbā Sāhib. He also received military training and became an expert horseman. Except for teaching, he assigned the family religious duties to his younger brother. Both Sunni and Shi'i scholars attended his lectures on medicine, logic, *kalām*, *fiqh* and the principles of *fiqh*. In 1299/1881-82 he visited Iraq and heard the advanced lectures given by the eminent 'ulamā' there. They also recognised him as a *mujtahid*. When he returned from Iraq his lecturing talents were sharpened and gained more popularity. After his younger brother's death, the family religious responsibilities reverted to his own shoulders. He reorganized the library and efficiently managed the family property. He introduced a new pattern into the religious sermons commemorating Imām Husayn's martyrdom. These were based on a critical study of *kalām*, *fiqh* and *hadīs*. Gradually these became popular with other 'ulamā'. Wājid 'Alī Shāh gave him the title *Bahru'l-'Ulūm* (Ocean of knowledge). He died on 28 Rajab 1325/6 September 1907.

He wrote books in Arabic, Persian and Urdu and translated the *Zubdatu'l-Usūl* into Urdu. He produced a treatise on the illegality of music. His Urdu book on sermons entitled the *Bināu'l-Islām* was also very famous.¹²³

His disciples achieved considerable fame in the twentieth century. Of these Mawlāwī Āqā Hasan and Abu'l-Hasan (Munnan Sāhib) deserve special mention. Mawlānā Āqā Hasan's grandfather, Muhammad Husayn

122 *Nuzha*, VII, pp. 102-3; *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 85-86.

123 *Nuzha*, VIII, pp. 424-25; *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 370-77.

of Nasirabad, was a *mujtahid* whose son, Sayyid Kalb-i Husayn, was also a scholar. Āqā Hasan, son of Kalb-i Husayn, was born on 26 Rabi' 1282/19 August 1865. His mother was a descendant of Ghufrān Ma'āb Āqā Hasan studied under Mawlānā 'Allan Sāhib. Afterwards he finished his education in Iraq. Besides being an 'ālim, he was an active reformer. In 1319/1901-2 he founded the *Anjuman Sadru's-Sudūr* which four years later came to fruition as the All India Shi'a Conference. In 1328/1910-11 he founded an association of the 'ulamā', *Anjuman Yādgar-i 'ulamā'*. It also published many books. In 1337/1918-19 he established a *Shi'a Baytu'l-Māl* (Shi'a public treasury) and drew the attention of Shi'as to the need to become skilled artisans and useful members of society. In 1323/1906 he succeeded his father-in-law and maternal uncle 'Imādu'l-'Ulamā' Muhammad Mustafā Mir Āghā Mujtahid. On 7 Rabi' II 1348/12 September 1929, he died. He authored a book in Arabic on *fiqh* and two treatises on religious duties. He was known as the Qudwatu'l-'Ulamā' (the leader of the 'ulamā').¹²⁴ Of his twenty-two sons, Mawlānā Sayyid Kalb-i Husayn alias *Kabban Sāhib* (d. 6 October 1963) was a good orator.

Bahru'l-'Ulūm 'Allan Sāhib's younger brother, Abu'l-Hasan, was born in 1168/1851. His pet name was Bachchan Sāhib. Like his brother he was not a genius, nevertheless, he attained a very high standard in religious learning. He was given the title *Malāzu'l-'Ulamā'* (Asylum of the 'Ulamā') by Wājid 'Alī Shāh. In 1350/1931-32 the British Government gave him the title *Shamsu'l-'Ulamā'*. He introduced the *dars-i khārij* (advanced lectures) on the pattern of Najaf at Lucknow. He wrote the *Tanzīhu'l-'uqūd fī hall shubhāt 'āmmatu'l-warūd*, on *fiqh*. His commentary on the *Sharh Mullā Jāmi* is a very useful work. He died on 17 Safar 1309/22 September 1891. His most famous disciples were Najmu'l-'Ulamā' Sayyid Najmu'l-Hasan (d. 1357/1938) and Sayyid Zahūr Husayn (d. 1357/1938).¹²⁵

Sultānu'l-'Ulamā's sixth son, Sayyid 'Alī Akbar, was born in 1249/1833-34. He was also a highly respected 'ālim and wrote several books. Of these *Sharh-i Khutba-i Shi'qshiqiyya* is a very scholarly commentary on Imām 'Alī's most controversial sermon, the *Shi'qshiqiyya*. He also wrote a commentary on Imām 'Alī's famous letter to Mālik ibn al-Ashtar, his governor-designate to Basra, on the rules of government. His commentary on the Joseph chapter of the Qur'ān is very impressive. *Ma'āriju'l-'irfān* comprises a very detailed discussion on the basic principles of the Shi'i faith. *Bashārāt-i Ghaybiyya* deals with Divine favours to the pious.¹²⁶

Sultānu'l-'Ulamā's seventh son, 'Alī Muhammad, was born in Shawwāl 1262/September-October 1846 and was educated by his father. After his

124 *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 58-59.

125 *Nuzha*, VIII, pp. 7-8; *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 22-25.

126 *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 249-50.

father's death he went to Iraq and sat at the feet of the eminent 'ulamā' there. His contemporaries called him *Tājū'l-'Ulamā'* (Crown of the 'ulamā'). He also learnt Hebrew in order to enter into polemics confidently with the Christians and Jews. His ready wit and quick intellect left his opponents speechless. The Christian priests were also impressed with his intelligence and learning. On one occasion the Mawlānā fell ill and a Christian priest called on him. The priest remarked that if the Mawlānā only believed in God's son, he would be immune to all diseases. The Mawlānā replied that had this been the case no Christian would ever be sick. Secondly those who were devoted to the father were embarrassed to exhibit devotion to the son.

Once the Mawlānā was travelling in a second class railway compartment with a passenger who had brought his dog with him. The man began to fondle the animal in order to tease the Mawlānā. The Mawlānā was upset but made no objections. When the passenger grew tired, the Mawlānā told him that to caress a dog was not befitting for a human being. The man replied that he kept the dog with him for safety and added that, as angels avoided dogs, the angel of death would not approach him. The Mawlānā replied that the devils who deprived dogs of their soul would deprive him of his soul too. There was no way of escaping death.

The Mawlānā was a prolific author. He composed books in Arabic and Persian but preferred to write in Urdu which, by the end of the nineteenth century, had become the *lingua-franca* of the upper classes. His works in Urdu include an exegesis on the Qur'ān, books on fundamental Islamic duties for popular use, a treatise for children and a comprehensive book for preachers called *Tuhfatū'l-wā'izīn*. Mawlānā 'Alī Muhammad died on 4 Rabi' II 1312/5 October 1894.¹²⁷

Sultānu'l-'Ulamā's two remaining sons, Sayyid Ghulām Husayn and Sayyid Muhammad 'Alī, did not win the fame of his other sons but they were popular 'ālīms.

Hādī Naqawī, the son of Sayyid Muhammad Mahdī and a grandson of Ghufrān Ma'āb, was born on 7 Rajab 1228/6 July 1813. When he was three years old his father died; when he was seven years old Ghufrān Ma'āb died. Sayyid Muhammad Hādī's uncle Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' therefore brought him up and subsequently married his daughter to him. Amjad 'Alī Shāh gave Mawlānā Hādī the titles *Sadrū'sh-Sharī'at* (head of the *sharī'at*) and *'Umdatū'l-'Ulamā'* (finest among the 'ulamā'). He was appointed chief *sadr* of Lucknow. Besides his official duties, teaching and research, he studied Judaism and Christianity intensively and wrote treatises refuting the Christian missionary literature. His *Risāla dar Radd-i Nasāra* in Persian counters the Christian missionaries' attacks on

127 *Nuzha*, VIII, pp. 331-32; *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 239-43.

Muslim prayers and fasting. The *Risāla farq baynu'l muhāl-i 'aqlī wa'l muhāl-i 'ādī* discusses two types of impossibility, rational and customary. The Mawlānā also wrote a commentary on the *Hablu'l-matīn* by Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn 'Āmīlī and a book on the principles of *fiqh*. His exegesis on Qur'ānic verses is important. One of his treatises praises the Prophet Muhammad on the basis of the books of Moses.¹²⁸

Both of his sons were *mujtahids* but the most distinguished was Muhammad Mustafā Mir Āghā (b. Rabī' I 1252/June-July 1836). His contemporaries referred him as *'Imādu'l-'ulamā'* (pillar of the *'ulamā'*). He was a prolific author and wrote in Arabic, Persian and Urdu. In his career as a *mujtahid* he is said to have written more than 100,000 *fatwas* but they have not been compiled into a book. He died on 11 Ramazān 1323/10 November 1905.¹²⁹

Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā' Sayyid Husayn had two sons, the elder 'Alī Husayn, was both an *'ālim* and a physician. He studied medicine under the famous medical practitioners in Lucknow and was counted among the most eminent of them. Wājid 'Alī Shāh awarded him the title *Zaynu'l-'Ulamā'* (the Ornament of the *'ulamā'*) and 'Azudu'd-Dīn (an arm of the faith).¹³⁰

Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā'. Sayyid Husayn's younger son Sayyid-Muhammad Taqī alias Mīran Sāhib was a very learned scholar and teacher. He was born on 16 Jumāda I 1234/12 March 1819 and was tutored by his father, Muftī Muhammad 'Abbās and other eminent scholars. Amjad 'Alī Shāh appointed him the head of the Madrasa-i Sultāniyya. After his father's death he became an important adviser to the Lucknow Shi'is. Several Shi'i trusts were placed under his control. He built an Imāmbārha and a mosque. He also founded a very valuable library with a good collection of rare books. His sermons highly impressed his audience and he wrote several books on the art of delivering them. He was deeply interested in Qur'ānic exegesis and produced the important *Yanābi' al-abrār*. His *Hadīqatu'l wā'izīn* and *Lam'atu'l-wā'izīn* are of great assistance to preachers. He also wrote a treatise on *Imāmat*. His *Lāli-i Imāmat* deals with the rules for the leader of congregational prayers. He died on 23 Ramazān 1289/24 November 1872. He was known as Mumtāzu'l-'Ulamā' (most distinguished among *'ulamā'*) and Fakhru'l-mudarrisīn (pride of teachers).¹³¹

One of Mumtāzu'l-'Ulamā' Sayyid Muhammad Taqī's sons, Muhammad Ibrāhīm, was born on 10 Jumāda II 1259/8 July 1843. His father was his main teacher. During British rule, established after 1858, the Mawlānā was regarded as a very distinguished Shi'i leader. Early in June

128 *Nuzha*, pp. 530-31; *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 441-42; *Takmila-i Nujūm*, II, pp. 175-79.

129 *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 361-63.

130 *Nuzha*, VII, pp. 322-23.

131 *Nuzha*, VII, pp. 430-31; *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 97-100; *Takmila-i Nujūm*, II, pp. 299-300.

1884, the English army camp, based in Āsafu'd-Dawla's Imāmbārha since 1857, was disbanded, and the Imāmbārha was handed back to the Shi'is. The Jum'a and 'Td prayers were resumed in the mosque. Mawlānā Muhammad Ibrāhīm subsequently repaired Tahsīn 'Alī Khān's mosque in Wazīrganj and extended his father's Imāmbārha. In 1289/1872 he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca; two years later he visited the holy shrines in Iraq and obtained recognition as a *mujtahid* there. In 1305/1887-88 he again visited Iraq and also Iran. In Tehran, Nasīru'd-Dīn Shāh Qājār (1264-1313/1848-96) treated him as a royal guest and offered him a diamond ring. From Tehran he visited Mashhad. The 'ulamā' in Iraq and Iran welcomed him warmly. The Government of India recognised his services and gave him the title *Shamsu'l-'Ulamā'*. His book, '*Amal 'Amil* clarifies the religious doubts held by a rich dignitary, Nawwāb Shifā'u'd-Dawla. In the *Bāriqa-i Zayghamiyya* he proved the legality of *mut'a*. The *Nūru'l-absār* deals with the biography of Mukhtār, who killed the leaders of Yazīd's army who martyred Imām Husayn and his followers and family members. He also wrote a book on Friday prayers. Originally it was entitled *Sham'a fi ahkām al-Jum'a* but, during his visit to Iran, he changed it to *Lam'a-i Nāsiriyya* to make it compatible with the Iranian Shāh's name. He produced a detailed work on *fiqh* and wrote an exegesis of several verses in the Qur'ān. His *fatwas* were compiled in book form. He died on 20 Jumāda I 1307/12 January 1890.¹³²

One of his disciples, Mirzā Muhammad Hadī Ruswā (d. 1931), was an engineer, scientist, mathematician and creative writer. He was a dedicated defender of the Shi'i faith. His un-published *Tuhfat al-Sunna*, comprising fifteen volumes in Urdu, is a rejoinder to the *Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya*.

Mawlānā Muhammad Husayn (d. 1337/1918), another disciple of Mawlānā Muhammad Ibrāhīm, was a great scholar and a very impressive orator. His speeches to mixed audiences of Shi'as, Sunnis and Hindus were greatly admired. He was a strong opponent of Sir Sayyid Ahmad's exegesis of the Qur'ān and wrote a book entitled *Tafsīr al-Burhān*, in Persian and Urdu, refuting Sayyid Ahmad's interpretation of *mī'rāj*. Mawlānā Muhammad Husayn's other works are also very scholarly. He was given the title *Muhaqqiq-i Hindī* (the leading researcher of India).¹³³

Of Mawlānā Muhammad Ibrāhīm's sons, Sayyid Ahmad (b. 1295/1878) published a large number of short tracts on various aspects of Islam. He also wrote a book called *Falsafāt al-Islām*, dealing with Islamic philosophy, in ten volumes. His *Himāyat al-Islām*, in two volumes, is a scholarly defence of Islam. In the *Warāsatu'l-anbiyā'* he gave the biogra-

132 *Matla'-i anwār*, pp. 477-80.

133 *Bī-bahā'*, p. 383.

phies of Ghufrān Ma'āb and his family. He died in Sha'bān 1366/June 1947. His contemporaries called him 'Allāma Hindī.¹³⁴

Sayyid Muhammad Ibrāhīm's son, Abu'l-Hasan alias Munnān Sāhib, (b. 1298/1881), was famous for his scholarship in *fiqh*. He was a good teacher and the author of *al-Tajzī fi'l-ijtihād* and *Hāshiyā-i Kifāyatul-Uṣūl*. He had four sons.¹³⁵ One of them, Mawlānā Sayyid 'Alī Naqī (Naqqan Sāhib), worked as a lecturer at Lucknow University and retired as the chairman of Shī'ī theology from Aligarh Muslim University. Mawlānā 'Alī Naqī is a very impressive and lucid orator. He is the author of an exegesis on the Qur'ān in Urdu and wrote short tracts to remove misunderstandings concerning Shī'ism and Islam. In 1942 he wrote a book to commemorate the 1300th anniversary of Imām Husayn's martyrdom, entitled the *Shahīd-i Insāniyat* (The Martyr for Humanity). Some thoughtless remarks in the work made Sayyid 'Alī Naqī a very controversial figure in India. His rivals, looking for an opportunity to discredit him, organized protest meetings and wrote pamphlets stigmatizing him in violent language. The Sayyid, however, made no counter-attacks and the storm died down.

Ghufrān Ma'āb's Legacy

Ghufrān Ma'āb and his descendants attracted a large number of disciples. The most prominent of these was Mawlānā Muftī Muhammad Qulī Kintūrī who was an institution in his own right. We shall, therefore, discuss his activities and those of his family under the heading "Kintūrī Family". Below we give the biographies of other important disciples of Ghufrān Ma'āb as well as those of his sons and grandsons.

Mawlānā Mīrzā Muhammad Khalīl was Ghufrān Ma'āb's most respected disciple. He had travelled to Iraq and Iran even before Ghufrān Ma'āb decided to embark upon the journey. There he studied under 'Allāma Tabātabā'i and tried to persuade him to move to India to help the Indian scholars. The 'Allāma resented his pupil's request and made the counter-suggestion that Mawlānā Khalīl should persuade the Indian students to come to the holy shrines in Iran and Iraq to reap the benefit of the educational and library facilities there. After his return to Lucknow, Mawlānā Khalīl urged Ghufrān Ma'āb to study in Iraq and Iran.

Ghufrān Ma'āb took the Mawlānā's advice. When he returned to Nasirabad after completing his education, Mawlānā Khalīl persuaded him to write scholarly works on *fiqh* and *hadīs*. It was at the Mawlānā's instigation, therefore, that Ghufrān Ma'āb produced a commentary on the chapters relating to fasting and *zakāt* in the *Hādīqatu'l-muttaqīn*. In

134 *Matla'-i anwār*, pp. 71-73.

135 *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

the preface of his monumental *'Imād al-Islām*, Ghufrān Ma'āb paid glowing tributes to the Mawlānā's wisdom. Mawlānā Khalīl's death around 1220/1805-6 was an irreparable loss to Ghufrān Ma'āb.¹³⁶

Fakhrū'd-Dīn Ahmad Khān, alias Mirzā Ja'far, another of Ghufrān Ma'āb's disciples, was the son of Muhsinu'z Zamān bin Fakhrū'd-Dīn bin Zaynu'd-Dīn of 'Ālamgīr's reign. He studied grammar under Mawlawī Sanā'u'llāh, *hikma* under Mullā Mubīn and mathematics under Tafazzul Husayn. Mawlānā Ghufrān Ma'āb was his teacher for the religious sciences. Trained by the best scholars of his age, he wrote on all important subjects with confidence and precision. He compiled commentaries both on Euclid and the *Almagest*. His *Haydariyya*, also known as *Āsafiyya*, comprises the *ahādīs* of the Imāms and the sayings of the *faqīhs*. He was also an orator and an astrologer. He died in 1230/1815.¹³⁷

Mawlānā Yād 'Alī Naqwi, a member of Ghufrān Ma'āb's family, was also his disciple. He was born in Nastrābād and was educated by many eminent scholars. Ghufrān Ma'āb trained him in the principles of *fiqh*. His house near the Rūmī Gate in Lucknow was a rendezvous for scholars in the religious and rational sciences. He was the author of a Qur'ānic exegesis entitled the *Manhaj al-Sādad*. He died on 25 Jumāda II 1253/26 September 1837.¹³⁸

Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-'Alī of Dewakhatta in Ghazipur and his two sons, Sayyid Muhammad and Sayyid Kalb-i 'Alī Fyzābādī, were all disciples of Ghufrān Ma'āb. Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-'Alī was also a disciple of Muhammad 'Alī Bādshāh. Āqā Muhammad Bāqīr Isfahānī authorised him to lead congregational prayers and he was appointed Imām for the Friday congregational prayers in (Fyzabad). In 1222/1807-8 he built a very impressive mosque in Dewakhatta. The Mawlānā was deeply devoted to the mourning ceremonies for the martyrs of Karbalā. His disciples made Ghazipur an important centre for Shī'ī learning and Shī'ī religious ceremonies. In 1243/1827 Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-'Alī died.¹³⁹

His disciple, Mawlānā Sayyid Ahmad 'Alī bin 'Ināyat Haydar of Muhammadabad (in Azamgarh) was an outstanding *'alīm*. He sat at the feet of Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-'Alī in Fyzabad, and then moved to Lucknow, where he studied under Mawlānā Ghufrān Ma'āb. He taught at the Shāhī Madraṣa until 1857-58, when he went on a pilgrimage. On his return he began to teach senior scholars at his own residence in the Pātā Nālā quarters of Lucknow. He prepared his lectures very thoroughly and made personal comments on the books in his courses. He wrote a

136 *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 144-45.

137 *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 280-81.

138 *Takmila-i Nuḡūm*, II, pp. 38-39.

139 *Nuzha*, VII, p. 287; *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 212-13.

biography of the Prophet Muhammad entitled the *Tuhfatul-mu'jazāt* and a book on the life of the twelfth Imām called the *Sabhatul-jamān*. He refuted some chapters of the *Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya* and wrote a book confuting the *Muntahil-kalām* by Mawlānā Haydar 'Alī Fyzābādī. He was the author of exegeses of several verses of the Qur'ān. He died at the ripe old age of ninety on 17 Rabi' I 1295/21 March 1878.¹⁴⁰

Mawlānā Ashraf 'Alī, another eminent disciple of Ghufrān Ma'āb, consolidated the traditions of Shī'i learning in Bilgaram. He died in 1270/1854.¹⁴¹

Amroha, east of Delhi, developed into a centre for Shī'i learning during the lifetime of Ghufrān Ma'āb's disciple, Mawlānā Sayyid Muhammad 'Ibādat bin Muhammad Najābat (d. around 1225/1816). He lived in the Shafā'atpota quarters of Amroha said to have been founded in Shāhjahān's reign. His ancestors had settled in Amroha during Shāhjahān's reign but it was Mawlānā Muhammad 'Ibādat who founded a Shī'i mosque there and organised Friday and congregational prayers. The mosque was extended by Hājjī Ashraf 'Alī 'Azīmābādī in 1233/1817-18 and was known popularly as the Ashrafu'l-masājid. Besides his comprehensive religious education, the Mawlānā was famous for his knowledge of Euclid. He had studied mathematics under a Sunni teacher Mawlāwī Barkat Sāhib whose disciples included many great scholars.¹⁴²

Mawlānā Muhammad 'Ibādat's son, Mawlānā Sayyid Muhammad Siyādat, was also an eminent scholar. He was born in 1211/1796 and received his higher education at Lucknow. Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā' Mawlānā Sayyid Husayn granted him permission to perform *ijtihād*. He was also deeply involved in teaching. In 1263/1846-47, he renovated the Ashrafu'l-masājid. He died two years later.¹⁴³

Mawlānā Siyādat's two sons were also very gifted. The elder, Muhammad 'Askarī was a genius. He was expert in medicine, and was highly proficient in philosophy, astronomy, mathematics and logic. He obtained certificates of higher education in religion from both Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' and Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā'. He renovated the mosque built by his father and grandfather and had it decorated in a most attractive fashion. The inscriptions were cut after the calligraphy of Mawlānā Awlād Husayn Amrohawī (d. 1338/1920), the son of Mawlānā 'Askarī's younger brother, Mawlānā Muhammad Hasan Amrohawī (d. 1319/1895). Mawlānā 'Askarī's younger brother was both a physician and an 'ālim.¹⁴⁴

140 *Nuzha*, VII, p. 42; *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 13-15.

141 *Bī-bahā'*, p. 6.

142 *Ibid.*, pp. 216-17.

143 *Nuzha*, VII, p. 443; *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 172-73.

144 *Bī-bahā'*, p. 222-233.

Ghufrān Ma'āb numbered many other famous Shi'īs among his disciples. Mawlānā Hakīm Mirzā Ismā'il, was a preacher in the Deccan. Mawlānā Mirzā Muhammad 'Alī had studied under Ghufrān Ma'āb but he was permanently settled in Mecca. Mir Khudābakhsh founded the Tāl Katora Karbalā. Mawlānā Sayyid Himāyat Husayn, alias Mir 'Alī Bakhsh, translated Ghufrān Ma'āb's *Asās al-Uṣūl* from Arabic into Urdu, while Mawlānā Sayyid Sajjād 'Alī did the same for his teacher's *'Imād al-Islām*. Musharraf 'Alī Khān of Lucknow (d. 1240/1824-25), who was known as 'Alī bin Hasan bin 'Askarī, was trained by Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' and compiled the *fatwas* of both Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' and Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā' into several volumes. Mawlānā Musharraf's *Izāhatu'l-ghayy fi radd 'Abdu'l-Hayy* was written as a challenge to Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-Hayy, Shāh Ismā'il Shahīd and Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd to justify their anti-Shi'ī propaganda. The *Izāhatu'l-ghayy* comprises the earliest reports on Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd's mission against the Shi'īs.¹⁴⁵ Mawlānā Musharraf's *Izāhatu'l-'illat fi'r-radd 'alā 'Abdu'l-Hayy Dihlawī* seeks to refute Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd's discourses in the *Sirātu'l-mustaqīm*. Sayyid's discourses on what he considered sinful innovations including the mourning ceremonies commemorating the tragedy of Karbalā have been spiritedly refuted.¹⁴⁶

Ghufrān Ma'āb's sons and grandsons also trained a large number of 'alims and mujtahids. They raised the standard of Indian Shi'ī learning and tried to bring it up to the level of the educational facilities at Najaf, Karbalā, Qum and Mashhad. One of the most promising scholars was Mawlānā Sayyid Abu'l-Hasan Abbū Sāhib, the son of Sayyid Muhammad bin Sayyid 'Alī Shāh Kashmīrī. Abbū Sāhib was born on 17 Rabi' I 1260/6 April 1844, at Lucknow. When he was nine years old his father died but, nevertheless, his dedication to learning enabled him to complete his education at the age of fourteen. He studied the *'Imād al-Islām* by Ghufrān Ma'āb under Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' and *fiqh* under Mumtāzu'l-'Ulamā' Sayyid Muhammad Taqī. Muftī Muhammad 'Abbās greatly respected his opinion and made many corrections to his famous Arabic work, *Shari'a Gharra*. Abbū Sāhib was a very pious man. Around 1289/1872-73, he founded the Madrasa Īmāniya as a college of higher education but it was a failure. Initially, he was so disappointed that he wanted to move permanently to Iraq but then he took courage again. He founded other schools, one of them is known as the Madrasa Nāzimīyya. In 1899 he started the Sultānu'l-Madāris with the assistance of Husaynābād trust to replace the Shāhī Madrasa. The latter was founded by Nawwāb

145 *Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz*, pp. 476-80.

146 *Ibid.*, pp. 497-500. Copies of *Izāhatu'l-ghayy* and *Izāhatu'l-millāt* are available in the Nāsiriyya Library Khajuwa, Lucknow. The *Izāhatu'l-ghayy* is also available in the Khudā Bakhsh Library, Patna and in the India Office Library, London. For Musharraf 'Alī's life see *Nuzha*, VII, p. 321; *Takmila-i Nujūm*, II, p. 34.

Amjad Ali Shāh, but had been closed in 1857. Abbū Sāhib died in Karbalā on 24 Muharram 1313/17 July 1895.¹⁴⁷

Of his sons, Mawlānā Muhammad Hādī, who died during a visit to Karbalā on 1 Safar 1357/2 April 1938, taught a large number of famous twentieth century 'alīms. These included Mawlānā Sibṭ-i-Hasan, Mawlānā Kalb-i-Husayn, Mawlānā Ibn-i-Hasan Nawnahrawī and Mawlānā Sayyid Muhammad alias Mīran Sāhib.¹⁴⁸

Although Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā' Mawlānā Sayyid Husayn helped his elder brother with his students, he had many scholars of his own. The most prominent of these was Muftī Muhammad 'Abbās son of Sayyid 'Alī Akbar Jazā'iri Shustari. His ancestors included Sayyid Ni'matu'llāh Jazā'iri, whose descendants had settled in the Deccan and Lucknow. Muhammad 'Abbās was born at the end of Rabi' I 1224/15 May 1809. His father taught him Persian and he studied *fiqh*, *usūl*, *kalām* and *hadīs* under Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā' Sayyid Hasan. His teachers for the rational sciences were Mawlawī 'Abdu'l-Quddūs and 'Abdu'l-Qawī of Firangī Mahal. He was a precocious and gifted child. At the age of twelve he composed an Urdu *masnawī* on Shi'i doctrines. Two years later he wrote a Persian *masnawī*. As a young man he astounded his audience by delivering a scholarly sermon in place of Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā'. When Muhammad 'Abbās finished his lecture, his teacher hugged his talented disciple and warmly praised his scholarship. Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' Sayyid Muhammad also loved him dearly. In fact, both brothers relied on the scholarly judgement and acumen of Muhammad 'Abbās. He loved books and had a collection obtained from a variety of sources. He was a prolific author. More than 150 of his books have already been published but a large number still remain in manuscript form. During the Freedom Struggle of 1857 many of his manuscripts were destroyed. He lived temporarily in Kanpur, Banaras and Patna but his hectic life did not prevent him from writing. He wrote on all important subjects including astronomy, philosophy, history, mathematics and logic. He never visited Arabia but Arab scholars were impressed by his poetry and prose in Arabic. He died on 25 Rajab 1306/27 March 1889 at Lucknow.

His Arabic exegesis on the Qur'ān entitled the *Rawā'ih al-Qur'ān* is very impressive. He also wrote a separate exegesis of each important chapter of the Qur'ān. Two volumes of his *al-Sharī'at al-gharra* discuss the importance of the Shi'i faith. His correspondence with Arab scholars has also been published. Mawlānā Muhammad 'Abbās' deep understanding of *fiqh* prompted Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' to appoint him the *muftī* of Lucknow. He compiled a guide book for the *qāzīs* and *muftīs* of Awadh and the principles

147 *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 25-31.

148 *Bī-bahā'*, p. 446.

laid down by him were followed by the Awadh judiciary. His high position did not change his ascetic habits. He gave away expensive garments to beggars and wore simple clothes. Like many ascetics, he mixed water with his food to render it distasteful. He rarely ordered his servants to perform any personal services and often engaged in hard labour.

In refutation of the seventh chapter of the *Tuhfa*, in which the Shāh objected to the doctrine of the occultation of the twelfth Imām, Muftī Muhammad 'Abbās wrote the *Jawāhir-i 'abqariyya fī radd-i Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya*. The work exhibits the Muftī's command of historical works and his skill in handling historical evidence effectively. It defends the Shi'i *ahādīs* logically and accuses Shāh 'Abdu'l 'Azīz of distorting Shi'i evidences and misinterpreting Shi'i doctrine regarding the *Imāma*.¹⁴⁹ In both the *Awraq az-zahb* and the *Ratb al-'Arab*, the Muftī pays glowing tributes to Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā' and Ghufrān Ma'āb's family.¹⁵⁰

Muftī Muhammad 'Abbās had six sons. The eldest, Mawlānā Sayyid Muhammad 'Ālim was known as *Bare* (the elder) Muftī (d. 1361/1942) and Mawlānā Sayyid Ahmad 'Alī, was known as *chhote* (the younger) Muftī (d. 1328/1969). Both achieved considerable fame for their scholarship and the quality of their teaching. Mawlānā Sayyid Ahmad 'Alī was an impressive orator and his Ramazān sermons were intensely moving.¹⁵¹

It was Najmu'l-'Ulamā' Sayyid Najmu'l-Hasan, the favourite disciple and son-in-law of Muftī Muhammad 'Abbās, however, who carved out a unique path for the propagation of the Shi'i faith. He was the son of Sayyid Akbar Husayn of Amroha. Najmu'l-Hasan was born on 6 Zu-'l-hijja 1279/25 May 1863. After completing his higher education under Abu'l-Hasan Abbū Sāhib and Muftī Muhammad 'Abbās, he started teaching Qur'ānic exegesis, *hadīs*, *fiqh*, *usūl*, literature and astronomy to students at higher levels. He both edited and published his teacher Muhammad 'Abbās' works. Abbū Sāhib made Mawlānā Najmu'l-Hasan the director of the Madrasa-i Nāzimīyya. The Mawlānā's scholarship and organizational talents made the college famous and scholars from all parts of India went there for higher education.¹⁵² The Mawlānā erected a new building for the madrasa on Victoria Street, Lucknow. In 1338/1919-20, the Rāja of Mahmudabad and his brother established the Madrasatu'l-Wā'izīn to train Shi'i preachers for missionary work. Its missionaries took Shi'ism to Tibet, Burma and Africa as well as to many other places in Europe. The madrasa publication department produced a monthly Urdu journal, the *Al-wā'iz* and an English magazine, the *Muslim*

149 *Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz*, pp. 396-404.

150 *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 226-31; *Tajalliyāt*, Lucknow.

151 *Matla'-i anwār*, pp. 95-96, 582-83.

152 *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 434-36; *Matla'-i anwār*, pp. 675-78.

Review. A press was also attached to the *madrasa* to accelerate the publication programme. The major works translated into English and published by the *madrasa* were the Qur'ān, the *Sahīfa-i Kāmila* and a section of the *Majālisu'l Mu'minin*. Mawlānā Najmu'l-Hasan also guided the multifarious programmes of the *madrasa*. In recognition of his services, the government awarded him the title *Shamsu'l-'Ulamā'*.

The Mawlānā never hesitated to devote time to protecting the Shi'i rights. His own house in Chāchrhā Lane, Lucknow, was a very simple structure. He himself sat on a mat under the thatched roof in front of his house. There the dignitaries of all classes mingled with the poor and the orphans when they came to pay their respects to the Mawlānā. He died on 17 Safar 1351/18 April 1938. In particular his works, *al-Nubūwwa wa'l Khilāfa* and *al-Tawhid* are very important contributions to knowledge.

Some of the more eminent scholars among his disciples, who consolidated Shi'i education, were Mawlānā Sibṭ-i Hasan (d. 1354/1935), Mawlānā 'Adil Akhtar (d. 1370/1952) and Hāfiz Kifāyat Husayn (d. 1388/1968). Mawlānā Sibṭ-i Hasan was also an inimitable orator.

A fast friend of Muftī Muhammad 'Abbās, and a gifted student of Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā', was Mawlānā Sayyid Ghani Naqī of Zaydpur in Barabanki. Sultan Ghāzi'u'd-Dīn Haydar appointed him to the board of authors which he had formed to compile scholarly works. The *Tājul-lughāt*, an important Arabic lexicon was produced under his supervision. He wrote another Arabic lexicon of synonyms. Imām 'Alī's famous morning invocations were also translated by him into Urdu. His letters in Muftī Muhammad 'Abbās' *Ratb al-'Arab*, show his command of the Arab literary style. He died at the young age of thirty-seven in Rajab 1257/August-September 1841. His corpse was taken from Lucknow to Zaydpur and buried there. In 1274/1857-58, Muftī Muhammad 'Abbās visited his grave and wrote a touching elegy, paying tributes to his prose and poetic works.¹⁵³

Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā's disciples settled in different parts of the country where they established important centres of Shi'i higher education. At Calcutta, Mawlānā Mirzā Muhammad 'Alī, set up a major Shi'i educational establishment. His ancestors came from Kashmir but had moved to Lucknow in the eighteenth century and settled in the Golaganj quarters of Lucknow. Besides Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā', Mirzā Muhammad 'Alī studied under other eminent 'alims in Lucknow. He moved from Lucknow to Calcutta with Nawwāb Wājid 'Alī Shāh. There he was regarded as a Shi'i *qāzi*. He was most impartial when delivering *fatwas*. Some *mut'a* wives of Wājid 'Alī Shāh, who had adopted children, wished to obtain a share in the family property for them. Mawlānā Muhammad 'Alī rejec-

ted their claim. The Begums therefore approached the Lucknow 'ulamā' and obtained a favourable verdict. Mawlānā Muhammad 'Alī refused to change his opinion. Then Mawlānā Ghulām Hasnayan Kintūri intervened and explained that the 'ulamā' in Lucknow were not fully conversant with the background to the request. Mawlānā Kintūri's clarification silenced the Begums and Wājid 'Alī Shāh. They apologised to the Mawlānā. Wājid 'Alī Shāh gave Mirzā Muhammad 'Alī the title *Qā'imū'tu'd-Dīn* (Firm in the faith). Mirzā Muhammad 'Alī's son, Mirzā Muhammad Naqī received the title *Mi'yārū'l-'Ulamā'* (the touchstone of the 'ulamā'). Mawlānā Muhammad 'Alī died on 8 Shawwāl 1289/9 December 1872. A number of 'ulamā' had moved to Calcutta to study under him.¹⁵⁴

Mawlānā Sayyid Niyāz Hasan Barastī bin Ghulām Husayn Barastī belonged to Barast in Karnal (the Panjab) but some of his ancestors had moved to Hyderabad. Nawwāb Mukhtārū'l-Mulk Sir Sālār Jang was his patron although the Nizām of Hyderabad also offered him gifts. The Mawlānā built a mosque containing rooms for the accommodation of guests. He wrote an Urdu *masnawī* the *Hadīqatu'l Imām* and translated the *Zīnatu'l-'Ubbād* into Urdu. During the months of Ramazān he delivered lengthy sermons. Many eminent 'ulamā' were his disciples. He died in 1309/1891-92.¹⁵⁵

Mawlawī Tafazzul Husayn of Fathpur-Biswan (Barabanki near Lucknow) owned several houses which he let out. His father, Mawlawī Karāmat 'Alī, was a trustee of the Muhsiniya Trust in Hoogli. Tafazzul Husayn was born in 1243/1827-28 and studied very assiduously to acquire a higher religious and secular education. He grew up to be an expert mathematician. He supported many talented scholars financially and himself lectured to those studying at advanced levels. His students loved and respected him deeply. He renovated the ancestral Imāmbārha in his native town and promoted the mourning ceremonies of Muharram in Fathpur-Biswan. He died on 4 Zu'l-hijja 1305/12 August 1888. Many of his disciples became eminent 'alims.¹⁵⁶

Ja'far 'Alī of Jārja (Bulandshahr), the rival to Āghā Muhammad Bāqir of Delhi,¹⁵⁷ was also a disciple of Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā'. He excelled in reciting the Qur'ān and even the Arab reciters were impressed by his art. The eminent Chishtiyya *pir*, Kāle Sāhib, frequently called to listen to his recitations. Ja'far 'Alī taught at Delhi College, Madrasa-Mansabiyya Meerut and at Hyderabad Deccan. His students had to succeed in declaiming the *soz marsiyas* in a special rhythm before taking lessons in

154 *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 352-54.

155 *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 423-25.

156 *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 102-4.

157 *Supra*, pp. 97, 101, 103, 159, 272.

Qur'ānic recitation. The great Urdu poet and writer, Mawlānā Altāf Husayn Hālī, was his disciple. Mawlānā Ja'far died in 1314/1896-97.¹⁵⁸

His son Shamsu'l-'Ulamā' Qāri 'Abbās Hasnāyn, was also an expert in Qur'ānic recitation. Qāri 'Abbās had a good knowledge of the rational sciences. He first taught at Delhi College and then in the theology department of the Mohammedan Anglo Oriental College, Aligarh. He died on 28 July 1926. Qāri 'Abbās wrote a book on logic, *al-Farā'id al-bahiya*, in Arabic. He also composed a commentary on the *Sadra*. His *Kashkul-i 'Abbāsi* and *Husām-i 'Abbāsi*, comprise essays on religious and social issues. Another of his books, *Izālat al-awhām*, is a very important work on Divine Unity. He also supported the right of widows to re-marry.¹⁵⁹

Hājji Mawlānā Sayyid Mahdi Shāh Rizawī Qummi Kashmīrī moved from Kashmir to Lucknow during the reign of Nawwāb Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān. He was closely associated with Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā' and Mufti Muhammad 'Abbās. He travelled to Iraq and Iran several times and went on a pilgrimage. He finally settled in Patna where he died on 25 Jumāda II 1314/1 December 1896. The Hājji wrote commentaries on the *Qawānīn*, the *Sharh-i Lam'a* and the *Sharā'i al-Islām*.¹⁶⁰

His son, Murtazā Shāh (d. 14 Shawwāl 1323/12 December 1905), studied initially under his father and then Mufti Muhammad 'Abbās. He migrated to Iraq where the eminent 'ulamā' such as Mirzā Muhammad Hasan Shīrāzī treated him with respect. He wrote treatises on both the traditional and rational sciences.¹⁶¹

One of Hājji Mahdi Shāh's disciples in Patna was 'Alī Muhammad Shād 'Azīmābādī. He studied literature and philosophy under eminent scholars while Hājji Mahdi Shāh taught him *fiqh*. Shād was a born poet who exhibited a remarkable control of Arabic and Persian. He is, however, more generally known for his scholarly contributions to Urdu prose and poetry. Shād died on 8 January 1927.¹⁶²

One of the Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā's disciples in Bihar was a preacher, Mawlānā Sayyid 'Alī alias Pīr 'Alī bin Sayyid Haydar 'Alī. At the early age of fifteen he left his village, Bhikhpur, for Chapra (Bihar) in quest of higher education. There he studied in a *khānqāh* (monastery) for ten years. His teacher was so deeply impressed with Sayyid 'Alī's learning that he wished to nominate him as his successor to the *khānqāh* but Sayyid 'Alī refused. Instead, he quietly left the *khānqāh* reaching Lucknow during

158 *Nuzha*, VII, p. 118; *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 115-18.

159 *Takmila-i Nujūm*, I, p. 257.

160 *Nuzha*, VIII, p. 457.

161 *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 365-67.

162 Sayyid 'Alī Muhammad Shād son of Sayyid Izhār Husayn (1262/1846-1226) was the author of some sixty books in poetry and prose. He composed poems on the Prophet's birth and wrote elegant *marsiyas*. He wrote both in Persian and Urdu.

Ghāzi'u'd-Dīn Haydar's reign. For several days he starved as he had no money to buy food but gradually, as he made contacts, his position improved. He joined Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā's classes and was employed by a rich man to teach his children. Nevertheless, he lived like a beggar and kept his money under the carpet. Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā' appointed him a tutor to his sons, Sayyid Muhammad Taqī (Mumtāzu'l-'Ulamā') and Sayyid Naqī (Zubdatu'l-'Ulamā'). The Mawlānā stayed for about twelve years at Lucknow and then returned to his own village. Later he returned to Lucknow with some Bihārī students who joined the classes of the 'ulamā' there. Finally he moved to Chapra where he built a mosque and a well. The poor villagers loved him deeply and he helped them liberally. The Bihārīs believed that his prayers brought rain to the drought-stricken countryside. He was also a physician and offered free medical assistance to the poor. He died in 1285/1868-69 aged about seventy.¹⁶³

Another of Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā's disciples, Mawlānā Khwāja 'Ābid Husayn son of Khwāja Bakhshish Husayn Ansāri became very popular in Saharanpur, Meerut, Delhi and Panjab. He belonged to a *zamīndār* family in Saharanpur and was born around 1262/1846. After completing his higher education under Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā', and other eminent descendants of Ghufrān Ma'āb, he settled in his native land and dedicated himself to teaching, preaching and writing books. He taught in several other centres such as Court Joli, Madrasa-i Ja'fariyya Mirānpūr (Bārḥā), and Madrasa Mansabiyya (Meerut). The Mawlawis trained by him obtained positions as prayer-leaders in the villages of the Western districts of Uttar Pradesh and Panjab. In 1326/1908 he visited Iraq and studied under the 'ulamā' there. He wrote books on *fiqh*, biographies of the Imāms, religious polemics and grammar, for Urdu, Persian and Arabic. He translated some important works such as *Sharā'i al-Islām* into Urdu. On 6 Zu'lqā'da 1330/17 October 1912 he died.¹⁶⁴

Mawlānā Ghulām Muhammad Ahsan known as Mawlānā Zahūr Husayn of Mirānpūr Bārḥā (d. 23 December 1938) obtained his early education under Khwāja 'Ābid. Later he specialized under Mawlānā Abu'l Hasan Bachchan Sāhib (Malāzu'l-'Ulamā'). He rose to be one of the greatest Shi'i 'alims and scholars of the twentieth century. He was author of some very important works such as *al-Nubūwwa*.¹⁶⁵

One of Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā's disciples, Mawlānā Sayyid Husayn ibn Sayyid 'Āshiq 'Alī, was a unique personality. His ancestors were Bārḥā Sayyids. They moved to Lucknow in Āsafu'd-Dawla's reign and settled in the Shāh Jamāl wa Kamāl at Lucknow. Mawlānā Sayyid Husayn

163 *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 217-20.

164 *Ibid.*, pp. 146-47.

165 *Matla'-i anwār*, pp. 295-97.

was born in about 1229/1813-14. After completing his religious education he moved to Iraq, sometime before 1857, with a small party travelling by bullock-cart. At Bhopal he devoted some months to teaching in the local schools. He never hesitated to sharpen his intellectual faculties by discussions with the eminent teachers he met on his arduous journey. After his return to Bhopal he travelled to Iran three times more. The eminent '*ulamā'* there, such as Shaykh Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn Māzandarāni, were highly impressed with his learning.

His disciples included Bahru'l-'Ulūm 'Allan Sāhib, Malāzu'l-'Ulamā' Sayyid Bachchan Sāhib, Bāqiru'l-'Ulūm Sayyid Bāqir Sāhib, Zahru'l-'Ulamā' Zahūr Husayn Mīrānpūri and Mawlānā Muhammad Husayn, the author of *Tazkira-i Bi-bahā'*.¹⁶⁶ Ghufrān Ma'āb's grandsons helped their father train their disciples. Some distinguished members of the '*ulamā'* class studied under both father and son. Mufti Muhammad 'Abbās also helped them. Tāju'l-'Ulamā' Sayyid 'Alī Muhammad's disciples included many outstanding '*alīms* and authors such as Mawlānā Sayyid 'Alī Husayn Zangīpūri (b. 1310/1893), Mawlānā Sayyid Mukarram Husayn of Jalali in Aligarh (d. 1305/1887-88), Mawlānā Zaynu'l-'Ulamā' Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn (grandson of Mufti Muhammad 'Abbās) Qudwatu'l-'Ulamā' Mawlānā Sayyid Āqā Hasan (d. 1348/1929-30), Mawlānā Sibti Hasan Mujtahid (d. 1372/1952), Mawlānā Khwāja 'Ābid Husayn Sahāranpūri, Mawlānā Nawwāb Zawwār 'Alī Khān from Husaynabad Mungir (Bihar) and Nawwāb Bādshāh Hasan from Patna.¹⁶⁷

Some of Mumtāzu'l-'Ulamā' Muhammad Taqī's disciples were also eminent '*alīms*. Among these were Mawlānā Sayyid Abu'l-Hasan alias Abbū Sāhib, Mawlānā Khwāja 'Ābid Husayn Sahāranpūri, Mawlānā Sayyid Ghulām Hasnayn Kintūri, Mawlānā Sayyid Ghulām Muhammad of Riwari (d. 1300/1883) an Imām from Jaipur, Mawlānā Ibrāhīm Husayn of Panipat, Mawlānā Sayyid 'Ammār 'Alī, an expert in Qur'ānic exegesis from Sonipat, Mawlānā 'Alī Miyān Kāmil, Mawlānā Sayyid Muhammad Husayn of Fyzabad, Mawlānā Munīb Khān of Rampur and Mawlānā Karāmat Husayn.

The most prominent of Maliku'l-'Ulamā' Sayyid Banda Hasan's disciples was Mawlānā Muhammad Hasan, the elder brother of Muhaqqiq-i Hindī Mawlānā Muhammad Husayn (d. 1328/1910). He lived at Sanbalhera and was expert in polemical discussion. It is believed that Sayyid Qāsim Nānawtawī avoided a challenge to a debate from him.

Mawlānā Banda Hasan's sons, Mawlānā Bahru'l-'Ulūm Sayyid Muhammad Husayn, alias 'Allan Sāhib, and Malāzu'l-'Ulamā' Sayyid Abu'l-Hasan, alias Bachchan Sāhib, also trained many eminent '*alīms*. Najmu'l-

166 *Ibid.*, pp. 201-2.

167 *Ibid.*, pp. 483-87.

'Ulamā' Sayyid Najmu'l-Hasan and Zahīru'l-'Ulamā' Sayyid Zuhūr Husayn too studied under the Malāzu'l-'Ulamā'. Among Mawlānā Bahru'l-'Ulūm's disciples were Mawlānā Āqā Hasan, Mawlānā Sibṭ-i Husayn, Mawlānā Ibn-i Hasan (d. 1368/1948-49), Mawlānā Muhammad Taqī bin Muhammad Ibrāhīm (d. 1341/1922-23), Mawlānā Zuhūru'd-Dīn of Nawgawan (d. 1332/1913-14), Mawlānā Muhammad Husayn, the author of the *Tazkira-i Bi-bahā'* and Abu'l-Hasan bin Sayyid Naqī Kashmīrī (d. 1342/1923-24).

One of Bahru'l-'Ulūm's disciples, Shaykh Muhammad I'jāz Hasan Badā'ūnī deserves special mention. Shaykh Muhammad I'jāz Hasan was born in Zu'lqa'da 1298/October 1881. His father, Mawlānā Muhammad Ja'far Hasan, was an 'ālim and his grandfather, Mawlānā 'Alī Hasan, was a pupil of Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā'. I'jāz Hasan received his early education in the religious schools in Amroha, Nawgawan, Meerut and Jalali. I'jāz Hasan, however, was not interested in learning. In Rabī' II 1318/August 1900 one of his relatives offered to get Hasan appointed a peon at the court. His father, who had looked forward to a scholarly career for his son was shocked and scornfully rejected the offer, adding that he believed that his son was destined to become an eminent 'ālim. This conversation affected I'jāz Hasan deeply. He collected his books and left for Lucknow where he studied at the Madrasa Nāzimiyya and attended lectures by eminent scholars. Bahru'l-'Ulūm and Sayyid Muhammad Hādī awarded him certificates to perform *ijtihād*. In 1328/1910 Mawlānā Najmu'l-Hasan appointed him a teacher in the Madrasa-i 'Āliya at Rampur. There he wrote a commentary on the *F'tiqādiyya* by Shaykh Sadūq and collaborated with Mawlānā Maqbūl Ahmad's department of translation and composition. He was involved in the compilation of the *Jāmi' Hāmidīyya*, a theological encyclopaedia. He also taught at the Madrasatu'l-Wā'izin and made missionary tours throughout India, Burma and Africa. On 15 Zu'lqa'da 1350/23 March 1932 he died of a heart attack in Derā Ismā'il Khān.

His works include a translation and lexicography of the Qur'ān, a translation of the *Nahj al-balāgha* and biographical works on the Prophet Muhammad, the Imāms and their companions. His biography of Muhammad, son of Abū Bakr in Urdu, is an interesting work. Among his disciples were some of the modern leading 'ālims and preachers. These include Mawlānā Laqā 'Alī Haydari, Mawlānā Imdād Husayn Khān Sultānpūri, Mawlānā Mīrzā Muhammad Tāhīr of Lucknow, Mawlānā Sayyid 'Alī Ja'far Jawnpūri, Mawlānā Wahīd Asghar Zaidpūri, Mawlānā Muhammad Bashīr of Texala, Dr. Mujtabā Husayn Kāmūnpūri, Mawlānā Abrār Husayn Pārwi, Mawlānā Sayyid Muhammad Kāzīm Najafī Rangoonī, Mawlānā Muhammad Jawād Tehrānī, Mawlānā Sayyid Husayn Qummī and Mawlānā Wazīr Husayn of Machlīgaon (Fyzabad).

The Kintūri Family

Like many other 'ulamā' and Sayyid families, the ancestors of the Sayyids of Kintur (Bahraich east of Lucknow) left Nishāpūr in the wake of the invasion of Khurāsān by Hulāgū (654-663/1256-1265). They found refuge in various places. It was during the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq (725-752/1325-1351) that Sayyid Sharafu'd-Dīn Abū Tālib, popularly known as Sayyid Ashraf Abū Tālib, a descendant of Imām Mūsā Kāzīm (d. 183/799) moved to Delhi with his brother, Sayyid Muhammad. The Sultan gave him a *madad-i ma'āsh* grant at Kintur on the bank of the river Ghagra, in the present district of Bahraich in east Lucknow. Geographically, the region was inaccessible and was infested with many unruly tribes. Before long, however, the immigrants had succeeded in pacifying them.

Sayyid Sharafu'd-Dīn was succeeded by his son, Mīr Sayyid Muhammad, alias Mīr Sayyid 'Izzu'd-Dīn. His eldest son and successor, Mīr Sayyid 'Alā'u'd-Dīn, born in Kintur, was renowned for his piety.

The Sayyids in Kintur, both Shi'is and Sunnis are all descended from Sayyid 'Alā'u'd-Dīn and the Sunnis of Kintur still observe the anniversary of his death on the *sūfi* pattern. Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Ahād was his youngest son. Among his descendants was the famous *sūfi*, Hājji Wāris 'Alī Shāh whose tomb at Dewa (Barabanki district) is venerated throughout the Indian sub-continent. The second son, Sayyid Jamālu'd-Dīn, was the ancestor of Sayyid Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn and Sayyid Salāh Muhammad. Sayyid Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn's son was Sayyid Hāmid Husayn and his grandson was Sayyid Muhammad Husayn. Sayyid Muhammad Husayn was educated by 'Abdu'r-Rabb Hazratpūri son of Qāzi Walī Muhammad. 'Abdu'r-Rabb is said to have been a Shi'i and to have enjoyed copying works of *hadis*. Sayyid Muhammad Husayn is believed to have written a Qur'ānic exegesis.

Sayyid Muhammad's son Sayyid Muhammad Qulī was one of the most distinguished disciples of Mawlānā Ghufrān-Ma'āb. He was born on 5 Zu'lqā'da 1188/7 January 1775 and studied under the contemporary eminent teachers. He completed his education under Ghufrān Ma'āb Sayyid Dildār 'Alī and excelled his fellow students in perspicacity and scholarly achievements. His knowledge of *kalām* (scholasticism) was most impressive.

Early in the nineteenth century the *Sadr Dīwāni 'Adālat* (Civil Court) was established at Meerut by the East India Company. Mawlānā Mufti Muhammad 'Abbās and Mufti Muhammad Qulī were appointed as *mūfti* and *sadr amīn* (judge) respectively. After a short stay, Mufti Muhammad 'Abbās left for Lucknow but Mufti Muhammad Qulī continued his duties. He rose to the position of *Sadru's-Sudūr* (Chief Justice). His salary increased from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,000 per month. In 1253/1837-38,

the last Mughal ruler, Bahādur Shāh Zafar, conferred the title Khān Bahādur on him through the East India Company. In 1259/1843-44, he retired and settled at Lucknow. There he purchased a British officer's mansion. As a judge he wrote a book comprising a code of conduct for *qāzīs* and *muftīs*. It is entitled *Risāla-i 'Alwiyya dar bayān-i ahkām-i qazā wa iftā'*. He always took infinite pains to unearth the true facts and anecdotes surrounding his integrity and impartial judgement are still recounted. His official duties prompted Muftī Sayyid Muhammad Qulī to study and investigate Sunnī *fiqh* and *hadīs* in great depth.¹⁶⁸

During the Muftī's stay at Meerut he obtained first-hand information on the author of the *Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya*, Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, and his disciples. This book aroused a lot of anti-Shī'ī sentiment among the Sunnīs and, in 1818, Sayyid Ahmad Shāhid of Rae Bareilly, Shāh Ismā'il Shāhid and Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-Hayy toured through Ghaziabad, Meerut, Sardhanā, Budhāna, Phulet, Muzaffarnagar, Thāna Bhanw, Kāndhla, Deoband, Saharanpur, Amroha and Nānawta destroying *ta'ziyas* and calling them sinful innovations (*bid'a*). Muftī Muhammad Qulī was in Meerut and observed for himself this growing threat to Shī'ism. The inflammatory speeches made by Sayyid Ahmad and his associates were said to have caused a riot at Meerut. Consequently, in the interest of law and order, the English magistrate forbade them to speak in public.¹⁶⁹ Muftī Muhammad Qulī realized that the root cause of the trouble, however, was the *Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya*.

After his return to Lucknow he died on 9 Muharram 1260/30 January 1844. His works had already become famous: glowing tributes were paid to them by Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' Sayyid Muhammad and Subhān 'Alī Khān. Muftī Muhammad Qulī wrote an exegesis on some verses of the Qur'ān entitled the *Taqrīb al-afhām*. Not only do his works seek to refute important chapters of the *Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya*, but, most remarkably, they offer Shī'ī counter *ahādīs*, biographies of Shī'ī authorities and an analysis of historical facts. The works are Shī'ī encyclopaedias in their own right.

The Muftī wrote the *Sayf-i Nāsiri* or the *Burhān-i Imāmat* to refute the first chapter of the *Tuhfa* which discusses the history and development of Shī'ism. The book was written as a supplement to Hākīm Mirzā Muhammad Kāmil's voluminous *Nuzha-i Isnā 'Ashariyya* which also rebutted the first chapter of the *Tuhfa*. Along with ironically worded sentences stressing Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz's concealment of his father's name and his own in the preface of the *Tuhfa*, Muftī Muhammad Qulī reveals some previously unknown facts. He remarks that the Shāh was certainly not practising

168 *Nujūmu's-samā'*, pp. 420-21.

169 Musharraḥ 'Alī, *Izāhat al-ghayy fī radd-i 'Abd al-Hayy*, Khudā Bakhsh Library, Patna, ff. 7b-9a; *Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz*, pp. 477-78.

taqīyya for, although eighteenth century Delhi was predominantly Sunni, even the Shī'is did not conceal their identity. He then suggests that the Shāh was scared either of the remnants of Nādir Shāh Qizilbāsh's soldiers who had insulted and manhandled his father (Shāh Waliu'llāh) for criticising 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib, or of being assassinated as happened of Mīrzā Jān-i Jānān (Mazhar). The Muftī goes on to say that the Shāh feared also that the *Tuhfa's* contents and language had provoked the Sunnis. Mawlānā Rahīm Bakhsh, the author of the *Hayāt-i Walī* recounts a similar story in connection with Shāh Waliu'llāh. He says that Shāh Waliu'llāh's translation of the Qur'ān sparked off the opposition of the bigoted Sunni *mullās* who hired some Delhi ruffians to assassinate him. On a pre-arranged day (in 1143/1730), the Fathpūrī mosque, where the Shāh prayed, was besieged by these vagabonds led by the *mullās*. The Shāh however, faced them courageously and left unhurt. The Mawlānā observes that when Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz heard of this incident he was filled with sadness. Shāh Waliu'llāh had no friends at court to help him combat his enemies. It was known as well that the Shī'i leaders were also involved in this attack. The Shāh had no alternative but to leave for Mecca.

This story is anachronistic, however, for the Shāh went to Mecca in 1143/1731 and returned in 1145/1752. Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz was not born till 1159/1746—sixteen years later. Furthermore, the translation of the Qur'ān referred to was not completed before 1151/1738. The Shāh, if manhandled at all, would have been insulted after his return from Mecca and not before his departure. Naturally the militant Īrāni Shī'is from Nādir's army, who had settled in Delhi, would not have tolerated Shāh Waliu'llāh's attacks on Imām 'Alī. The Muftī's story that the Shāh was manhandled by the Iranians is more plausible than the traditional family tale recounted by Mawlānā Rahīm Bakhsh.¹⁷⁰

The Muftī blames Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz for deliberately misleading the ignorant Shī'is and trying to convert them to Sunni-ism. A case in point according to him was the deceptive title of his book itself. The title *Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya* (A gift to the Isnā 'Asharis), the Muftī goes on to say, was adopted to induce the Shī'is to buy the book in the belief that it was one of their own religious works. The Muftī then relates the history of Shī'ism and quotes sources ignored by Mīrzā Muhammad Kāmil. The work blames the second Caliph 'Umar for causing a split in the body politic of Islam by opposing the presentation of a pen and some paper to the Prophet on his death-bed. It strongly rejects the Sunni allegation that Shī'ism was invented by 'Abdu'llāh ibn Sabā and seeks to prove that the

170 *Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz*, pp. 365-66. For the story on Shāh Waliu'llāh's attack, see *Sayf-i Nāsiri* entitled *Burhān-i Imāmat* by 'Allāma Muftī Muhammad Qulī, Nāsiriyya Library, Lucknow, f. 7a.

real *Nāsibis* were the Sunnis for they appointed their own Imāms. The Mufti draws upon Mujaddidi sources to prove more effectively that the *sūfis*, whom the Sunnis revered as their guides, were past-masters at perpetrating heresy and infidelity in Islam. The Sunni leader Hallāj provides an example of this for, when the people condemned him for claiming to be a prophet, he retorted furiously that he should not be insulted for he was God.¹⁷¹

The Mufti's *Taqību'l makā'id* is a voluminous work refuting the second chapter of the *Tuhfa* which deals with what the Shāh calls the *Shi'i makā'id* (stratagems). Its introduction seeks to ridicule the Shāh for using the term *makā'id* (plural of *kayd* or stratagem) to condemn the Shi'is. The Mufti consoles the Shi'is by reminding them that metaphorically Allāh refers *kayd* to his own schemes and those of his prophets. For example, the Qur'ān says: "Lo my scheme (*kayd*) is strong". The *Taqību'l makā'id* (The rebounding of stratagems) demonstrates that the condemnation of the Shi'is in the *makā'id* recoils on the Sunnis' own heads. The Mufti asserts that as the word *makā'id* is associated with Allāh, the Shāh must have been convinced that the Isnā 'Ashariyya beliefs and *fiqh* were based on rational arguments, Divinely sent books and that the Shi'i 'ulamā's arguments were irrefutable. The Mufti accuses the Shāh of distorting and misinterpreting the standard Shi'i sources and asserts that the Sunnis were past-masters at forging *hadīs* and confusing their followers. The Sunnis exhibited only a superficial love for the Prophet's family. In fact they were hostile to them and the rejection of 'Alī was the corner-stone of their beliefs. The Mufti marshalls arguments to demonstrate that Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz himself believed that the Sunnis practised *taqīyya*.¹⁷²

The Mufti wrote the *Burhān-i Sa'ādat* to rebut the seventh chapter of the *Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya* on the Shi'i theory of *Imāmat*. Mufti Mīr Muhammad 'Abbās wrote the *Jawāhir-i 'abqariyya* and the Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' wrote the *Bawāriq al-mūbiqa* on the same subject. Some arguments in the *Burhān-i Sa'ādat* were repeated by the Mufti in his monumental *Tashyīdu'l-matā'in* written in refutation of the tenth chapter of the *Tuhfa*.¹⁷³ The *Tashyīdu'l-matā'in* rebuts the arguments of Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz in defence of the first three caliphs, 'Ā'isha and the Prophet's companions, on the basis of the most reliable Sunni works. The book demonstrates the Mufti's unique gift for marshalling evidence and using it rationally in his arguments. The Mufti even used the works by Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawī and Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz's father, Shāh Walīullāh to refute the arguments in the *Tuhfa*.

171 *Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz*, pp. 365-68.

172 *Ibid.*, pp. 368-78.

173 *Ibid.*, pp. 396-410.

Muftī Muhammad Qulī wrote the *Musāri'u'l-afhām 'alā qala'u'l-awhām* to refute the eleventh chapter of the *Tuhfa* dealing with the alleged fantasies, exaggeration and bigotry of the Shī'is. The Muftī's work reiterates the Shī'i basis for the *Imāma* and seeks to clarify the misunderstandings created by Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz. It asserts that the Shī'is drew upon both *ahādīs* and rational arguments to prove that 'Alī was *ma'sūm* (impeccable) and the rightful successor to the Prophet Muhammad. The Muftī asserts that the differences between the caliphate of Abū Bakr and that of Imām 'Alī were very marked. Abū Bakr's mission was imperialistic, conversely Imām 'Alī's objective was to fulfill the duties assigned by God to the Prophet. During the reign of the first three caliphs Imām 'Alī did not perform *hijra* (emigration) in obedience to the Divine command. His silence did not mean submission. He was imitating the Prophet who, during his stay in Mecca, sustained hardship, yet refrained from destroying the polytheists by his miraculous power. The *Musāri'u'l-afhām* goes on to show that Imām 'Alī's assistance to the victims of 'Umar's ignorance of *fiqh* could not be interpreted as an act of co-operation with the second caliph but was designed to make him ashamed of his incompetence. The work rationalises the Shī'i practices of *taqiyya* and *mut'a* marriage. Defending the Shī'i theory of *jihād*, the Muftī continues that *jihād* against those infidels who refused to embrace Islam depended on the sanction of the Imām. Eminent Sunnī authorities also held that view. Defensive wars, on the other hand, did not require the Imām's sanction so the Shī'i religion was not impractical. The Muftī gives the Shī'i interpretation of the twenty-five Qur'ānic verses which the Shāh quoted to demonstrate the superiority of Sunnī beliefs. He considers the Shāh's remarks, that the Shī'is were closer to Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians and Hindus, were purely malicious. The Muftī marshalls historical evidence to show that, in fact, these charges applied to the Sunnis rather than to the Shī'is.¹⁷⁴

Muftī Muhammad Qulī wrote a separate work entitled the *Risāla Nifāq-i Shaykhayn*, showing that Abū Bakr and 'Umar were hypocrites. He wrote *al-Shu'la-i Zafariyya* in refutation of the *Shawkat-i 'Umarīyya* by Mawlānā Rashīdu'd-Dīn Khān. His *al-Futūhātū'l Haydariyya* defends the Shī'is against the attacks by Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd as compiled by his literary secretary Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-Hayy. It spiritedly defends the Shī'i mourning ceremonies and contrasts them with the sinfulness of *sūfi* innovations such as music, dancing and grave-worship. The *Tathīrū'l-mū' minīn 'an najasatū'l mushrikīn* defends the Shī'i interpretation of the verse, "...the polytheists (*mushrikīn*) are surely unclean".¹⁷⁵ The *Risāla fi'l-kabā'ir* deals with more serious sins and Divine retribution.

174 *Ibid.*, pp. 413-50.

175 Qur'ān, IX, 28.

Muftī Muhammad Qulī had three sons and three daughters. The eldest, Mawlānā Sayyid Sirāj Husayn, was born in 1238/1822-1823. He was an expert in the rational sciences and had acquired an excellent command of mathematics. He learned English and was the first to translate an English book on algebra into Urdu. Gradually his knowledge of English improved and he acquired English books on mathematics and science from Calcutta and England. He translated some of these into Urdu and Persian. He loved reading the *Masnawī* of Mawlānā Rūm and enjoyed the company of dervishes. Both Hindu and Muslim mystics called on him. He served as a *munsif* (judge) and *diwān* (finance officer) in the Bundelkhand agency. At Orai he worked as a Deputy Collector. Colonel Sleeman, the Resident of Lucknow, recommended that the Awadh government offer the Mawlānā a senior position so that he could streamline the administration. When the Mawlānā called on the Awadh viziers, however, wrapped in a hand-spun cotton blanket, they were appalled. The Resident was informed that the Mawlawī was too rustic to be of any use to them. Subsequently the Mawlānā took a high administrative position in the Charkhari state of Bundelkhand. When Rāja Ratan Singh of Charkhari asked him what salary he required, the Mawlānā suggested that Rs. 300 would be sufficient. Despite the Rāja's earnest entreaties, the Mawlānā refused to accept a higher remuneration, nor would he draw any extra allowances. During the Freedom Struggle of 1857-58, he worked at Charkhari. His father's mansion near the Residency at Lucknow was destroyed. This upset his younger brother, Mawlānā I'jāz Husayn, who wrote him a letter, showing his distress. Mawlānā Sirāj Husayn remained unperturbed, however, and replied that it was a good thing that the source of their arrogance had been destroyed. The Mawlānā himself lived in a simple house consisting of a verandah and a small room covered with tiles. He applied for a teaching position at the Lucknow school, under government control in order to make a better use of his talents as a translator of English works on mathematics and science but was unsuccessful. The proposal to establish the Scientific Society by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān at Ghazipur in 1863, filled the Mawlānā with hopes of realizing his life's mission. Unfortunately he died of cholera on 27 Rabi' I 1282/20 August 1865.

His youngest and eldest sons, Mawlawī Sayyid 'Ināyat Husayn and Mawlawī Sayyid Riyāyat Husayn, served the Charkhari state but his second son, Mawlānā Karāmat Husayn, became a pioneer in the dissemination of western education to girls. We shall be discussing the contributions by Mawlānā Karāmat Husayn in chapter five on the Shī'ī response to the west.

Mawlānā Sirāj Husayn's last hours were unique. A Hindu ascetic, visited him and cried out, "... *Mawlawī ji!* Take the name of your Gurū".

The Mawlānā said "Yā 'Alī (O 'Alī!)" and died. He was buried at Charkhari and was mourned by both Hindus and Muslims. Mawlānā Sirāj Husayn was also a physician and used to distribute medicines to the poor free. His grave soon became a place of worship and the simple village folk who prayed there had their prayers answered. During the drought water was sprinkled over his grave and, following the prayers for rain by the villagers, a storm blew up. This strengthened their belief in the miraculous powers of Mawlānā Sirāj Husayn's grave.¹⁷⁶

'Allāma Muftī Muhammad Qulī's second son, I'jāz Husayn was born on 21 Rajab 1240/10 March 1825. He obtained his early education from his father. Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā' Sayyid Husayn and Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' taught him advanced religious works. In his youth he served Hamilton, the Commissioner for Delhi, but subsequently resigned and dedicated himself to learning and scholarship. In 1282/1865-66, he accompanied his younger brother, Mawlānā Hāmid Husayn to Arabia and Iraq on a pilgrimage to the holy shrines of the Imāms. They took the opportunity to meet the leading scholars there and discuss the Shī'ī faith. Mawlānā I'jāz Husayn bought rare manuscripts and copied those which he could not acquire. He also prepared summaries of any important books which he could neither copy nor acquire. He collected useful bibliographical information as well.

After his return to India, I'jāz Husayn compiled an alphabetically arranged bibliography of Shī'ī books. It was entitled the *Kashf al-hujub wa'l-astār 'an asmā' al-kutub wa'l-astār*. It was published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta in 1912. Although it has now been superseded by *al-Zariyya tasānif al-Shī'a* by Āghā Buzurg Isfahānī Najafī it remained the principal reference work on Shī'ī literature for several decades.

Mawlānā I'jāz Husayn wrote an Arabic work entitled *Shuzūr al-'iqyān fī tarjamāt al-a'yān* comprising most valuable biographical notes on the 'ulamā'. He also wrote a biography of Mīrzā Muhammad Kāmil Dihlawī. His *al-Qawl al-sadīd fī radd al-Rashīd* and his *Radd-i Risāla-i Jān Muhammad Lāhawri* are polemical works. He died on 17 Shawwāl 1286/20 January 1870.¹⁷⁷

Mawlānā I'jāz Husayn's younger brother, Mawlānā Hāmid Husayn was, however, the pride of the Kintūrī family. He was born on 5 Muharram 1246/27 June 1830 in Meerut. He received his early education from his father. He studied advanced Arabic literature with Mawlawī Barkat 'Alī Hanafī and Muftī Muhammad 'Abbās. Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' and Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā' trained him in *fiqh* and *usūl*. Khulāsatu'l-'Ulamā'

176 *Nujūmū's-samā'*, p. 422; *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 173-74; Hāmid 'Alī Khān, *Hayāt-i Mawlānā Karāmāt Husayn*, Lucknow n.d., pp. 5-9.

177 *Nujūmū's-samā'*, p. 422; *Nuzha*, VII, p. 66; *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 7-8.

Sayyid Murtazā bin Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' was his tutor in the rational sciences. It was, however, his perspicacity and precocity that gave him such a remarkable mastery of the subjects he studied. The glosses and commentaries he wrote during his student days exhibit his singular gifts and promise as an author. He readily sharpened his intelligence by applying himself assiduously to his studies. He supervised the publication of his father's *Futūhāt-i Haydariyya* and the *Tashyidu'l-matā'in*.

In 1257/1841-42, Mawlawī Haydar 'Alī bin Muhammad Hasan Fyzābādī had published the voluminous *Muntahiu'l-kalām* defending the *Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya*, the *Shawkat-i 'Umarīyya* and other Sunnī works. The book also attempted to refute the Shi'ī literature published by their 'ulamā'. In response, the Mawlānā wrote the *Istiqsā'u'l-afhām fi naqd Muntahiu'l-kalām* which was published at Lucknow in 1276/1859-60. It exposes Mawlawī Haydar 'Alī's distortions and misinterpretation and quotes from both Sunnī and Shi'ī works at considerable length. The book is a singular contribution to polemical literature.

In Jumāda II 1270/March 1854, Mawlawī Haydar 'Alī Fyzābādī commenced his *Izālatu'l-ghayn fi basāratu'l'ayn* and completed it in Jumāda I, 1272/January 1856. The work rebuts the Shi'ī theory of *imāma* and seeks to prove the legality of the succession, to the Prophet, of the first three caliphs. At that time Mawlānā Sayyid Hāmid Husayn's *Istiqsā'u'l-afhām* had not been published but nevertheless he wrote the *Afhām ahlu'l-mayn fi radd Izālatu'l-ghayn* to contravene it.

In 1271/1854-55 Mawlānā Hāmid Husayn visited Agra and was shocked to find that Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī's grave was grossly neglected and that a jungle had grown around it. He aroused Shi'ī interest in preserving the tomb and took measures to renovate the complex.

In 1282/1865-66 Mawlānā Hāmid Husayn and his elder brother, Mawlānā I'jāz Husayn, went on a pilgrimage to Arabia and Iraq. Like his brother I'jāz Husayn, Mawlānā Sayyid Hāmid Husayn was interested in collecting books for doctrinal and historical research. He also met a large number of scholars, discussed their works with them and acquired copies of many valuable manuscripts. After his return to Lucknow he re-organized his father's library and plunged himself into writing the encyclopaedic *'Abaqātu'l-anwār fi Imāmatu'l a'immatu'l athār*. The work adds a new dimension to polemical literature. It attacks the seventh chapter of the *Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya* on the *imāma* and presents *ahādīs*, historical sources and rational arguments concerning the need for Divinely appointed *Imāms* and the *imāma* of 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib. The *'Abaqāt* quotes extracts from both Sunnī and Shi'ī sources in support of the *ahādīs* which Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz had considered weak or had rejected altogether. Mawlānā Hāmid Husayn composed seven volumes on the following *ahādīs*: (1) *Wilāyat*, (2) *Nūr*, (3) *Tayr*, (4) *Ghadīr*.

Mawlānā Hāmid Husayn wrote the reminiscences of his travels to Mecca under the title *Asfāru'l-anwār 'an waqā'-'i afzal al-asfār*. He also produced works on *fiqh* such as *al-Najm al-Sāqib fi mas'alat al-hājib* (Arabic), *al-Zarā'i fi sharh al-sharā'i* (Arabic), and *Zayn al-wasā'il ilā tahqiq al-masā'il*. None of these have yet been published. His collection of letters in Arabic is also still in manuscript form. They exhibit the Mawlānā's knowledge of the Arabic literary style and contain interesting social and religious information. His *al-'Azb al-tabbār fi bahas āyat al-ghār* discusses the controversy surrounding Abū Bakr's despair in the cave during his emigration to Medina with Prophet Muhammad.¹⁷⁸

Mawlānā Nāsir Husayn known as Nāsiru'l-Millat, the eldest son of Mawlānā Hāmid Husayn, was born on 19 Jumāda II 1284/18 October 1867. He received his early education from the famous grammarian Mawlānā Lutf Husayn (d. 1300/1882-83) and his early higher education from his own father. He also attended Mufti Muhammad 'Abbās' lectures. In 1300/1882-83, he was given the status of *mujtahid* and began to teach independently. This, combined with strenuous private study, sharpened his perspicacity. He began to assist his father in writing *fatwas* and answering letters. From 1303/1885-86 he delivered sermons in the Kūfa mosque at Kāzmayn in old Lucknow following Friday prayers. In Ramazān he delivered daily sermons. They were attended by a large number of scholars. After his father's death in 1306/1888, he shouldered his father's duties as leader of the Shī'a community competently. Although he was mainly interested in research, he set time aside for granting interviews to people, considering their problems and helping them overcome their difficulties. The responsibility for the remittance of *khums* and *zakāt* funds extended his duties considerably, but he acquitted himself well. His assemblies where *qasidas* on the *Imāms* were recited benefited both famous and new poets. In fact they were a source of inspiration and encouragement to all intellectuals. He also implemented the plans for renovating Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī's tomb chalked out by his father and made it a most impressive centre for Shī'i pilgrimage. The Mawlānā spearheaded the movements to establish a Shī'a College of modern education and a Shī'a Orphanage at Lucknow. He also guided the movements to protect the Shī'i mourning processions and ceremonies against the fanatical Sunni onslaughts. On 1 January 1916 he was made the Shāmsu'l-'Ulamā' by the British government. His greatest achievement was the publication of eight more volumes of the *'Abaqāt*. He produced them in his father's name although they were written by him. The volumes he wrote indicate his grasp of an extensive range of Arabic and Persian sources.

Mawlānā Nāsir Husayn wrote a book on 'Alī bin Abī Tālib's achieve-

178 *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 133-36; *Takmila-i Nujūm*, I, pp. 24-32; *Matta'-i anwār*, pp. 156-63.

ments in conquering Khaybar. His *Fihrist Ansāb Sam'ānī* was highly extolled by the famous Sunnī scholar, Shibli Nu'mānī. Mawlānā Nāsir Husayn compiled sixteen volumes on the achievements of the Imāms. Another book compiled by him is devoted to the *ahādīs* related by Fātima, the daughter of Imām Husayn. His *fatwas* have been collected into nine volumes and his Friday and Ramazān sermons fill more than forty volumes. Some sermons for Friday prayers and two *'ids* have been published separately. The collection of his Persian letters throws considerable light on contemporary social, intellectual and political problems. On 1 Rajab 1361/15 July 1942 he died and was buried in the complex of Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī's tomb at Agra.¹⁷⁹

Of his two sons, the eldest Mawlānā Muhammad Naṣr (d. 19 Muharram 1386/11 May 1966) was an important figure in Shī'ī politics. He courted arrest during the *Tabarra* agitation at Lucknow in 1939 and remained in jail for three months. The Government of Uttar Pradesh appointed him a member of the Provincial Legislative Council. It was his younger brother, Mawlānā Muhammad Sa'id (d. 12 Jumāda II 1387/17 September 1967) who was a gifted scholar and became a *mujtahid*. During his stay in Iraq from 1932 to 1937, he wrote two important works, *al-Imām al-Sānī 'Ashr* (The Twelfth Imām) and the *Madīnatu'l-'Ilm* (a summary of the *'Abaqātu'l-anwār* dealing with the *hadīs*: "I am the city of Knowledge and 'Alī is its gateway"). Both works were published in Iraq and elicited the admiration of scholars there. He compiled the *ahādīs* of the Imāms in several volumes. His sermons have been collected but they remain unpublished. He also wrote more volumes of the *'Abaqāt* but they have not yet been published either. His hand-list of the manuscripts in the Nāsiriyya library is a very painstaking work.

Mawlānā Muhammad Sa'id's son, Mawlānā Sayyid 'Alī Nāsir Sa'id 'Abaqāṭī, is an active preacher and social worker.

The husband of 'Allāma Muftī Qulī's eldest daughter, Sharifu'n-Nisā', was Mawlānā Ghulām Hasnayn Kintūrī. He was a descendant of Sayyid Salāh Muhammad. He was born on 17 Rabi' I 1247/26 August 1831 at Kintur. At the age of seven he moved to Lucknow where he obtained admission to the Shāhī school. Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā', Mumtāzu'l-'Ulamā' Sayyid Taqī and Sayyid Ahmad 'Alī Muhammadābādī all took great interest in his progress. He then studied music, specializing in the recitation of *soz*. He learned about 1,000 *soz*. Nevertheless, he soon gave it up and became a clerk at the Shāhī Madrasa. In 1861 he was appointed a registrar at Chawk Lucknow. Next year he was attacked by paralysis but recovered. He became one of the editors at the Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow. There he edited the monumental *I'jāz-i Khusrāwī* by Amīr

179 *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 437-42; *Matla'-i anwār*, pp. 658-68.

Khusraw and the famous Persian lexicon the *Burhān-i Qāṭi*'. He hated the idea of earning a livelihood as a professional *imām* and worked as a teacher at various schools. He was an expert physician and specialised in chronic diseases. The Mahārājā of Jammu and Kashmir was deeply impressed with his medical knowledge. In 1289/1872 he published a newspaper, the *Akhbāru'l-akhyār*, in Lucknow. It was divided into three parts; the first dealt with the news; the second comprised articles on religious and social reform and the third discussed the *fatwas* issued by the *mujtahids*. He also bought a press at Firangī Mahal in Lucknow and made his younger son, Mawlānā Sayyid Muhammad 'Alī, its manager. His son was his close associate in publication duties and after his death in 1312/1894-95, Mawlānā Ghulām Hasnāyn, unable to both print and publish the paper, wound it up.

The Mawlānā made earnest efforts to promote Shī'i-Sunnī friendship. In April 1894, he attended the second session of the Sunnī *Nadwatul-'Ulamā'* at Kanpur. He was appointed a member of the committee to reorganise and reform the curriculum for Arabic studies.

Mawlānā Ghulām Hasnāyn was an unremitting researcher in chemistry and tried to discover new methods for combating diseases. He endeavoured also to arouse the interest of Muslims in small-scale industries and trade. He had articles translated from an English *Encyclopaedia of Arts and Crafts* into Urdu and discovered new formulae for the manufacture of candles and soaps. He was opposed to the educational reforms of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān. Like Sayyid Jamālu'd-Dīn Afghānī, Hājjī Mawlawī Sayyid Imdād 'Alī and Mawlawī Muhammad Qāsim Nānawtawī, Mawlānā Ghulām Hasnāyn wrote articles assailing Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān's religious views which equated Islam with nature. Mawlānā Sayyid Ghulām Husayn also rejected Sir Sayyid's scheme of literary education in the Mohammedan Anglo Oriental College at Aligarh. He claimed that Sir Sayyid's teachings on nature destroyed religion and that his scheme of literary education was useless. The primary need of the times was to start art and craft schools to train Indians in modern industrial methods. Millions of rupees collected by the so-called reformer (Sir Sayyid) had been wasted on literary education. The main objective of his school was to train Muslims and Hindus for government service which was worse than slavery. He marvelled that Sir Sayyid had not thought of starting an art school which would enable the students to earn their livelihood independently.

His articles, including those in the *Akhbāru'l-akhyār*, were compiled in two books, the *Intisāru'l-Islām*, which is divided into three volumes and the *Mawā'iz-i Husayniyya*. Besides articles attacking Sir Sayyid and his supporters, Mawlānā Sayyid Ghulām Hasnāyn wrote condemnations of the missionaries and the Arya Samājists. He died on 13 Rabi' I 1337/17 December 1918 at Fyzabad.

The Mawlānā wrote literary, medical and religious works of considerable importance. At the age of seventy six he wrote his own "Life", dedicating it to his disciple Sayyid-Habīb Husayn of Rasūlpūr Dhīrī (Meerut). It embodies his reminiscences of the experiments he made in different spheres of life. He also compiled a glossary of *I'jāz-i Khusrawī* and wrote books on Arabic and Persian grammar. Of his medical works the translation of Avicenna's *Canon* (*Sharh Kulliyāt-i Qānūn Shaykh ar-Ra'īs*) is a remarkable addition to medical literature in Urdu. His other works on medicine are translations of *Kitāb al-Malakī* by Hakīm Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī bin 'Abbās in two volumes, *Tarjama Qānūncha* by Shamsu'd-Dīn Chighmanī and *Tarjama mujīzu'l-qānūn*. The *Mujarrībāt-i 'Allāma Kintūrī* comprises notes on his prolonged experiments on the treatment of chronic diseases. He also translated two works on chemistry into Urdu. His books on religion contain exegesis of the verses of the Qur'ān and controversial *ahādīs*. The *Risāla-i Ja'fariyya* includes 720 illustrations on the problems of *wuzū* (ablutions). The Mawlānā wrote another book refuting the articles by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān in the *Tahzībū'l-Akhlāq*. His *Risāla-i Mi'rājīyya* also rebuts Sir Sayyid's views on *mi'rāj* (the Prophet's ascension to the heavens) and discusses its importance in Islamic belief. The *Zaynabiyya* concentrates on the life of the Prophet's wives and answers Christian criticisms. His books dealing with the tragedy at Karbalā are based on most reliable sources.¹⁸⁰

The Mawlānā's younger son, Mawlawī Muhammad 'Alī, died on 17 Shawwāl 1312/13 April 1895 but the elder, Mawlawī Tasadduq Husayn, made considerable contributions to Shī'ī literature. After completing his education under the most distinguished 'ulamā' in Lucknow, he was closely associated with his maternal uncle, Mawlānā Sayyid Hāmid Husayn, and collaborated with him in writing the *Istiqsāu'l-afhām* and the *'Abaqātu'l-anwār*. He went on a pilgrimage to Mecca with his uncle and also shared his teaching responsibilities. After Mawlānā Hāmid Husayn's death, Mawlānā Tasadduq Husayn moved to Hyderabad Deccan. Nawwāb Tahawwur Jang Ashrafu'd-Dawla, a minister of Nawwāb Mīr 'Usmān 'Alī Khān, the ruler of the Deccan, who had accompanied Mawlānā Hāmid Husayn and Mawlānā Tasadduq Husayn on their pilgrimage, introduced Mawlānā Tasadduq Husayn to the Deccan ruler. Subsequently the governor at Gulbarga, Mawlawī Chirāgh 'Alī, known as Nawwāb A'zam-Yār Jang, took Mawlānā Tasadduq Husayn into his service. Mawlānā Tasadduq Husayn stayed with Mawlawī Chirāgh 'Alī for four years and helped him write books on Islam. In Rabi' I 1314/August

180 *Bi-bahā'*, pp. 372-75; *Matla'-i anwār*, pp. 386-89, unpublished Ph.D. thesis on Ghulām Hasnayn Kintūrī in Theology Department, Aligarh Muslim University by Muhammad Kamālu'd-Dīn Husayn Hamadānī.

1896. Nawwāb 'Imādu'l-Mulk Sayyid 'Alī Husayn appointed him director of the newly established Āsaḥiyā Library. Mawlānā Tasadduq Husayn organised the library on modern lines, acquired new manuscripts and rare works and published a list of its books and manuscripts. His home was a hostel for research scholars and intellectuals. Not only did he help them in their intellectual objectives, but he obtained employment for them and established them in life. He died on 25 Shawwāl 1348/26 March 1930. His son, Mawlānā Sayyid 'Abbās Husayn, succeeded him.

Mawlānā Tasadduq Husayn translated the *Absāru'l 'ayn fī Ansāri'l-Husayn*, by Shaykh Muhammad Tāhir Samāwī Najafī into Urdu, and called it *Nūru'l-'ayn*. He also translated the *Sharh Bāb Hādī 'Ashr* and *Jāmi' ahkām* into Urdu. The list of scholars who studied under him is very long and includes some eminent modern 'ulamā'.¹⁸¹

Subhān 'Alī Khān

Subhān 'Alī Khān (b. 1180/1766) deserves special mention because of his multifarious contributions to the Shi'i intellectual and social life. He was the son of 'Alī Husayn Khān Kanboh of Bareilly in Rohilkhand. Subhān 'Alī Khān specialized in logic, philosophy, literature, Qur'ānic exegesis, *hadīs* and *fiqh*. He also learnt English and Hebrew. He was closely associated with Shaykh 'Alī Hazīn. 'Allāma Tafazzul Husayn Khān. Ghufrān Ma'āb Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī, Muftī Muhammad Qulī, Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' Sayyid Muhammad and Muftī Muhammad 'Abbās were deeply impressed with Subhān 'Alī's scholarship. Three letters written by Ghālib to Subhān 'Alī Khān are also available.

He was appointed as a tutor to Ghāzi'u'd-Dīn Haydar. Nasīru'd-Dīn Haydar appointed him as his prime minister. The British Resident also trusted him and he was considered a competent and farsighted adviser. In 1825 Subhān 'Alī and the prime minister Āghā Mīr organized the Awadh bequest under the management of East India Company in repayment of the loans paid to the Company by the Awadh government. The bequest distributed scholarships to needy Sayyids in India. A considerable portion of the income was dedicated to the distribution of scholarships to the Shi'i students in the religious seminaries of Iraq and to the 'ulamā'. The huge funds of the bequests helped the British government to exercise control over the 'ulamā' of Iraq to meet the imperialistic designs in Iran and Iraq.¹⁸²

Subhān 'Alī Khān was expert in religious polemics. His *Wajīza* comprises valuable refutations to the Sunnī beliefs of *khilāfa*. He wrote separate treatises on controversial topics. One of his treatises entitled the *Risāla*

181 *Bī-bahā'*, 106; *Nuzha*, VIII, p. 94; *Matla'-i anwār*, pp. 125-28.

182 *Matla'-i anwār*, pp. 251-257.

makātib Haydar 'Alī refutes Hayder 'Alī's criticisms of Shī'ī beliefs. The collection of his letters was also compiled. It throws light on the intellectual and social life of the first-half of the nineteenth century.

Subhān 'Alī died in 1264/1847-48. His dead-body was buried in Karbalā. His sons were also very talented. Some of them migrated to Iraq.¹⁸³

183 *Nuzha*, VII, p. 191; *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 170-72; *Takmila-i Nujūm*, II, pp. 59-61.

Shī'ī Contributions to Philosophy, Science and Literature in India

Muslims divided knowledge into two principal categories: *manqūlāt* and *ma'qūlāt*. The *manqūlāt* dealt with the religious, mystical, historical and literary subjects. The *ma'qūlāt* were divided into speculative philosophy and rational philosophy. Speculative philosophy was divided into metaphysics, mathematics and natural sciences. The principal branches of mathematics were geometry, science of numbers, astronomy (excluding astrology), science of composition and the science of music. The derivatives of mathematics were, science of perspective and optics, algebra and the mechanics. The fundamentals of the natural science were: (1) knowledge of space and time, motion and rest, finiteness and infinity; (2) knowledge of simple and compound bodies in the heavens and the earth; (3) knowledge of universal and composite elements; science of generation and corruption; (4) knowledge of aerial or terrestrial phenomena, lightning, earthquakes or meteorology; (5) mineralogy; (6) botany; (7) zoology; and (8) psychology. There were several branches of natural science such as the science of medicine, science of astrology and science of agriculture. Practical philosophy was divided into ethics, economics and politics.

The experts in *manqūlāt* were known as 'ulamā' or *mutakallimūn* or *sūfiyya*. The *mutakallimūn* or 'ulamā' represented the orthodox and exoteric, while the *sūfiyya* were the custodians of the esoteric knowledge of Islam. The experts in *ma'qūlāt* were known as *falāsifa* or *hukamā'*. Although ibn Sīnā (b. 370/980-81, d. 428/1037) was preceded by a galaxy of eminent philosophers and scientists, his comprehensive world view of philosophy, science, religion and mysticism made him the greatest philosopher and scientist in the East. The greatest *sūfi* of ibn Sīnā's times, Shaykh Abū Sa'id bin Abī'l Khayr (357/967-440/1049) was deeply impressed by ibn Sīnā's philosophical and scientific achievements. Not only did they exchange correspondence but for three days and nights, they were involved in prolonged discussions and none was given access there. When ibn Sīnā came out of the retreat, he replied in answer to his disciples' questions,

that all that he knew was miraculously perceived by the Shaykh. Similarly Shaykh Abū Sa'id observed to his students that all that he miraculously perceived was known to ibn Sīnā. This demonstrates the unity that existed between the perception of the reality by two leading sages of Islam. Ibn Sīnā's works go a long way to reconciling the Qur'ānic revelations with a rationalist approach. He was, however, aware that he was condemned even by his contemporaries as a heretic and infidel. His Ismā'īli beliefs had made the orthodox Sunnis deeply hostile to him. His own reaction is embodied in the following quatrain:

“A man like me cannot be vainly and superficially condemned as heretic.
There can be no faith more firm than that of mine,
In the whole world I am unique and even if I am a heretic,
Than in the whole world there is not a single Muslim.”¹

From the twelfth century onward ibn Sīnā was an anathema to the 'ulamā' because of Ghazālī's condemnation of *falāsifa*, for distorted version of their belief in the eternity of the world, theories of emanation, God's knowledge of particulars, causality and sixteen other similar points.² Although Fārābī (258/871-338/950) was also criticised by Ghazālī, ibn Sīnā was obdurately assailed. Fakhru'd-Dīn Rāzī (543/1149-606/1209), who had compiled a commentary on the *Ishārāt* and 'Uyūn al-akhbār by ibn Sīnā and drew upon ibn Sīnā's works in his own theological writings, was also ardently hostile to ibn Sīnā. The orthodox followers of Ghazālī and Rāzī in the subsequent centuries condemned ibn Sīnā slavishly. Ziyā'u'd-Dīn Baranī (b. 684/1285 d. after 758/1357), the historian of the early Delhi Sultanate says, “By God who had saved Mahmūd (388-421/998-1030) from all sorts of adversities; had the son of Sīnā (ibn Sīnā), who was the founder of the Greek Sciences and was the leader of the *falāsifa* in the Islamic countries, fallen into his (Mahmūd's) hands, he would have ordered that he (ibn Sīnā) be torn to pieces and his flesh thrown to the vultures. For twelve years Abū Sīnā (ibn Sīnā) remained underground for fear of Mahmūd.”³

There is no doubt that from 392/1002 until his death, ibn Sīnā could get no respite from the onslaughts of his enemies. He was burdened with strenuous political duties and was forced to move from court to court to save his life. He was imprisoned more than once. As he had left Khwārizm long before 408/1017, and unlike al-Bīrūnī (b. 362/973 d. after 442/1030) did not fall into the hands of Mahmūd of Ghaznī, he was able to produce

1 *Majālisul-mu'minīn*, pp. 331-33.

2 Ghazālī, *Tahāfūt al-falāsifa* (Incoherence of the philosophers), Beirut, 1962, pp. 3-7

3 *Fatāwā-i jahāndārī*, I, p. 16.

a large corpus of philosophical and scientific works. In the first volume we have already discussed the indebtedness of eminent Shi'i scholars to ibn Sīnā's works, even Sunnī *falāsifa* and *hukamā'* could also not ignore his *Kitāb al-Shifā'*, the *Qānūn fi't-tibb*, *al-Ishārāt wa'l-tanbihāt* and *Dānishnāma-i 'Alā'i*. From the very establishment of the Delhi Sultanate, the *falāsifa* were mercilessly condemned by the 'ulamā' and *sūfis*. For example Sultan Shamsu'd-Dīn Iltutmish's *Shaykhul-Islām* Sayyid Nūru'd-Dīn Mubārak Ghaznawī (d. 632/1234-35) urged the Sultan to banish philosophers and ostracize their works.⁴

The *sūfi* and 'ulamā' indictments of *falāsifa* and *hukamā'*, did not, however, annihilate philosophy and sciences. Thanks to ibn Sīnā's monumental contributions to medicine, the entire corpus of his philosophy and scientific theories became indispensable to the Muslim intellectuals. In Sultan 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Khaljī's (695-715/1296-1316) reign a learned physician Sadru'd-Dīn Dimashqī, delivered authoritative lectures on ibn Sīnā's *Qānūn*.⁵ It would seem that the expert Hindu physicians were in close touch with their Muslim contemporaries and this allowed an exchange of views and techniques which stimulated a new interest in the *Qānūn*. By that time surgery and ophthalmology came to be independently practised.

Philosophical discussion was a consuming passion with Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq (725-752/1325-1351). According to Baranī a group of intellectuals consisting of the logician Sa'du'd-Dīn, the poet 'Ubayd, and the philosophers, Najm Intishār and Mawlānā 'Alimu'd-Dīn met frequently with Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq to discuss and popularise *ma'qūlāt*. Consequently, the Sultan, according to Baranī lost interest in Divine revelations and was devoted exclusively to the *ma'qūlāt*. Naturally, Baranī ascribes, Sultān's tyrannies to his devotion to philosophy.⁶

Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq spent large sums of money in order to acquire ibn Sīnā's works. Probably by that time Khwāja Nasīru'd-Dīn Tūsī's rejoinders to Fakhrū'd-Dīn Rāzī, Tūsī's commentaries of ibn Sīnā and his philosophical and astronomical works in conjunction with the philosophical encyclopaedia, the *Durratut-tāj* and *Muhakama* by Tūsī's talented disciple Qutbu'd-Dīn Shīrāzī were available to the philosophers and scientists of Muhammad bin Tughluq's court. Tūsī's works might have stimulated interest in Shi'i doctrines of *Imāma*.

After the invasion of Timūr, the works of two *kalām* scholars of his court, Sa'du'd-Dīn Taftāzānī (d. 791/1389) and Sayyid Sharīf Juzjānī (d. 816/1413) were introduced to the provincial kingdoms of Jawnpur, Malwa, Gujarat, Sind and the Deccan. Sultan Sikandar Lodi's (894-923/1489-

4 Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Firūz-Shāhī*, p. 43.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 362-63.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 465.

1517) devotion to *ma'qūlāt* added a new dimension to the study of rational sciences. To the Sultan's world-view the study of *ma'qūlāt* did not undermine the importance of *manqūlāt*. He believed that both could co-exist. The Sultan's Prime minister Miyān Bhūwā was a genius. Although biographical notes on Miyān Bhūwā in the *Wāqī'āt-i Mushtāqī* and the later Lodī historical works, are anecdotal, it seems that the Miyān was a patron of philosophers, scientists and 'ulamā'. Miyān Bhūwā's perception in all branches of science and philosophy was of far reaching importance. At his invitation scholars from Iraq, Khurāsān and Transoxiana moved to India but the real monument to Miyān's fame was the *Tibb-i Sikandari* compiled by a board of scholars under the Miyān's supervision.⁷

In the fifteenth century Sind, Jām Nizāmu'd-Dīn established several seminaries in all his principal towns. His patronage to *manqūlāt* and *ma'qūlāt* prompted the celebrated Mullā Jalālu'd-Dīn Dawwānī (b. 830/1427 d. 908/1502-3), the author of the *Lawāmi'u'l-ishraq fi makārimu'l ikhlāq* or the *Ikhlaq-i Jalāli* to move to Sind. He sent two talented disciples, Mīr Shams and Mīr Mu'in, to Thatta to explore the opportunities of his migration to Sind. Unfortunately for Sindis, Dawwānī died before the arrangements for his travel were finalized. Mīr Mu'in and Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn, however, settled down in Thatta.⁸ Shaykh 'Abdu'llāh Tulanbī and Shaykh 'Azizu'llāh Tulanbī of the Multan Centre of rational sciences moved to Sultan Sikandar Loḍi's court. 'Azizu'llāh lived at Sambhal while Shaykh 'Abdu'llāh established his seminary in Delhi.⁹

Sometime before 1535, when Shaykh Abu'l-Fazl's father Shaykh Mubārak Nāgorī (b. 911/1505 d. 1000/1593) moved from Nagor to Gujarat, its capital had already become the centre of the study of *ma'qūlāt*. Khatīb Abu'l-Fazl Ghāzīrūnī, a disciple of Jalālu'd-Dīn Dawwānī and an expert on the works of the Ishrāqī theosophy of Shaykh Shihābū'd-Dīn Yahya Suhrawardī Maqtūl (d. 587/1191), had at the invitation of one of the Sultans of Gujarat already settled in Ahmadabad. Shaykh Mubārak studied ibn Sīnā's *Kitāb-al shifā'* and *al-Ishārāt wa't-tanbihāt* under Khatīb Abu'l-Fazl. In 950/1543 Shaykh Mubarak moved to Agra and settled there. His seminary became a new centre for the study of *manqūlāt* and *ma'qūlāt* under one roof. One of his most talented disciples, who in his youth had been an outspoken rationalist, was Mullā 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badā'ūnī, the author of the *Muntakhabu't-Tawārikh*. The jealousy and frustration caused by the rapid promotions of Shaykh Mubārak's sons Shaykh Fayzī and Abu'l-Fazl changed him into an uneasy defender

7 Shaykh Rizqu'llāh Mushtāqī, *Wāqī'āt-i Mushtāqī*, British Museum Ms., Rieu, II, 802b, pp. 63-64.

8 'Abdu's-Salām Nadwī, *Hukamā'-i Islām*, Azamgarh, 1956, II, p. 317.

9 *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh*, I. pp. 323-25.

of orthodoxy. However, Fayzī completed his study of the *Kitāb al-Shifā'* at the age of eleven and Abu'l-Fazl completed his education at the age of fifteen, thanks to their own precocity and Shaykh Mubārak's novel teaching methods.

In the early years of Akbar's reign, Shaykh Mubārak and his sons had been stringently persecuted by the orthodox Sunnī 'ulamā'. After his entry to the Akbar's court Abu'l-Fazl, helped by his father and brother, however, succeeded in destroying the orthodox Sunnī domination at the court. Before long a galaxy of *hakīms* also moved from Iran to India and made India as the leading centre of the *ma'qūlāt*. Badā'ūnī says, "Some of the physicians in this reign were so learned in the theory and skilled in the practice of medicine that they performed miracles like those of Mūsā (Moses) and brought to mind the wonder-working breath of the Lord 'Īsā (Christ), while others, for the reason that the healing art is a noble subject of study, but a mean pursuit in its practical application, although they busied themselves in the study of medicine, sought political employment, according to their several degrees."¹⁰ Some of them were not Shī'īs but were ardent admirers of ibn Sinā. For example Shamsu'd-Dīn as Hakīmu'l Mulk Gīlānī "was endowed with the healing breath of Messiah (Christ)" and "firm and steadfast in the faith".¹¹ In other words he was an excellent physician and an orthodox Sunnī. In religious discussion Hakīmu'l-Mulk supported Makhdūmu'l-Mulk, *sadr*s and *qāzīs*. Hakīmu'l-Mulk, did not spare Abu'l-Fazl, whom he nicknamed *fazlah* (redundancy, orts or excrement). In 988/1580 he was ordered by Akbar to leave for Mecca. This meant his banishment from India. Five lacs of rupees were given to him for distribution among the *Sherifs* and poor.

Badā'ūnī says that in the life time of Shaykh Salīm Chishtī (d. 979/1572), one day Hakīmu'l-Mulk, was "discoursing on theology and theologians and praising physicians and magnifying and extolling the importance and glory of the science of medicine, and the greatness of Shaykh Abū 'Alī Sinā. This occurred at the time when the 'ulamā' and the physicians were at feud, and were daily wrangling, disputing, and quarrelling regarding the dignity of their respective specializations." The above statement shows that long before the erection of the 'Ibādat-khāna in 982/1575 the heated polemics between the 'ulamā' and *hakīms* were the order of the day. Badā'ūnī quoted the following verses of Shaykh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234-35), the founder of the Suhrawardiyya *silsila* to censure ibn Sinā.

" 'How long did I say to this people,' ye are superfluous?
One cure, the grave, is to be found in books of medicine.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, III, p. 161; Haig, p. 224.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, III, pp. 161-62; Haig, pp. 224-26.

But when they sought satisfaction in threatening us,
We rested in God for the sufficiency of our recompense.
And they died in the faith of Aristotle,
While we live in the faith of God's chosen prophet."

Shaykh Salīm Chishtī observed, "The fire of strife was already blazing between these people. Now you have come and have blown it to a still fiercer blaze."¹²

Hakīmu'l-Mulk, however, did not return from Mecca and died there. His sister's son Hakīm 'Alī was the pupil of his uncle and sat at the feet of Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzī. According to Badā'ūnī he was originally a Zaydiyya but later on he became an Isnā 'Asharī Shi'a. Badā'ūnī adds that in his enthusiasm for Shi'ism he resembled the other *hakīms* of the age and that Hakīm 'Alī was endowed with an excellent knowledge of medicine and was passionately devoted to the healing art. As he was but young, self-opinionated and of limited experience, "it sometimes happened that a patient, after taking one of his draughts speedily had a taste of the draught of extinction". Badā'ūnī goes on to say that although he was the pupil of Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzī, he ordered him, when he was in ardent fever, a diet of thick pottage, thereby "handing him over to death, the executioner". The same Badā'ūnī, in the second volume of the *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh* blames Shāh Fathu'llāh for treating himself by a diet of pottage and blatantly contradicts himself when he says that Shāh Fathu'llāh did not listen to Hakīm 'Alī's advice.¹³ In fact Hakīm 'Alī's treatment did not suit Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzī and Akbar had replaced him with Hakīm Hasan.¹⁴

Hakīm 'Alī arrived in India from his homeland in great poverty and distress. According to the Emperor Jahāngīr, the Hakīm was an excellent scholar of Arabic. Besides a commentary on the *Qānūn* by ibn Sinā, which he wrote in Akbar's reign, he was the author of some other books.¹⁵ Before long he succeeded in attracting Akbar's attention and was rapidly promoted to important positions. In 987/1589 he was sent by Akbar's ambassador to the court of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur, the husband of Chānd Bibī.¹⁶ Before 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh could give him a befitting send off with suitable gifts he was killed by one of his eunuchs in Safar 988/January 1590. Hakīm 'Alī was not successful in his mission.¹⁷ In 1581

12 *Ibid.*, III, pp. 166-67; Haig, pp. 232-33.

13 *Ibid.*, II, p. 369.

14 *Akbar-nāma*, III, p. 558.

15 *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, p. 74.

16 *Akbar-nāma*, III, p. 266.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 298.

Hakīm 'Alī was appointed the *sadr* of Bihar.¹⁸ In 993/1585 he was appointed as an ambassador to the court of Sultan Yūsuf of Kashmir. This mission was also not a success for neither did Yūsuf show an inclination to personally attend Akbar's court nor did his son Ya'qūb.¹⁹ Hakīm 'Alī's command on Persian prose and on historical studies prompted Akbar to appoint him on the board of editors formed to write the *Tārīkh-i Alfi*. He was endowed with abilities to plan towns and was an expert architect. In April 1594 his subaqueous chamber filled Akbar's courtiers with amazement. He constructed a wonderful reservoir whose bottom was connected with a staircase, from where a passage led to an adjacent square chamber. By some contrivance which Hakīm 'Alī never revealed, water of the reservoir was prevented from flowing into the chamber. Men who went down into it to find the access to the entrance were very amazed. Many returned from half-way. Akbar got under the water at a corner of the tank and after descending two or three steps he arrived at the room. It was exquisitely decorated and well-lighted. Ten or twelve people could sit into it. There were sleeping coverlets (*farsh khwāb*), and clothing. There were some books also in recesses. The air did not allow a drop of water to enter. Breakfast was served there. For a short while Akbar stayed there. The courtiers outside the tank were terrified. Abu'l-Fazl calls Akbar's courage as misplaced. The Emperor's safe arrival outside the tank set at rest the anxiety of the courtiers.²⁰

Akbar took Hakīm 'Alī to the death bed of Fayzī in Safar 1004/October 1595 and was deeply pained to find the poet in mortal agony. Several times Akbar cried out and said, "O Shaykh Ji, I have brought Hakīm 'Alī with me, why do you not say anything?" When unconscious Fayzī did respond, Akbar cast his turban on the ground and consoling Abu'l-Fazl left the house.²¹

At the end of July 1596, one of the testicles of Akbar was lacerated by the horns of a fighting deer which ran towards him. The injury became serious but Hakīm 'Alī's treatment cured him. In the same year Hakīm 'Alī attained the *mansab* of 700. To the utter disappointment of the Emperor, Hakīm 'Alī could not save him from death when in September 1605 he was prostrated by acute diarrhoea. It seems to have become incurable because of mental tension arising out of the conflict between Prince Salīm and the latter's son Khusraw.²² According to the *Takmila* of the *Akbar-nāma*, Hakīm 'Alī used no remedy. Possibly he waited for Akbar's psychological condition to stabilise. When Emperor's pain was unbearable, he said to

18 *Ibid.*, p. 372.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 474.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 651.

21 *Muntakhabū't-tawārikh*, II, p. 406.

22 *Akbar-nāma*, III, pp. 712-13.

Hakīm 'Alī, "you were nothing but a foreign adventurer. Here you put off the sandals of exile. We raised you to this rank in order that some day you might be of use". In his uncontrollable fury Akbar flung two *pajama* strings at him. The Hakīm taking something out of a bag, mixed it into a jug of water which immediately congealed. He said, "I have got this kind of medicine, but of what use is it seeing that it does not apply to the present case?" The Emperor compelled Hakīm 'Alī to give that medicine. It produced astringency and constipation. The stomachache became unbearable. The physicians were obliged to use laxatives, but the excessive motions killed the Emperor.²³

Jahāngīr was alienated with Hakīm 'Alī but before long the misunderstandings were removed. Towards the end of 1014/1606 Jahāngīr left Agra for the Panjab to seize Khusraw without consulting his astronomers. On his way to the Panjab he consulted Hakīm 'Alī whom he considered an expert in *riyāzi* (mathematics and astronomy). He replied that the Emperor had selected the most propitious hour for his departure. Khusraw was easily seized.²⁴ Hakīm 'Alī naturally rose high in the Emperor's estimation although he always considered the Hakīm "a bad-hearted and evil-spirited" person.²⁵

Comparing him with Hakīm Jalālu'd-Dīn Muzaffar, the physician of Shāh Tahmāsp and Shāh 'Abbās, Jahāngīr in the account of the second year of his reign (1016/1607) writes, "Hakīm 'Alī, who was his contemporary, exceeded him in skill. In short, in medical skill and auspiciousness and rectitude and purity of method and disposition he was perfect. Other physicians (*atibbā*) of the age could not compare with him. In addition to his medical skill he had many excellencies. He had perfect loyalty towards me. He built at Lahore a house of great pleasantness and purity (subaqueous tank) and repeatedly asked me to honour it (with my presence). As I was very fond of pleasing him I consented. In short, the aforesaid Hakīm, from his connection with me and being my physician, had great skill in the management of affairs and business of the world, so that for some time at Allahabad I made him *dīwān* of my establishment. On account of his great honesty he was very exacting in important business, and people were vexed at his method of proceeding. For about twenty years he had ulcerated lungs, but by his wisdom preserved in some measure his health. When he was talking he mostly coughed so much that his cheek and eyes became red, and by degrees his colour became blue. I [Jahāngīr] often said to him, 'Thou art a learned physician, why dost thou not cure thy own wounds?' He represented that wounds in lungs were not of

23 *Ibid.*, (*Takmila*), p. 840.

24 *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, p. 32.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 74.

such a nature that could be cured. During his illness one of his confidential servants put poison into the medicine he daily took. When Hakīm 'Alī detected the poison he took remedies for it. He objected very much to be bled, although this was necessary.²⁶

Early in 1609 Jahāngīr visited Hakīm 'Alī's newly built subaqueous tank. He says, "One Sunday, the 23rd, I went with a band of courtiers who had not seen it to look at the reservoir in the house of Hakīm 'Alī like one that had been made at Lahore in the time of my father. The reservoir is 6 *gaz* (yard) by 6 *gaz* (yard). At its side has been erected a well-lighted room, the entrance to which is through the water, but the water does not get into it. Ten or twelve people could meet in it. He made an offering of some of the cash and articles he could produce at the time. After looking at the room, and the entering of a number of courtiers therein, I raised him to the rank of 2,000 and returned to the palace."²⁷

On 5 Muharram 1018/10 April 1609, Hakīm 'Alī died. Jahāngīr says, "It happened that he was going to the privy when his cough overcame him and opened the wounds in his lungs. So much blood poured out of his mouth and brain that he became insensible and fell, and made a fearful cry. An *āftābchī* (ewer-bearer) becoming aware of this, came into the assembly-room, and seeing him smeared with blood cried out, 'They have killed the Hakīm.' After examining him it was seen that there was no sign of wounds on his body, and that it was the same wound in the lungs that had begun to flow. They informed Qilj Khān, who was the governor of Lahore, and he, having ascertained the true state of affairs, buried him. He left no capable son."²⁸

The Gilānī Brothers

In the first volume we have already discussed aspects of the contributions of Hakīm Abu'l-Fath Gilānī towards stabilising Shī'ism in India. In the following pages we shall be discussing more about the career of the Hakīm and his two brothers, Hakīm Humām and Hakīm Nūru'd-Dīn. They were the sons of Mawlānā 'Abdu'r Razzāq Gilānī, who was eventually skilled in making speculations and in drawing horoscopes. For years the Mawlānā was the *sadr* of that region. In 974/1566-67 Gilānī was seized by Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī, and Khān Ahmad, the ruler of that region, fell into prison. According to Abu'l-Fazl Mawlānā 'Abdu'r-Razzāq was also taken captive because of his right thinking and true religion.²⁹ Possibly Abu'l-Fazl refers to the Mawlānā's liberal views in

26 *Ibid.*, p. 54; Rogers and Beveridge, I, p. 124.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 74; Rogers and Beveridge, I, p. 152.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 75; Rogers and Beveridge, I, pp. 124-25.

29 *Akbar-nāma*, III, p. 144.

religion for in Abu'l-Fazl's terminology Sunni orthodoxy could not be identified with right thinking and true religion. Towards the end of 1575 the three brothers were admitted to Akbar's Court and became the spear-head of maintaining a balance between the Shi'i and Sunni orthodoxy. In the words of Mullā Badā'ūnī, Abu'l-Fath joined Bīr Bal and Shaykh Abu'l-Fazl in turning away Akbar from Islam and led him to totally reject Divine revelations (*wahī*), prophethood (*nubūwwa*), the miracles, supernatural feats and the *shari'a*.³⁰ In fact Abu'l-Fath, Abu'l-Fazl and Bīr Bal imbued Akbar with the belief in universal peace and concord to the utter disgust of orthodox Sunnis.

When Abu'l-Fath arrived at the court he used to wear a beard. Once he found that Mullā Badā'ūnī's beard was shorter than the prescribed length. Abu'l-Fath took exception to Mullā's short beard. Mullā Badā'ūnī blamed the barber for short trimmings. The Hakīm warned him to be careful in future. Later on, says Mullā Badā'ūnī, not only did the Hakīm beat the Haydarīs and Jwaliqīs³¹ in shaving their beards clean but left behind even the Hindus in the race of clean-shaving.³²

Hakīm Abu'l-Fath performed both civil and military duties. In March 1579 he was appointed *sadr* and *amīn* under Khwāja Muzaffar Turbatī, the newly appointed governor of Bengal. In 1580 unlike other *mansabdārs* he remained loyal to Akbar during enemy's dominance over Muzaffar at Tānda in Bengal. The Hakīm was imprisoned but he managed to escape. He arrived at the court and submitted a first hand report on Bengal rebellion.³³

Early in 1582 his recommendation for the establishment of hospitals in the empire was approved.³⁴ A few months later Akbar appointed Chief controllers of sales and purchases in order to prevent the rocketing of prices. Abu'l-Fath was made the controller of intoxicants.³⁵ Akbar who was never tired of making new administrative experiences placed several departments under each of his own three sons. Competent *mansabdārs* were appointed as departmental heads under Princes. The control over the departments relating to religion and charities was assigned to Prince Dāniāl. Among one of the directors of charities was Abu'l-Fath. Early in 993/1585 he was made a *mansabdār* of 800.³⁶

In 1586 Akbar ordered Zayn Khān Koka to undertake mopping up

30 *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh*, III, p. 211.

31 Wandering dervishes who shaved their head, beard and eye-brows. *History of sufism in India*, I, pp. 306-11.

32 *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh*, II, p. 304.

33 *Akbar-nāma*, II, pp. 303-309.

34 *Ibid.*, III, p. 380.

35 *Ibid.*, III, p. 396.

36 *Ibid.*, III, pp. 404, 457.

operations against Yūsufza'ī tribes numbering about 100,000. The hill country of Swāt and Bajaur (north of Peshāwar) was their homeland. On two sides the Indus and on the remaining two the Kābul river protected their land. The liquidation of rebels was imperative to Akbar from strategic point of view. Zayn Khān seized considerable land held by Yūsufza'īs and wrote to Akbar for further reinforcements. Hakīm Abu'l-Fath and Rāja Bīr Bal were made the commander of the forces sent to reinforce Zayn Khān Koka. Both Abu'l-Fath and Bīr Bal were envious of Zayn Khān Koka and hence no concerted plan of mopping up operations could be devised. Zayn Khān was an experienced general but Hakīm Abu'l-Fath and Rāja Bīr Bal were simply intellectuals. Their principal objective was to annihilate a few tribal leaders and return to the court. In view of their influence with Akbar, Zayn Khān exhibited considerable forbearance. In February 1586 the Afghāns crushed the Imperialist's advance. Rāja Bīr Bal was killed in a fierce Afghān assault. Akbar was terribly shocked. The Hakīm and Zayn Khān narrowly escaped death. When the crest-fallen chiefs arrived at the Court, Akbar censured them for their defeat. Before long they were restored to favour, Hakīm Abu'l-Fath was assigned important civil assignments.³⁷ In August 1589, shortly after the death of Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzi, Hakīm Abu'l-Fath suffered from diarrhoea. He was in Akbar's army which was returning from Kashmir and heading towards Kābul. The Emperor called on the Hakīm several times. On the night of 18 August 1589, the Hakīm died. His earthly remains were taken to Hasan Abdāl and buried there, Akbar was deeply upset. Abu'l-Fazl wrote a condolence letter on behalf of Akbar to Hakīm Humām. Fayzi wrote a touching elegy. According to Abu'l-Fazl, the Hakīm was "an adorer of the garden of acuteness, farsighted, awakened-hearted, and wise-brained one".³⁸ Mullā Badā'ūnī says, "He obtained favour in the Emperor's service to such a degree that he was admitted to his intimate companionship and acquired such influence over him as to render himself an object of envy to all who concerned themselves in the affairs of state. He was highly distinguished for his acumen and quickness of apprehension and for his proficiency in all worldly accomplishments, prose and poetry". Badā'ūnī, however adds, "He (the Hakīm) was no less a byword for his infidelity and all other reprehensible qualities."³⁹

Hakīm Abu'l-Fath's letters were compiled to serve as a model of epistolography. Several collections are found in the manuscript repositories of the Indian sub-continent, Iran and Europe. A collection has recently

37 *Ibid.*, III, pp. 476, 482.

38 *Ibid.*, III, pp. 559-60.

39 *Muntakhabu' t-tawārikh*, III, p. 167; Haig, p. 233.

been published by the Panjab University Lahore. It contains seventy-two letters addressed to a wide cross-section of the elite; among the 'alims and sūfis are Shaykh Ziyā'u'llāh, son of Shaykh Muhammad Ghaws, Hājjī Sūfi, Shāh Huzn and Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustari, among the hakīms are Hakīm Humām, Hakīm Lutfu'llāh and Hakīm Nūru'd-Dīn.⁴⁰

Like other masters of Persian epistolography, Hakīm Abu'l-Fath also wrote an ostentatious and elaborately ornate prose with profuse quotations from the Qur'ān, hadīs and verses of eminent Persian poets. According to Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustari, Hakīm Abu'l-Fath also wrote a commentary on the Bāb Hādī 'Ashr⁴¹ but no copy of the manuscript is traceable in the known catalogues of manuscript repositories.

Hakīm Abu'l-Fath's brother Hakīm Humām was also very talented. His real name was Humāyūn, but when he came to Akbar's court with his brother, he discreetly called himself Humāyūn Qulī (slave of Humāyūn) and lastly to Hakīm Humām. He was unequalled for his knowledge of calligraphy and understanding of poetry. He was also expert in medicine and physical sciences. He was a *mansabdār* of 600. Akbar was deeply impressed with his performance as a *bakāwal begī* (steward of the imperial kitchen). He used his influence with the Emperor in helping people in their difficulties. In 1000/1591-92 Mullā Badā'ūnī overstayed his leave and Akbar was deeply offended. Hakīm, however, took courage to urge Akbar to forgive Badā'ūnī. Mullā Badā'ūnī seems to have paid the debt of his gratitude by a non-committed remark on his obituary. He wrote that Hakīm Humām's disposition was better than that of his brother. Although it was not naturally good, it could not be said to have been naturally evil.⁴²

Hakīm Humām was a member of the board of authors appointed to write the *Tārīkh-i Alfī*. In August 1586 Akbar appointed Hakīm Humām as his ambassador to 'Abdu'llāh Khān Uzbek of Tūrān in order to convince the Khān of the sterling traits of Akbar's personality. Mīrān Sadr-i Jahān was associated with him to express condolence for the death of 'Abdu'llāh Khān's father Sikandar Khān (d. 991/1583). The letter was drafted by Abu'l-Fazl who wrote on Akbar's behalf:

“We had no intention of sending away to a distance from us that asylum of instruction and talent, cream of devoted loyalties, best of our confidants, the skilful Hakīm Humām, who is a right-speaking and right-acting man, and who, from the commencement of his service, has been in close attendance on us. But we have sent him as an envoy, because

40 *Ruq'āt-i Abu'l-Fath*, Lahore, 1968.

41 *Isnā 'Asharī Shī'īs in India*, I, p. 359.

42 *Muntakhabū't-tawārikh*, III, p. 168, pp. 563-64.

he holds such a position with ourselves that he submits matters to us without the intervention of anyone else. If in your honourable interviews you treat him in a similar manner, they will be direct communications between you and me."⁴³

During Hakīm Humām's absence, Akbar often remarked, "Since Hakīm Humām has gone, my food has not the same taste". He would say to Hakīm Abu'l-Fath, "I do not think that you can be more grieved at his departure than I am. Where can one find the like of Hakīm Humām?" The quality of bread and recipes for dishes and the cooks did not change but the absence of Hakīm Humām upset Akbar's appetite.

When Hakīm Abu'l-Fath died, Hakīm Humām was on his way to the Panjab from Bukhārā. He met Akbar on the Emperor's way from Kashmir to Kābul. Although a letter of condolence drafted by Abu'l-Fazl had already been sent to Hakīm Humām, Akbar remarked, "You had one brother and he has gone to another world. We have lost ten."⁴⁴

Hakīm Humām did not survive after Abu'l-Fath's death. In November 1559 Hakīm Humām died of tuberculosis. According to Abu'l-Fazl, he was endowed with a good countenance, was a jewel of purity, and a sweet-spoken man.⁴⁵ Mullā Badā'ūnī does not make adverse personal comments on the Hakīm but indirectly assails him for leading the life of a courtier. He says, "Hakīm Hasan, Shaykh Fayzī, Kamāl the *sadr*, and Hakīm Humām all died one after the other within the space of a month, and all the wealth which they had amassed disappeared in a moment, vanishing as completely as though it had been sunk in the Red and the Arabian Seas, and to them nothing remained but the wind of vain regrets."⁴⁶ In fact Badā'ūnī's comments are designed to assail the Mughal system of escheating the property of dead noblemen in order to settle the claims of the State. The family of Hakīm Humām or that of other courtiers mentioned by Badā'ūnī was not reduced to such a miserable plight as described by Mullā Badā'ūnī. Hakīm Humām's sons, Hakīm Hāziq and Hakīm Khushhāl by name rose to considerable eminence.

Hakīm Hāziq was born at Fathpur Sikri. When his father died he was young in age but completed his education under distinguished friends and disciples of his father and uncle. In the Jahāngīr's reign he was reputed for his judgment and reliability. In 1038/1629 Shāhjahān promoted him to the *mansab* of 1,500 zāt and 600 horse and sent him as an embassy to Tūrān.⁴⁷ It was a very significant assignment. Earlier Imām Qulī Khān

43 *Akbar-nāma*, III, 500; Beveridge, III, p. 760.

44 *Ma'āsirul'umarā'*, I, pp. 564-65.

45 *Akbar-nāma*, III, p. 696.

46 *Muntakhabul-tawārikh*, III, p. 168; Haig, p. 234.

47 *Bādshāhnāma* I, Pt. I, pp. 233.

of Transoxiana had sent 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Khwāja Jū'ibārī Naqshbandī as his envoy to Jahāngīr who was deeply upset at Shāh 'Abbās' annexation of Qandahār to his empire in 1622. Imām Qulī had suggested that Prince Khurram (later on Shāhjahān) should be commissioned to recapture Qandahār and in collaboration with the army of Transoxiana, Balkh and Badakhshān seize Khurāsān. After the conquest of Khurāsān Jahāngīr might partition it assigning the territories he deemed fit to him (Imām Qulī). Jahāngīr's death in 1037/1627 disrupted the progress of the negotiations. 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Khwāja called on Shāhjahān at Agra but died a natural death. Shāhjahān sent gifts to the value of one lac and fifty thousand rupees and rare gifts of India with Hakīm Hāziq to Imām Qulī.

On his return in 1632-33 he was appointed as an *'arz-i mukarrar* (reviser of petition). His tact and scholarship made him a great success. He was granted successive increases in his *mansab*. After attaining a rank of 3,000 he lost his office for some unknown reasons and lived in retirement in Agra. Rs. 20,000 per annum were fixed as his salary which was doubled in 1646-47. In 1068/1657-58 he died.

His contemporaries considered him conceited and vain-glorious. Even Mīr Ilāhī of Hamadān, an Iranian did not consider him worthy of friendship. It is said that he had not mastered the science of medicine, nevertheless several officers consulted him because of his name and high rank. He embarked upon writing a history of Shāhjahān's reign but could not complete it. He was, however, a good poet and combined the style of his predecessors with that of the more recent ones. He got up his *Diwān* in a very elegant manner and placing it on a decorated stand, he took it with him into every assemblage. Whoever did not choose to honour the *Diwān* was, irrespective of his rank, treated with discourtesy. It was put on a stand made of gold and read out. Shāhnawāz quotes the following verse composed by him which became very famous:

“My heart, O Hāziq, cannot be comforted by any consolation,
I've seen spring and flowers and autumn.”⁴⁸

Hakīm Hāziq's brother Hakīm Khushhāl also obtained the *mansab* of 1,000 in Shāhjahān's reign. He was appointed as a *bakhshī* to the Deccan. Mahābat Khān was very kind to him.⁴⁹

Hakīm Abu'l-Fath and Hakīm Humām's youngest brother Hakīm Nūru'd-Dīn Qarārī was a poet. In 1580 he was killed by Bihar and Bengal rebels.

48 *Mā'āsiru'l-umarā'*, I, pp. 567-90; *Mir'ātu'l 'ālam*, II, pp. 568-69, 624.

49 *Mā'āsiru'l-umarā'*, I, p. 565.

One of Hakim Abu'l-Fath's cousins who also had adopted Qarārī as his *nom de plume* was a man of ascetic temperament. In Shāhjahān's reign he became very famous as a poet.⁵⁰

Hakim 'Aynu'l-Mulk of Shirāz traced his origin, on his mother's side from Jalālu'd-Dīn Dawwānī. Notes on him by Badā'ūnī indicate that he was a Sunni.⁵¹

Sharīf Āmulī

The personality of Sharif of Āmul (in Tabaristān about 300 kilometers north of Tehran) is surrounded by hot controversy. According to Mullā Badā'ūnī, he was a reprobate apostate. Five letters written to him by Abu'l-Fazl between 1000/1591-92 and 1002/1593-94 tend to indicate that he was a man of ascetic temperament, and considered the imperial service a threat to his spiritual pursuits and scholarly interests.⁵² Mīrzā Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad describes him as one of the *muwāhhids* (a believer in Unity of Being) and endowed with a sound knowledge of *sūfism*.⁵³ Jahāngīr, whose reviews of the dignitaries of his father's reign are generally objective, says:

"I promoted Sharīf Āmulī, raising his original rank to 2,500. He is an exceedingly pure-hearted and lively-spirited man. As he is not well-versed in formal learning, he often expresses lofty thoughts and excellent statements on spiritual matters. In the dress of a recluse and an ascetic he had travelled a lot and had lived in the company of a large number of saints. He talks on subjects related to *sūfism*, and this is a *qāl* (theoretical) and not *hāl* (ecstatic) with him. In the time of my father he relinquished the garments of poverty and asceticism, and attained to *amīrshīp* and chiefship. His utterance is infinitely powerful, and his conversation is remarkably eloquent and pure, although his knowledge of Arabic is poor, his compositions are not devoid of elegance (*namak*)."⁵⁴

Writings of Sharīf Āmulī are not traceable; only a few letters written by him are available in the library of Asiatic Society of Bengal.⁵⁵ They show him to be a devout *sūfī* and a good scholar. Details of his official career are available in the *Akbar-nāma* but Badā'ūnī's invectives on Sharīf Āmulī indicate that he was a Shī'ī and a *hakīm*. In the interest of his life and career he chose to live like a *sūfī*. According to Mullā Badā'ūnī,

50 *Mir'ātu'l-'ālam*, II, p. 647.

51 *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, III, pp. 164-65.

52 Abu'l-Fazl, *Mukātabāt-i 'Allāmī*, Delhi 1846, II, p. 204.

53 Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad, *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, Calcutta 1927, II, p. 451.

54 *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, p. 22; Rogers and Beveridge, I, pp. 47-48.

55 *Majmū'a*, in Ivanow, Asiatic Society Bengal; *Concise descriptive catalogue of Persian manuscripts*, Calcutta 1924, p. 417.

Sharif Āmuli was first introduced to Akbar at his Dipālpur camp in Malwa at the end of 984/1577. He goes on to say, "This reprobate apostate had run from country to country, like a dog that has burnt its foot, and turning from one sect to another, he went on wrangling until he became a perfect heretic. For some time he studied after the fashion of misguided *sūfis*, which is void of all sophy, in the school of Mawlānā Muhammad Zāhid of Balkh, a grandson of Shaykh Husayn of Khwārizm, and lived with dervishes. But as he had little of the dervish temperament in him he set on abundance of vain talk and senseless effrontery, and blurred it out, so that they expelled him. The Mawlānā (Muhammad Zāhid) wrote a poem against him in which the following verse occurs:

"There was a heretic, and Sharif was his name,
Perfect he thought himself, not perfect all the same !"

Travelling through Transoxiana, Iran and Arabia, Sharif Āmuli arrived in the Deccan. There too, according to Badā'ūnī, Sharif's want of self-restraint and filthy disposition disillusioned his patrons. The Deccan rulers wished to kill him but he was paraded on a donkey in disgrace. Badā'ūnī goes on to say, "But since Hindustān is a vast country, where there is open field for all licentiousness (*ibāhat*) and no one interferes with another's business, so that every one can do just as he pleases, at this time he made his way to Malwa, and settled at a place five *kos* distant from the imperial camp. Every foolish and frivolous word that proceeded out of his mouth instead of being wholesome food was the poison of asps, and became the absorbing topic of general conversation." Many persons like brute beasts, especially the heretics (*mulhidgān*) of Iraq gathered round him. In Mullā Badā'ūnī's terminology heretics of Iraq could be none else but Shi'īs who according to him had "separated themselves from the truth of the faith, like a hair from the dough". According to an important source they were "destined to be the foremost worshippers of Dajjāl (Antichrist)". Sharif claimed that he was the *mujaddid* (renewer) for the tenth century. The sensation was immense. When the Emperor heard of him, he invited him in the night to a private audience in a long prayer-room, which was made of cloth, and in which the Emperor with his suite used to say the five daily prayers at stated hours. Only Hakimu'l-Mulk was invited to attend. Mullā Badā'ūnī was not invited but from a distance he could catch the word *'ilm* (knowledge) uttered by Mir Sharif. The letter considered his discourses as "truth of truths" (*haqīqatu'l-haqā'iq*) and the foundation of fundamentals (*asl al-usūl*).

According to Mullā Badā'ūnī, Sharif Āmuli's discourses were based on the works of Mahmūd of Basakhwān (a village near Gilān) who flourished in the Timūr's reign. Of the thirteen works authored by

Mahmūd, the most important was the *Bahr u kūza*. To Badā'ūnī, it was "dirty filth, full of such droppings of heresy as no religion or sect would suffer, and containing nothing but deceitful flattery". Badā'ūnī gives no details of the themes of Mahmūd's works but Mahmūd himself called them the knowledge of words and ecstasy (*'ilm-i lafz wa hāl*).

According to Mullā Badā'ūnī, Sharif Āmulī was the author of a book entitled the *Tarashshuh-i zahūr* (Drizzles of appearance). It was based on the *Jama'* (compendium) by Mīr 'Abdu'l-Awwal. "The book", says Mullā Badā'ūnī, "is written in loose, deceptive aphorisms, each beginning with the word *mī farmūdand* (The master said): it is a regular poser, and a mass of ridiculous silly nonsense."

In 987/1580 some members of 'ulamā' collected evidence to the effect that the Emperor was the Sāhib-i Zamān (Lord of the Times) who would destroy the Hindu and Muslim differences on the one hand and the bickerings which divided the Muslims themselves into seventy-two sects. Badā'ūnī describes the leaders of the movement as low and mean fellow, who pretended to be learned, but were in reality illiterate ones (*'alim numā'i jāhil*). Among them he includes Sharif Āmulī who brought evidences from the writings of Mahmūd of Basakhwān, that he had said that in the year 990/1582-83, a certain person would abolish lies. All the prophecies of Mahmūd were applied on the lord of true religion who according to *Jamal* calculations (*hisāb-i jamal*) was destined to appear in 990. Sharif Āmulī's interpretations were, according to Mullā Badā'ūnī supported by Khwāja Mawlānā Shirāzī, the heretic and expert in *Jafar*.⁵⁶ Khwāja Mawlānā buttressed his prophecies on the basis of treatises written by certain Sherifs of Mecca in which a tradition was quoted to the effect that earth would exist for 7,000 years, and as that time had then ended, the appearance of the promised one was imminent. He himself authored a treatise on the subject and submitted to the Emperor. The above prophecies were based on the Sunni traditions. The Shi'is taking the advantage of the Sunni traditions, according to Mullā Badā'ūnī, brought forward similar nonsense connected with 'Alī, and quoted the following *rubā'i* (quatrain) which is said to have been composed by Nāsir-i Khusraw,⁵⁷ or according to some by some other poet:

56 Knowledge of the world's vision at a supernatural and cosmic scale invented by Imām as-Sādiq.

57 Abū Mu'in Nāsir bin Khusraw was born at Balkh in 394/1003. He received a good education and became an official in Merv government. In 1045 A.D. he abandoned his court life and resigned his position. He visited Mecca in four different years and travelled to a number of Muslim countries. All of them except the Fātimid Egypt were declining. He was confirmed in the belief that only his Ismā'īlī beliefs could save the true believers from inevitable destruction. He was consecrated as a *hujja*, a fairly high position in the Ismā'īlī missionary hierarchy. He was a poet and

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“In 989, according to the decree of fate,
The stars from all sides shall meet together.
In the year of Leo, the month of Leo, the day of Leo,
The Lion of God will stand forth from behind the veil.”⁵⁸

The principal objective of Mir Sharif and other Sunnī and Shi'i intellectuals was to save the empire from falling into the hands of adventurers claiming themselves Mahdī. They convinced Akbar that he was the prophet of universal peace and the Perfect Man as believed by the devotees of ibn 'Arabī. As an Emperor his principal responsibility was to protect his subjects irrespective of their faith and beliefs. None of the above theories violated the Islamic *shari'a* and the belief in the finality of the Prophet Muhammad's mission. Nevertheless Mullā Badā'ūnī and the disgruntled Sunnī leaders, however, believed that Akbar was inclined to become a Prophet, nay something else, meaning thereby that he wished to become God.⁵⁹

For six years Sharif Āmulī was the member of the elite group in Akbar's court who propagated universal peace. Early in 1586, according to the *Akbar-nāma*, he was appointed the *sadr* of Kābul. In 1587 he was appointed a member of the commission of the revenue assessment for Kashmir and was ordered to disburse charities to the recluses and ascetics of Srinagar.⁶⁰ In 1591, he was made *amin*, *sadr* and *qāzi* of Bengal, three different offices being combined in his person.⁶¹ It was the extraordinary promotion of Sharif Āmulī, that made Badā'ūnī to angrily remark:

“He is now a nobleman holding the rank of 1,000. He is one of the *da'īs* (missionaries) of *Mazhab-i Haqq* (true religion) in Bengal province and is endowed with the four degrees of devotion (*Sāhib-i marātib-i Chahārgāna*). Acting as the Deputy of His Majesty he initiates loyal disciples to these degrees.”⁶²

Badā'ūnī identifies the four degrees of devotion to Akbar with the *Mazhab-i Haqq*. In his description of a confession made by Mīrzā Jānī Beg, governor

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an author of several prose works. His *Zādu'l-musāfirīn* is an encyclopaedia dealing with the metaphysical and cosmographical problems. The *Wajh-i dīn* is an introduction to Ismā'ilism. The *Safar-nāma* by him gives an account of his travels to Mecca and describes other places visited by him. In 452 or 453/1060 or 1061 he died.

58 *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh*, II, p. 287; Lowe, p. 295.

59 *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh*, II, pp. 245-48; Lowe, pp. 251-55.

60 *Akbar-nāma*, III, p. 557.

61 *Ibid.*, III, p. 601.

62 *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh*, II, p. 248; Lowe's translation is obscure.

of Thatta, Badā'ūnī identifies the four degrees of devotion with the *Din Ilāhi* of Akbar Shāh.⁶³ Badā'ūnī and Abu'l-Fazl do not differ in their respective definitions to the four degrees of devotion to the Emperor. According to them they consisted in readiness to sacrifice property, life, honour, and religion in the service of the Emperor. To Abu'l-Fazl and his associates the four degrees had no religious significance and their objective was political. To Badā'ūnī and his associates the four degrees of devotion meant the replacement of Islam with Akbar's new faith sometimes called the *Mazhab-i Haqq* and sometimes the *Din Ilāhi*. The discipleship (*murīdī*) to the Emperor remained the principal basis of the Mughal imperialistic traditions and did not end until the last days of the Mughal rule.

Sharif Āmulī dedicated himself to the four degrees of devotion as defined by Abu'l-Fazl. His loyal services to the Emperor won for him regular promotions. In 1006/1598 he was granted Ajmer and Mohān (near Lucknow) as his *jāgīr*. The *Ā'in-i Akbarī* mentions his name in the list of the *mansabdārs* of 900. Jahāngīr raised his rank to 2,500. Before his death he is said to have attained a *mansab* of 3,000. According to the *Zakhīratu'l-khawānīn* he did not maintain an office or a register. The list of troopers and foot-soldiers was given to him. Every six months he put the salary of each soldier in a bag and sent it to his home. He died at his *jāgīr* in Mohān and was buried there.⁶⁴

Sharif Āmulī made no efforts to promote Shi'ism. The *Tārīkh-i 'Ālam Ārā-i 'Abbāsī* calls him a member of the *Nuqtāwiyya*⁶⁵ sect invented by Mahmūd of Baskhwān.⁶⁶ He might not have been an Isnā 'Asharī but his influence, however, channelled the orthodox Sunnī machinery of persecution to the self-defence and saved the Shi'is from destruction.

Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzī

Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzī's achievements have already been discussed in the first volume. In the following pages we shall be discussing Shāh Fathu'llāh's contributions to the realm of *hikma* traditions. Mullā Badā'ūnī says, "He (the Shāh) was thoroughly versed in all those sciences which demand the exercise of the reasoning faculty, such as philosophy, astronomy, geometry, astrology, geomancy, arithmetic, the preparation of talismans, incantations, and mechanics, and in this department of learning he was such an adept that he was able to draw up an astronomical table

63 *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, II, p. 304.

64 *Zakhīratu'l-khawānīn*, I, p. 192.

65 According to *'Ālam Ārā-i 'Abbāsī*, it was a heretical sect, whose followers believed in metempsychosis. Nuqtāwīs, however, were extremists in their devotion to 'Alī and gave mystical and allegorical interpretations to the dot under *ba* (B) of *bi'smi'llāh*.

66 Iskandar Munshī, *'Ālam Ārā-i 'Abbāsī*,

as soon as the Emperor demanded one from him. He was equally trained in Arabic, traditions (*hadīs*), interpretation of the Qur'ān and rhetoric, and was the author of some excellent works, which were not, however, equal to those of Mawlānā Mirzā Jān of Shīrāz, who was a teacher in Transoxiana, an abstemious recluse, and was unique among the learned men of the age."⁶⁷ Abu'l-Fazl says, "So much learning had he [Fathu'llāh] that if the old books of wisdom (*hikma*) had disappeared, he could have laid a new foundation (of knowledge), and would not have wished for what had gone."⁶⁸ In a different context Abu'l-Fazl says that Amīr Fathu'llāh of Shīrāz was acquainted with the minutest details of astronomy.⁶⁹ According to Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad Bakhshī, Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī was superior to the 'ulamā' of Khurāsān, Iraq and India in his knowledge of traditional (*naqlī*) and rational (*'aqlī*) sciences. Among his contemporaries none was his equal in the whole world. He was expert in rare sciences such as mechanics (*nayranjāt*) and talismans (*tilismāt*)."⁷⁰

The *Khushrūz* or days of Fancy Bazaar offered Shāh Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī an opportunity to demonstrate his proficiency in science and mechanics. According to the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, the fancy bazaars were held on third feast day of every month. The local and overseas merchants exhibited their wares and rare objects fetched heavy price. Fancy bazaars for women were followed by similar bazaars for men.⁷¹ Bazaars on new year's day were naturally most attractive. The new year's celebrations of the 29th solar year of Akbar's reign (Rabi' I 992/March 1584) coincided with the thirtieth lunar year of Akbar's reign. It was celebrated by Akbar's mother, Maryam Makānī in her own garden, four *kos* from Fathpur-Sikri.⁷² The palaces were profusely decorated. Stalls were allotted to the noblemen to exhibit their ingenuity and skill in the realm of their special fields. Kudos was won by the stall of Shāh Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī which exhibited different types of master pieces. Among these were *jarr-i asqāl* (science of mechanics) and other rarities. Mullā Badā'ūnī's objective was to arouse hatred against Akbar. He did not care to give details of Shāh Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī's inventions. He turns to the decrees of the Emperor which he called as "new-fangled" and devotes his attention to them.⁷³

Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad Bakhshī, the principal source of Mullā Badā'ūnī's history is, however, more helpful. According to him the following inventions were made by Shāh Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī:

67 *Muntakhabū't-tawārīkh*, III, p. 154; Haig, p. 216.

68 *Akbar-nāma*, III, p. 401.

69 *Ibid.*, III, p. 439.

70 *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, II, p. 357.

71 *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, book second, *ā'in* 23.

72 *Akbar-nāma*, III, p. 421.

73 *Muntakhabū't-tawārīkh*, II, p. 321.

1. A mill stone which turned itself (*khud harkat mi kard*) and ground corn. It was fixed on a cart.
2. A mirror exhibiting curious figures whether seen from near or from a distance.
3. A cannon with twelve barrels (*duwāzdah bandūq*) fired by a single wheel.

Abu'l-Fazl is not helpful in determining Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzi's inventions. He ascribes all inventions to Akbar's genius, although he refers to Ustād Kabir and Ustād Husayn among the expert gun makers who sharpened their skills under the guidance of Akbar. It is not necessarily a flattery to Akbar, for the inventors presented their master-pieces to him. When they were approved, the imperial *kārkhānas* adopted them for large scale production. Sometimes alterations were made at Akbar's suggestion and all new inventions were ascribed to the Emperor.

The 20th *ā'in* in the second book of the *Ā'in-i Akbari* gives the list of the carriages invented by Akbar. An extraordinary carriage was used for carrying loads and was also employed for grinding corn. Neither does Nizāmu'd-Dīn nor does Abu'l-Fazl mention the source of power that moved the mill. Alvi and Rahmān suggest that the power was obtained from the animal. Had it been so Nizāmu'd-Dīn would not have said that it turned itself (*ki khud harkat mi kard wa ārad mi shud*). Alvi and Rahmān reject Muhammad Husayn Āzād's suggestions in the *Darbār-i Akbari* that it was a wind mill. They say, "But there is nothing in the source to suggest such a possibility. Besides a phenomenon such as this would not have escaped the pen of Abu'l-Fazl."⁷⁴ The sources, however in no way, permit to invent the theory of animal propelling, Nizāmu'd-Dīn specifically mentions that it turned itself. Perhaps the wind mill device was added to the cart.

Abu'l-Fazl mentions a large cart, which could be drawn either by an elephant or a bullock. It was large enough to hold cabins for hot [and cold] water. The device offered the *Hammām* (bath) luxuries during travels. The cabins might have been two storeyed in order to save space. This luxurious travelling bath might have also been invented by Shāh Fath'ullāh Shirāzi who seems to have improved the existing baths in Fathpur-Sikri known as Haktm's *hammāms* and added new mechanical devices to them.

2. The description of the mirror in the *Tabaqāt-i Akbari* is too brief to make any specific comments.
3. The twelve barrelled cannon which was fired by a wheel device is not mentioned in the *Ā'in-i Akbari*. The latter source also does not mention wheel-lock device. It mentions a seventeen barrelled cannon

74 M. A. Alvi and A. Rahmān, *Fathu'llāh Shirāzi*, Delhi, 1968, p. 7, foot-note, 18.

which was ignited by match-card system. (*niz hafdah rā chunān yaktā'ī dād ki yak fatīla hama rā kushād dihad*).⁷⁵ It would seem that the twelve barrelled wheel-lock was replaced by the seventeen barrelled cannon which was ignited by match-card system.

Possibly Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī also invented a cannon mentioned in the *Ā'in-i Akbarī* whose barrel contained about nine pieces which could be easily transported and expeditiously put together when required.⁷⁶ This invention accords with Shāh Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī's specialization in wheeled devices and barrels. Akbar had already made considerable improvements in his match-locks. Shāh Fathu'llāh seems to have made further improvements on them. Mullā Badā'unī says, "Putting a match-lock on his shoulder and a belt of ammunition round his waist, like a runner, he [Shāh Fathu'llāh] used to accompany the Emperor at his stirrup in the chase, and the glory of knowledge, which had already vanished, he utterly trampled in the dust."⁷⁷ Possibly Shāh Fathu'llāh's principal objective was to personally discover defects in Akbar's match-locks and to find devices to improve them.

The cleaning of match-locks and the barrels of cannons was exceedingly toilsome and an arduous task. A strong man had to work for long hours with iron instruments in order to clean match-locks. On the basis of his practical knowledge, Akbar invented a wheel turned by a bullock. Its motion cleaned sixteen barrels in a short time. Abu'l-Fazl does not describe it but refers to its sketch. 'Alvī and Rahmān describe it thus:

"It is a huge, eight-legged installation probably all made of iron and steel, may be about eight feet high. An octagonal frame, probably of angle-iron is mounted on top. Half way between the rim and the centre is a toothed wheel (with spokes not shown in drawing) with the hub fixed on a central vertical shaft or axle, which rests in a thick casing fixed in the ground. Round the hub, and probably extending some length below it round the shaft, is what appears to be some sort of fixed bearing. On the surface of the bearing are eight sockets facing eight others in the angles of the octagon. The detachable part of the machine consists of eight bars. Each bar is a composite structure consisting of a pinion and two brush-rods of equal length screwed or welded to either sides of the pinion. When the barrels are required to be cleaned they are slid over the brush rods, lifted up to the frame and placed in the sockets provided in the frame and the fixed bearing, the teeth of the wheel being in mesh with the teeth of the pinion."⁷⁸

75 *Ā'in-i Akbarī, ā'in-i tūp.*

76 *Ibid., ā'in-i tūp.*

77 *Muntakhabū't-tawārīkh*, II, p. 316; Lowe, p. 326.

78 *Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī*, pp. 5-6.

Akbar's machine of cleaning guns known as *yarghū* exhibits the inventors mastery over the use of wheels, toothed wheels, axle, pulley, lever, and screws which were known in Iran and the Mediterranean countries by the eleventh century A.D. It would therefore not be wrong to ascribe its invention to Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzī who was fully conversant with the above devices and was an expert in directing them to a practical use.

Although *hammāms* (baths) in Fathpur-Sikri were built long before Shāh Fathu'llāh's arrival at Akbar's court, they were provided with water by different manual devices and Persian wheels. The northern palace water works which drew their supply from the great *bāoli* or well down the road from Hāthī-Pol topped with low domes seems to have been added under Shāh Fathu'llāh's directions. The northern and southern upper chambers in the *bāoli* shew below their domed ceilings the great beams which took the upward thrust of the revolving windlasses. These were turned by draught cattle, on the principle of the Persian wheel. Buckets, ceaselessly rising and falling, were emptied on the rise by men standing on the roof, and the slope of the roof conducted the water into the channel broadening along the aqueduct to the first water tower. There the water was lifted from the storage well, a further ten metres or so by similar methods to an aqueduct atop a rubble-built wall, which ran northwards towards the gateway known as the Hāthī-Pol. From aqueduct it was again raised, in the bastion-like building projecting from the wall, having been already raised some thirty metres from the level in great *bāoli*, in three operations. From the roof of this water tower it was drawn up to a fourth stage, on the roof of a covered arcade surrounding a small quadrangle between the eastern wall of the Hāthī-Pol and the road, and was roughly level with the pavement of *Haram Sarā'* quarters miscalled stables. On the northern side of the gateway spanning the road east of the Pigeon House, it was raised a fifth time and emptied into several channels; one to the bath in the garden called Maryam's, another to the garden itself and the now ruined garden beyond it, and another along past the Wind Tower (Panch Mahal) towards the central *Haram Sarā'* palace, where it would have supplied the fountain in the centre of the court. The Anūp Talāo ("the peerless pool"), called Kapūr Talāo, ("Camphor Pool"), by Father Monserrate and Jahāngir towards the east of the Diwān Khāna-i Khāss, was also supplied from these water works, the overflow emptying itself into the Sukh Tāl adjacent to the Hakims' Baths across the modern road.⁷⁹

The Fathpur-Sikri water works were the precursor of the water works in the famous Tāj Mahal where water was raised from the Jamunā river

79 S. A. A. Rizvi and V. J. A. Flynn, *Fathpūr-Sikrī*, Bombay, 1975, pp. 111-12.

and distributed through storage tanks adjacent to the Tāj gardens. Similar system provided the palaces of Red Fort Delhi with water.

Although direct evidence does not exist for some of the inventions ascribed to Shāh Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī in the above paragraphs but our presumptions are based on sound literary sources. What Abu'l-Fazl could not ascribe to the inventive genius of Akbar was the Ilāhī era that the Shāh devised. Abu'l-Fazl says that "the pillar of this sacred era was the Learned of the Age, the Plato of cycles, Amīr Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī whose title was 'Azudu'd-Dawla'.⁸⁰ In the *Ā'in-i Akbarī* he says that Amīr Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī, "the representative of ancient sages" and "the paragon of the house of wisdom" fulfilled the Emperor's long cherished desire "to introduce a new computation of years and months throughout the fair regions of Hindustān in order that perplexity might give place to easiness". Abu'l-Fazl adds that the foundation of a new era did not have any religious significance. The eras were designed to facilitate the monetary transactions and contracts. New eras had previously been introduced from time to time to meet the above objectives. Abu'l-Fazl goes on to say that the new era did not involve disrespect to the glory of the *hijra* era, which commenced from the day when Prophet Muhammad moved from Mecca to Medina because of the predominance of his enemies. Consequently according to Abu'l-Fazl the *hijra* era began with a day of joy to foes and of grief to friends. It was for the above reasons that to Akbar the *Hijra* era represented failure (*az nākāmī āgāhī bakhshad*)." Abu'l-Fazl, however adds, "Because of the number of short-sighted, ignorant men who believe the currency of the era to be inseparable from religion, His Imperial Majesty in his graciousness, dearly regarding the attachment of the hearts of his subjects did not carry out his design of suppressing it. Although it is evident to right-minded people of the world, what relevancy exists between the market-coin of commercial dealing and the night gleaning jewel of faith, and what participation between this chain of objective connection and the two-fold card of spiritual truth, yet the world is full of dust of indiscrimination, and the discerning are heedful of the fable of the fox that took to flight when camels were being impressed".⁸¹

Mullā Badā'ūnī, however, asserts that Akbar abolished the *hijra* era and introduced a new era called the '*Tārīkh-i Ilāhī*'. On copper coins and gold *mohurs* the era of the Millennium was engraved to proclaim that the true religion of Muhammad, which was to last one thousand years, was going to end.⁸² Although Abu'l-Fazl made strenuous efforts to convince

80 *Akbar-nāma*, II, p. 12; *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, ā'in 2.

81 H. S. Jarrett, *The Ā'in-i Akbarī*, Delhi, 1978, reprint, p. 29.

82 *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, II, p. 306.

the orthodox of the practical importance of a solar era, they were not satisfied.

Shāh Fathu'llāh made the new Gurgāni *zīj* or the astronomical tables invented by Mirzā Ulugh Beg (850-853/1447-49) as the basis of his computation. It was combined with the researches of Khwāja Nasīru'd-Dīn Tūsī made in his Marāgha observatory for his patron Hulāgu (654-63/1256-65). The mean lunar year consists of 354 days, 8 hours, 48 minutes and [36 seconds]; the solar Ilāhi year starting from the vernal equinox comprised 365 days, 5 hours, 49 minutes and 15 seconds. The days of the month were reckoned from 29 to 32 and the 31st and 32nd days were called *rūz wa shab*; abolishing intercelary days, the year was brought down to 365 days. The names of the months were made identical with the names of the months of the Iranian era of Yazdajird (399-421). Their names and corresponding zodiacal signs are as follows:

1. Farwardīn	māh-i Ilāhi (Divine Month)	March-April	Aries
2. Urdībihisht	„	April-May	Taurus
3. Khurdād	„	May-June	Gemini
4. Tir	„	June-July	Cancer
5. Amurdād	„	July-August	Leo
6. Shahriwar	„	August-September	Virgo
7. Mihr	„	September-October	Libra
8. Abān	„	October-November	Scorpion
9. Āzar	„	November-December	Saggitarius
10. Bahman	„	December-January	Capricornus
11. Dai	„	January-February	Aquarius
12. Isfandarmuz	„	February-March	Pisces

The names of the days were the same as those of the current thirty Persian days.

1. Ormūz	12. Māh
2. Bahman	13. Tir
3. Urdībihisht	14. Gūsh
4. Shahriyur	15. Khur
5. Isfandarmuz	16. Mihrgān (Mihr)
6. Khurdād	17. Surūsh
7. Murdād	18. Rashn
8. Daibazār (Dai bā Āzar)	19. Farwardīn
9. Āzar	20. Bahrām
10. Ābān	21. Rām
11. Rash	22. Bād

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|
| 23. Dai (Dai bā Dīn) | 27. Āsmān |
| 24. Dīn | 28. Zamīyād |
| 25. Ārād | 29. Mārisfand |
| 26. Ashtād | 30. Anīrān ⁸³ |

Mullā Badā'ūnī refers to the *Nisābu's-sibyān*, a popular vocabulary in rhyme by Abū Nasr-i Farahī⁸⁴ to the names of days.⁸⁵ They were not unfamiliar to officials who maintained administrative, fiscal and revenue records. Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī's reforms in calendar were not the last word to the evolution of astronomical researches, nevertheless it eliminated discrepancies in the existing solar calendars. It paved the way for subsequent researches in the reigns of Shāhjahān and Muhammad Shāh.

According to Mullā Badā'ūnī, Shāh Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī was competent to build an observatory but Akbar took no interest in it. Perhaps Shāh Fathu'llāh made his calculations on astrolabes collected by Humāyūn and largely depended on researches made by him in his early career. Although Abu'l-Fazl's sentence in the *Ā'in-i Akbarī* is ambiguous, it seems that Fathu'llāh translated a portion of *Zīj-i Jadīd-i Mīrza'ī* (Modern astronomical tables of Ulugh Beg).⁸⁶

Shāh Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī was essentially a teacher. In his own homeland he had been for a long time the spiritual guide of the rulers and nobles. In Fathpur-Sikri he seems to have made researches in the teaching methods from elementary level to advanced standards. Mullā Badā'ūnī sarcastically says,

“He became devoted to teaching children of the *umarā'* (noblemen), and every day would go to the houses of Akbar's favourites, and would act as the elementary teacher, first of all to the slave of Hakīm Abu'l-Fath, and at another time to the son of Shaykh Abu'l-Fazl and to other children of *umarā'* of seven or eight years of age, and even younger, and taught them the art of calligraphy such as putting dots, drawing straight lines and curves, and even taught them the alphabet,

“In the hands of children new to instruction,
Do not place a tablet of astronomical calculations.
A horse, which is of Arab breed,
Do not mark with a Grecian brand.”⁸⁷

83 *Akbar-nāma*, II, p. 9-10.

84 In 617/1220 the author versified *Jāmi' as-saghīr* by Shaybānī (d. 187/802).

85 *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, II, p. 306.

86 *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, Lucknow, 1893, p. 76.

87 *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, II, p. 316; Lowe, pp. 325-26.

To Mullā Badā'ūnī it was a pity that a man of a profound eminence as Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī should spend his time in teaching children. It goes without saying that Shāh Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī was in no need of flattering Hakīm Abu'l-Fath's slaves or for that matter even Abu'l-Fazl and other noblemen. Like his experiments with guns he made pedagogical researches on children of lower to higher age groups in the entire cross-section of the society. As was the case with other countries, specially in India boys were kept for years at school, where they learnt the consonants and vowels. A great portion of the life of the students was wasted by making them read frivolous books. Akbar who in his childhood always dodged his teachers and did not learn the art of reading could hardly ignore the need to overcome the drudgery of traditional teaching methods in elementary education. The following method of teaching children might have been suggested by Shāh Fathu'llāh to Akbar on the basis of his pedagogical researches. Shaykh Abu'l-Fazl who was taught by his father through summaries and digests might have also helped Shāh Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī. Abu'l-Fazl says,

“His Majesty orders that every school boy should first learn to write the letters of the alphabet, and also learn to trace their several forms. He ought to learn the shape and name of each letter, which may be done in two days, when the boy should proceed to write the joined letters. They may be practised for a week, after which the boy should learn some prose and poetry by heart, and then commit to memory some verses to the praise of God, or moral sentences, each written separately. Care is to be taken that he learns to understand everything himself; but the teacher may assist him a little. He then ought for some time to be daily practised in writing a hemistich or a verse, and will soon acquire a current hand. The teacher ought especially to look after five things: knowledge of the letters; meanings of words; the hemistich; the verse; the former lesson. If this method of teaching be adopted, a boy will learn in a month, or even in a day, what it took others years to understand, so much so that people will get quite astonished.”⁸⁸

It would seem that Shāh Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī presented children taught by him to Akbar and astonished the Emperor with his success in his pedagogical methods. The results must have pleased Shāh Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī, although to Mullā Badā'ūnī whatever glory of knowledge was left, came to be utterly trampled in dust.

Works of Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzi

Shāh Fathu'llāh was the author of many important works. To Mullā Badā'ūni they were excellent but inferior to those of Mirzā Jān Shirāzi.⁸⁹ Perhaps their Shi'i slant was not palatable to the Mullā. The exegesis on the Qur'ān written by Fathu'llāh is not available. Some scholars wrongly ascribe the *Tafsīr Manhajū's-sādiqīn* or *Khulāsatu'l-manhaj* written by Mullā Fathu'llāh Kāshāni to Shāh Fathu'llāh. The *Tarjama Qānūn* of Abū 'Alī Sinā by Fathu'llāh bin Fakhru'd-Dīn Shirāzi is also ascribed to him. Fathu'llāh Shirāzi's *Takmila-i Hāshiyā-i 'Allāma Dawwāni*, a commentary on the *Tahzibu'l-mantiq* by Sa'du'd-Dīn Taftāzāni (d. 791/1389) is also not available. The *Hāshiyā 'alā' Tahzibu'l-mantiq*, a super-commentary on the same work by Fathu'llāh Shirāzi has also been lost. A manuscript entitled the *Hāshiyā 'alā' Sharh al-Tajrid* in the India Office Library is ascribed to Shāh Fathu'llāh. The present author can make no comment on the claims.

Shāh Fathu'llāh's disciples

Mullā Badā'ūni says, "Mir Fathu'llāh, although he was polite, courteous, and well conducted in society, seemed to be unable, as soon as he began to teach, to address his pupils otherwise than with abuse, insinuation, and sarcasm (God save us from the like!). For this reason very few ever became his pupils, and he has not left behind him any worthy pupil."⁹⁰

Nothing can be farther from the truth than the above statement. A galaxy of scholars both in Iran and in India sat at Shāh Fathu'llāh's feet. The most prominent among his Iranian disciples who obtained great fame in the Deccan were Afzal Khān, the prime minister of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh I of Bijapur and the historian Rafi'u'd-Dīn Shirāzi.⁹¹ Khwāja

89 Mawlānā Mirzā Jān Shirāzi (d. 995/1587) was a disciple of Khwāja Jamālu'd-Dīn Mahmūd Shirāzi. After the death of Shāh Ismā'il II (984-85/1576-78) he moved from Shirāz to 'Abdu'llāh Khān Uzbek's court in Transoxiana because of his staunch Sunni-ism. The Khān deeply respected him and gave him precedence over Khwāja Kalān Naqshbandī, the revered Naqshbandiyya *sāfi*. Both became each other's rivals. Once 'Abdu'llāh Khān asked Mawlānā Mirzā Jān of his impressions about Transoxiana. Mawlānā replied that everything was alright there except that the Transoxianians believed that as the offsprings of horses, cows and donkeys were horses, cows and donkeys respectively, the descendants of intellectuals and saints were also intellectuals and saints. For instance people believed that the revered Khwāja Bahā'u'd-Dīn Naqshband's descendant Khwāja Kalān should be accorded similar respect. Mawlānā Mirzā Jān was the author of a commentary on *Ishārāt* and the glosses and commentaries on the works of Juzjāni, Taftāzāni and Dawwāni. *Subh-i sādiq*, f. 460b, 'Ālam Ārā'i-'Abbāsī, I, p. 155.

90 *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh*, II, p. 155; Haig, p. 216.

91 *Isnā 'Asharī Shī'īs in India*, I, pp. 222, 271, 273.

Muhammad bin Mahmūd Dahdār was also Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzi's disciple in Iran. He studied rational sciences and possibly Ishrāqi mysticism under the Shāh; later on he obtained eminence as a *sūfi*. In his youth he moved to Bijapur and became 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh's favourite. He was also instrumental in inviting Shāh Fathu'llāh to Bijapur. After the Shāh's arrival at Bijapur, Khwāja Muhammad completed the study of the books of higher learning under the Shāh which he could not earlier study. Khwāja Muhammad left for Ahmadnagar and became the favourite of Nizām Shāh, the ruler of Ahmadnagar. After the arrival of Shaykh Hasan Najafī, known as the Shaykh-i Najaf, in the Deccan, Khwāja Muhammad became Najafī's disciple and learnt *sūfism* under him.⁹²

At Akbar's court Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzi came to be regarded as the greatest teacher of rational sciences in his age. Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgarāmi says that the Shāh introduced to India the works of Muhaqqiq Dawwāni, Mīr Sadru'd-Dīn (Muhammad), Mīr Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn Mansūr and Mīrzā Jān. He himself began to teach. An incredibly large number of pupils benefited from Shāh Fathu'llāh's lectures. After his arrival, the study of *ma'qūlāt* (rational sciences) took great strides towards popularity.⁹³ Although works of Mullā Dawwāni and Mīrzā Jān were known in India before Shāh Fathu'llāh's arrival to Akbar's court and their disciples and relatives, had also moved to India, the integration of the works of Mullā Dawwāni and Mīrzā Jān Shirāzi with those of Amīr Sadru'd-Dīn Muhammad and of Mīr Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn Shirāzi in the curriculum of the seminaries of higher learning was the singular contribution of Shāh Fathu'llāh to both Shī'i and Sunnī seminaries of India.

Among Akbar's *mansabdārs*, Hakīm 'Alī sat at Shāh Fathu'llāh's feet in Shirāz. In Fathpur-Sikri, he took the occasion to sharpen his earlier lessons.⁹⁴ Mīrzā 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Khān-i Khānān studied mathematics under the Shāh.⁹⁵ Other noblemen also seem to have drawn upon the talents of Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzi but their names are not known. In 1592 Fayzi wrote a letter to Akbar dealing with reports on Deccan. In it introducing Mīr Taqīu'd-Dīn Muhammad known as Taqiyā, Fayzi wrote that the Mīr was one of the disciples of Shāh Fathu'llāh. When the seminaries of Shāh Fathu'llāh and Mawlānā Mīrzā Jān were at the zenith of their fame in Shirāz, Mīr Taqīu'd-Dīn had also become a renowned teacher. Fayzi adds that Shāh Fathu'llāh was deeply impressed with Mīr Taqīu'd-Dīn. He was consequently a custodian of the legacy of Shāh Fathu'llāh and one of his intellectual descendants. Mīr Taqīu'd-Dīn reminded Fayzi of the following hemistich:

92 *Subh-i sādiq*, ff. 496b-97a.

93 Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgarāmi, *Ma'āsiru'l-kirām*, Lahore, 1971, pp. 228-29.

94 *Muntakhabū't-tawārikh*, III, pp. 166-67.

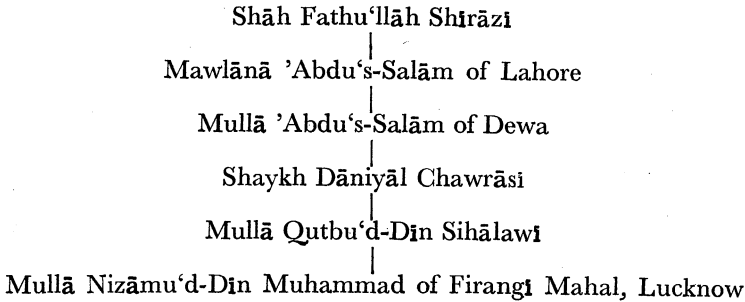
95 *Ma'āsir-i Rahīmī*, II, p. 550.

“O rose; I am pleased with you for you are endowed with the fragrance of someone (the beloved).”

Informing Akbar of Mīr Taqīu'd-Dīn's desire to move from Shīrāz to the Emperor's court, Fayzī recommended that the messengers might be sent to invite him.⁹⁶ Fayzī's recommendations were granted by the Emperor and Mīr Taqīu'd-Dīn was invited to the court. According to Badā'ūnī, Taqīu'd-Dīn was a new-comer to the court and was expert in both traditional (*naqli*) and rational sciences. Badā'ūnī considered him a poetic genius. Akbar ordered him to summarise the *Shāhnāma* by Firdawsī into prose. To Badā'ūnī, the exercise amounted to converting “fine linen into sack-cloth” or to “unravelling a rope to make a cackum”.⁹⁷ In 1004/1595-96 Taqīu'd-Dīn attained the four degrees of discipleship (*marātib-i ikhlās-i chārgāna*).⁹⁸

Shāh Fathu'llāh bequeathed his legacy in astronomy to Farīdu'd-Dīn Mas'ūd bin Ibrāhīm Dihlawī (d. 1039/1629). The latter compiled the *Zīj-i Shāhjahānī* also known as the *Kārnāma-i Sāhib-qirān-i Sānī Zīj-i Shāhjahānī* and completed it in 1039/1629 but brought down the calculations to 1041/1631. The work was designed to modify Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī's calculation in order to reconcile them with the *Tārīkh-i Ilāhī-i Shāhjahānī*, (Shāhjahān's Ilāhī Era) adopted by Shāhjahān at Āsaf Khān's suggestion.⁹⁹

Shāh Fathu'llāh's legacy to combine the *manqūl* (traditional studies) with *ma'qūl* (rational sciences) which was earlier perfected by ibn Sīnā, Khwāja Nasīru'd-Dīn Tūsī, Qutbu'd-Dīn Shīrāzī and Mīr Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn Mansūr Shīrāzī was immortalised in Sunnī seminaries by Mullā Nizāmu'd-Dīn Sihālawī. It was transmitted by Shāh Fathu'llāh's disciple Mullā 'Abdu's-Salām Lahorī to the posterity.



Mullā 'Abdu's-Salām of Lahore was born in about 947/1540. His long teaching career of some sixty years ended with his death at the ripe old

96 *Inshā'i-Fayzī*, pp. 133-34.

97 *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, III, p. 206.

98 *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, II, p. 404.

99 Storey, II, part I, p. 89.

age of ninety in 1037/1627-28. He seems to have sat at Shāh Fathu'llāh's feet during the latter's stay with the imperial camp in the Panjab from 1587 to 1589. Mullā 'Abdu's-Salām was then about forty-eight years old, was very mature in age and in teaching experience. Shāh Fathu'llāh's lectures sharpened his earlier learning. No wonder that scholars from all over India thronged the seminary of Mullā 'Abdu's-Salām. According to Āzād Bilgarāmī, the Mullā was the mine of traditional studies (*naqliyāt*) and rational sciences (*ma'qūlāt*) and a large number of scholars obtained perfection under him (the Mullā). In his old age when the Mullā's memory had faded he used to lament that his pre-occupations with teachings left him with no leisure to write books. The commentary on Bayzāwī's exegesis of the Qur'ān was the only work that he could finalise.¹⁰⁰

Mullā 'Abdu's-Salām Lāhori's disciple Mullā 'Abdu's-Salām of Dewa (east of Lucknow) joined his teacher's seminary at Lahore after completing his education under the teachers of Awadh. At Lahore he revised the books earlier studied by him and became a worthy disciple of Mullā 'Abdu's-Salām of Lahore. According to Āzād Bilgarāmī, both teacher and the pupil were equally perfect in learning and scholarship. Shāhjahān appointed him as a *mufī* in the imperial army. In his old age Mullā 'Abdu's-Salām of Dewa resigned and settled down in Lahore. He was also the author of a commentary on the Qur'ānic exegesis by Bayzāwī. Mullā 'Abdu's-Salām of Dewa popularised the study of the principle of *fiqh* (*usūl*) in India. He issued original *fatwas* on the basis of his own study and did not care for the *fatwas* written in books that were incompatible with the *usūl*. Shi'i *usūlī* traditions seem to have changed his technique. He died in 1039/1629-30.¹⁰¹

Mullā 'Abdu's-Salām Dewī's (of Dewa) disciple Shaykh Dāniyāl Chawrāsī also belonged to a village Chawrāsī, east of Lucknow. He was one of the descendants of the celebrated *sūfī*, Shaykh Nasirū'd-Dīn Chiragh of Dihli (757/1356) who also originally belonged to Awadh.¹⁰²

Shaykh Dāniyāl's disciple Mullā Qutbu'd-Dīn was an Ansārī Shaykhzāda of Sihāli (Barabanki district near Lucknow). Mullā Qutbu'd-Dīn's father Mullā 'Abdu'l-Halīm was a student of Mullā 'Abdu's-Salām Dewī. After completing his education he took up a teaching position in his teacher's seminary. Mullā Qutbu'd-Dīn completed his education under the rare academic atmosphere founded by Mullā 'Abdu's-Salām of Lahore. About 1080/1669-70 Mullā Qutbu'd-Dīn returned from Lahore to his native village in Sihāli and began to teach in his village. A large number of eminent scholars sat at his feet. According to Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgarāmī, the majority of Indian '*ulamā'* traced back their chain of

100 *Ma'āsiru'l-kirām*, p. 226.

101 *Ibid.*, pp. 225-26.

102 *History of sūfism in India*, I, pp. 184-188.

discipleship to Mullā Qutbu'd-Dīn.¹⁰³ Among Mullā Qutbu'd-Dīn's disciples most prominent was Mawlawī Sayyid Qutbu'd-Dīn who originally belonged to Amethi (eastern U.P.) but later settled at Shamsabad near Qannauj and came to be known as Shamsābādī. He died at the age of seventy in 1121/1709-10, leaving behind him a galaxy of 'ulamā' who founded their independent seminaries. Among them most prominent was Qāzī Muhibbu'llāh Bihārī (d. 1119/1717-18). Awrangzīb appointed him the *qāzī* of Lucknow but after some years he was dismissed. Later on he was appointed the *qāzī* of Hyderabad but again he incurred the Emperor's displeasure and was dismissed. Some important dignitaries intervened and Awrangzīb appointed him the teacher of his grandson Rafī'u'l-Qadr son of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh. When Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh (1119-24/1707-12) became the Emperor he appointed Muhibbu'llāh the principal *sadr* of India and a *mansabdār*. After a few months he died and could not enjoy his high *mansab*. He was the author of a book on logic entitled the *Sallamū'l-usūl*, another on principles of *fiqh* entitled *Musallamū's subūt* and a philosophical treatise entitled the *Risālatu'l-jawāhir*.¹⁰⁴

Among Mullā Qutbu'd-Dīn's disciples, Hāfiz Amānu'llāh bin Nūru'llāh of Banaras (d. 1130/1720-21) was also a distinguished scholar. The Hāfiz wrote a famous book on the principles of *fiqh* entitled the *Mahkamū'l-usūl*. He also wrote explanatory notes on the famous Qur'ānic exegesis by Bayzāwī and on the works of Sayyid Sharīf Juzjānī and Mullā Jalālu'd-Dīn Dawwānī. He was also the author of treatises on controversies surrounding the philosophical theories of Mīr Bāqir Dāmād (d. 1041/1631) and Mullā Mahmūd Jawnpūrī (d. 1062/1552). Awrangzīb appointed him the *sadr* of Lucknow.¹⁰⁵ Other disciples of Mullā Qutbu'd-Dīn were also authors of the Qur'ānic exegesis, commentaries, explanatory notes and glosses on the higher text books relating to the principles of *fiqh* and metaphysical treatises.

Mullā Qutbu'd-Dīn himself wrote commentaries and explanatory notes on works such as the *Talwīh*, *Sharh 'aqā'id Nasafiyya*, *Tafri'āt-i Bayzāwī* and *al-Mutawwal*. He is also said to have written a treatise on the *dāru'l-harb* but his works were destroyed by the rival *zamīndārs* who killed him in Rajab 1103/April 1692 and plundered his house. When Awrangzīb was informed of the tragic death of Mullā Qutbu'd-Dīn, he allotted a big mansion of the Dutch factors in Lucknow, lying vacant, for the residence of the Mullā's family. It was known as the Firangī Mahal (the house of Franks). Mullā Qutbu'd-Dīn's third son, Mullā Nizāmu'd-Dīn who was

103 *Ma'āsiru'l-kirām*, p. 199.

104 *Ibid.*, pp. 200-01.

105 *Ibid.*, pp. 202-03.

then fourteen years old moved to the Firangī Mahal and completed his education which was interrupted because of his father's death at several places such as Jā'is, Banaras and Lucknow. In Banaras he studied under his father's distinguished disciple Hāfiz Amānu'llāh. By the time Mullā Nizāmu'd-Dīn was twenty-one or twenty-two years old his six or seven years of studies under different 'ulamā' trained in Shāh Fathu'llāh's traditions, made him a very competent teacher. He started his lectures in his own Firangī Mahal mansion. His ability to produce competent 'ulamā' within five or six years with grounding both in rational and traditional sciences made him very famous. It would seem that Shāh Fathu'llāh's method of teaching endured until Mullā Nizāmu'd-Dīn's days and through the Mullā radiated throughout India. In Jumāda I 1161/May 1748, Mullā Nizāmu'd-Dīn died.

Mullā Nizāmu'd-Dīn's disciples established seminaries in all the north Indian towns where Muslims lived in considerable number. The curriculum devised by Mullā Nizāmu'd-Dīn known after his own name as the *Dars-i Nizāmi* trained scholars in logic, metaphysics, mathematics, rhetorics, principles of *fiqh*, *kalām* (dialectics) and *hadīs*. The Mullā himself wrote commentaries on important works in principles of *fiqh*, *kalām* and metaphysics. His works stimulated his disciples to write similar commentaries to facilitate learning and to promote scholarship.¹⁰⁶

Although both traditional and rational sciences were included in the *Dars-i Nizāmi*, some of Mullā Nizāmu'd-Dīn's successors established specialist schools. The seminary established by Mullā 'Abdu'l-Wāhid Khayrābādī in his hometown Khayrabad (Sitapur district near Lucknow) came to be known as the Khayrabad seminary of the rational sciences. Mullā 'Abdu'l-Wāhid Khayrābādī was the disciple of Mullā 'Ālam Sandīlawī who in turn was the disciple of Mullā Kamālu'd-Dīn Sihālawī, a prominent disciple of Mullā Nizāmu'd-Dīn. Mullā 'Abdu'l-Wāhid's disciple was Mawlānā Fazl-i Imām Khayrābādī (d. 1240/1825). Mawlana Fazl-i Imām Khayrābādī obtained the high position of the *sadrū's-sudūr* under the British.¹⁰⁷ One of Mullā Kamālu'd-Dīn's disciples, Mullā Hasan of Firangī Mahal had already made a deep impact upon the intellectuals of Delhi. Among them were the disciples of Shāh Walīu'llāh Dihlawī (d. 1176/1762) and those of his son Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz Dihlawī (1239/1824). Many scholars who specialized in traditional sciences at the seminary of Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz and his brothers, studied logic and philosophy under Fazl-i Imām. The latter's son Fazl-i Haqq Khayrābādī was also an eminent scholar. Fazl-i Imām wrote a summary of the *Shifā'* while Fazl-i Haqq compiled a gloss on his father's summary. Fazl-i Haqq

106 *Shāh Walī-Allāh and his times*, pp. 386-92.

107 Sayyid Ahmad Khān, *Tazkira-i ahl-i Dihlī*, Karachi, 1955, pp. 86-90.

also wrote treatises on ibn Sinā's physics and on ibn Sinā's theories on Being. He also strongly refuted Shāh Ismā'il's writing that he considered disrespectful.¹⁰⁸

More details of the scholars, the seminaries of Mawlānā 'Abdu's-Salām of Lahore and his disciples produced do not exist. Perhaps Ustād Ahmad-i Mi'mār (d. 1059/1649) of Lahore, the architect of Shāhjahān who designed the famous Tāj Mahal and other monuments of Delhi and Lahore obtained education in the seminaries of Mawlānā 'Abdu's Salām of Lahore and Mullā 'Abdu's Salām of Dewa.

The biographical details on Ustād Ahmad are very scanty. His son Lutfu'llāh *muhandis* (engineer), who was also a mathematician, astronomer and engineer, says in an ode which he composed that Ahmad was thoroughly conversant with Euclid's propositions, had full command over the sciences of the stars and knew the mysteries of *al-Majisti* (*Meqale suntaxis*), a system of astronomy and trigonometry, called *al-Majisti* by the Arabs. Ahmad's three sons, 'Alā'ullāh "Rushdī", Lutfu'llāh *Muhandis* and Nūru'llāh *mi'mār* were also mathematicians, astronomers and engineers.¹⁰⁹ The mathematical and astronomical works written by them are available. It would seem that Ustād Ahmad, his sons and grandsons transmitted the scholarly traditions of Shāh Fathu'llāh to the posterity.

Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn Muhammad 'Āmili's impact

The mathematical, literary and mystical treatises of Bahā'u'd-Dīn 'Āmili, a friend of Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustarī,¹¹⁰ made a very deep impact upon the Sunnī seminaries of India. His influence on Indian Shī'īs and thinkers was very deep. His disciple and son-in-law, Shaykh Muhammad ibn Khātūn 'Āmili¹¹¹ left an indelible mark on the Shī'īs of the Deccan. Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn known as Shaykh-i Bahā'ī (b. 953/February 1548) was the son of the Shī'ī savant, Shaykh Husayn (d. 984/1576). After the martyrdom of his teacher, Shaykh Zaynu'd-Dīn the *Shahīd-i Sānī* in 966/1558-59 Shaykh Husayn moved with his son Bahā'u'd-Dīn (b. 953/1516) from his native-land Jabal-i 'Āmil to Khurāsān. Bahā'u'd-Dīn completed his educational career in Mashhad. Besides his father who was an eminent 'ālim and author of scholarly works, Bahā'u'd-Dīn studied under Mullā 'Abdu'llāh of Yazd, a disciple of Jalālu'd-Dīn Dawwānī. Mullā 'Alī Muhazzab and Mullā Afzal of Qā'in trained him in mathematics. 'Alā-u'd-Dīn Mahmūd, an eminent scholar of Shāh 'Abbās' reign trained

108 S. A. A. Rizvi, *Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz*, pp. 96-98, 517-518.

109 M. 'Abdu'llāh Chaghtā'ī, A family of great Mughal architects, *Islāmic Culture*, XI/2 (April 1937) pp. 200-9.

110 *Isnā 'Asharī Shī'īs in India*, I, pp. 342-38.

111 *Ibid.*, pp. 321-328.

Bahā'u'd-Dīn in medicine. Shāh 'Abbās appointed Bahā'u'd-Dīn as the Shaykhu'l-Islām of Isfahān. He died in Shawwāl 1031/1622.¹¹²

His Arabic works on *ahādīs* and *fiqh* are very important additions to the Shi'i religious literature. Eminent 'ulamā' wrote commentaries on them and some of them were translated into Persian. His *Kashkūl* in Arabic is a large miscellany of stories and verses on the Qur'ānic exegesis, *ahādīs*, religious beliefs and morals. Its latter portion comprising Persian verses has been deleted from its Arabic Cairo editions but the Tehran editions are complete. The Cairo scholars considered the *Kashkūl* as a Sunnī work. The *Jamī'* 'Abbāsī by Shaykh Bahā'ī in Persian is a very popular work on the Shi'i *fiqh*. The work was begun at the request of Shāh 'Abbās Safawī but Shaykh Bahā'ī could complete only five chapters before his death in 1031/1622. Nizām bin Husayn Sawjī completed the remaining fifteen chapters at the instigation of Shāh 'Abbās in 1032/1622.

His works on mathematics and astronomy were prescribed in both the Shi'i and Sunnī seminaries. His *Khulāsatu'l-hisāb* is an Arabic compendium of arithmetic. Commentaries on it were written by scholars both in Arabic and in Persian.

Muhammad Amīn Najafī Hijāzī Qummi, a disciple of Bahā'u'd-Dīn 'Āmilī wrote a commentary on the *Khulāsatu'l-hisāb* in his teacher's life time. He was a Shi'i. An anonymous commentary was compiled in 1081/1670. In 1092/1681 Lutfu'llāh Muhandis compiled a popular Persian commentary on the *Khulāsatu'l-hisāb*. A copy of the anonymous *Tarjama-i Khulāsatu'l-hisāb* in the India Office Library, London is dated 1107/1696. At the request of 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān of Arcot, Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad bin Muhammad 'Abdu'llāh a'sh-Shahīd composed a commentary entitled the *Fayzu'l-Wahhāb fī Sharh Khulāsatu'l-hisāb*. In 1130/1718 Muhammad Zamān Fayyāz (sālis) bin Muhammad Sādiq Anbālājī Dihlawī Shāfi'i completed his *Ghāyah-i juhdu'l-hisāb*. Sadru'd-Dīn Muhammad bin Zabardast Khān who flourished about 1135/1722-3 was the author of a commentary on the *Khulāsatu'l-hisāb* entitled the *Tahrīru's-sadr*. Khwāja Muhammad Māh the author of *Sharh-i Khulāsatu'l-hisāb*, Mīrzā Muhammad Beg the author of a different *Sharh-i Khulāsatu'l-hisāb*, Muhammad Sādiq 'Alī Tabrizī, the author of the *Tarjama-i Khulāsatu'l-hisāb*, Rawshan 'Alī, the author of a different *Tarjama-i Khulāsatu'l-hisāb*, Prince Farhād Mīrzā, the author of *Kanzu'l-hisāb sharh-i Khulāsatu'l-hisāb* and Muhammad 'Alī called Nāzimu'sh-Sharī'a al-Kirmānī the author of *Tashrihu'l-hisāb* flourished in the nineteenth century. Most of the above commentators were Indian Sunnīs. The *Khulāsatu'l-ahbāb* was

112 *Qisasu'l-'ulamā'*, II, pp. 20-31; Sayyid Jalāluddīn Ashtiyānī and Henry Corbin, *Anthologie des philosophes Iraniens*, Tehran/Paris, 1972, (French) pp. 15-18.

included in the *Dars-i Nizāmi*. Consequently it gave rise to a spate of commentaries by Sunni scholars.¹¹³

Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn 'Āmilī also wrote a short treatise entitled the *Tuhfa* and dedicated it to Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī. It deals with the dimensions of the tanks for ablution and the quantity of water they should contain for ceremonial ablutions.

An Arabic manual of astronomy, entitled the *Tashrīhu'l-aflāk* by Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn 'Āmilī was also included in the *Dars-i Nizāmi*.

'Ismatullāh bin A'zam bin 'Abdu'r-Rasūl of Saharanpur, the author of the *Anwār Khulāsatu'l-hisāb* was the author of a Persian commentary of the *Tashrīhu'l-aflāk* entitled the *Sharh-i Tashrīhu'l-aflāk*. An anonymous commentary on the *Tashrīhu'l-aflāk* in the Khudā Bakhsh Library, Bankipur, Patna is dated 1244/1829.¹¹⁴

Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn's *as-Sahīfā'* is an Arabic treatise on astrolabe. It is short enough to be written on the plate of an astrolabe. Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn 'Āmilī was also the author of a Persian treatise on astrolabe. It is entitled the *Tuhfa-i Hātīmī*, called also the *Haftād bāb*. It was dedicated to Shāh 'Abbās, vizier Mīrzā Hātīm Beg (d. 1019/1610).

Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn was also the author of treatises on architecture and gardens. He compiled irrigation charts which according to Sayyid Hossein Nasr were still in use in Iran. Hossein Nasr says, "He [Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn] displayed the versatility usually associated in Occident with a Renaissance figure and also the profound faith and grounding in religious tradition characteristic of the medieval West. If we were to compare him with Occidental intellectual figures, he would have to be considered as a Leonardo and a St. Anselm or St. Bernard combined into a single person."¹¹⁵

Mīr Muhammad Bāqir Dāmād's Impact

Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn's close friend, Mīr Muhammad Bāqir Dāmād of Astarābād belonged to one of the most distinguished families of 'ulamā'. His father Sayyid Shamsu'd-Dīn Muhammad was the son-in-law of Shaykh 'Alī bin Shaykh Nūru'd-Dīn 'Abdu'l 'Alī (d. 940/1533-34) of Kurkī from Jabal 'Āmil. Consequently Sayyid Muhammad was known as *Dāmād* or son-in-law. Dāmād also became the title of Sayyid Muhammad Bāqir. Shāykh 'Alī, known as the *muhāqqiq-i sānī* (the second researcher) was highly respected by Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī. The Shaykh was the principal adviser of the Shāh. Besides works on *fiqh* the Shaykh was the

113 Storey, II, Part I, pp. 11-12.

114 *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87.

115 Sayyid Hossein Nasr, *Sadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī and his transcendental theosophy*, Tehran, 1978, p. 33.

author of a treatise on the *kharāj* (revenue collection) that came to be the basis of Shāh Tahmāsp's revenue administration.

Mīr Muhammad Bāqir studied in Mashhad but lived mostly in Isfahān. Shāh 'Abbās Safawī held him and his friend Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn 'Āmilī in great esteem. Mīr Muhammad Bāqir was expert in lexicography, rhetoric, *hadīs*, *fiqh*, Qur'ānic exegesis and mathematics. He was, however, famous as a philosopher and *hakīm*. He made an observation hive of glass in order to study the habit of bees. In 1041/1631-32 he died between Najaf and Karbalā during his pilgrimage to the holy shrines of Iraq and was buried in Najaf.¹¹⁶

The *Ufuq al-mubīn* (also called *al-Sirātu'l-mustaqīm*) and *al-Shaddād* written by Mīr Dāmād were prescribed in the Sunnī seminaries of the Indian sub-continent immediately after they were written. Bazmee Ansārī says, that in spite of their being the writings of a Shī'i *mujtahid* "they are still prescribed in the religious institutions of India and Pakistan, run and managed by the Sunnīs, as courses of logical studies."¹¹⁷ Numerous commentaries were written in the Indian sub-continent on *al-Ufuq al-mubīn*. Mawlānā Fazl-i Haqq Khayrābādī specialised in lecturing on it and Bahru'l-'Ulūm Mawlānā 'Abdul' 'Alī son of Mullā Nizāmu'd-Dīn wrote glosses (*ta'liqāt*) on it. In 1031/1624 Mīr Dāmād wrote *al-Qabasāt* on the Eternity of God and the creation of universe. His *Taqdīsāt* deals with the Divine dispensation. A Qur'ānic exegesis written by him is entitled the *Sidrat al-muntahā'*. The above works were written in a complex Arabic style. He wrote a book for Shāh 'Abbās Safawī dealing with the *hurūf muqatta'āt* (detached letters) in the Qur'ān. In it he explained as to why Moses' body survived the Divine *tajallī* (effulgence) at Sinā mountain and was not reduced to ashes. The Arabic and Persian verses written by him have been compiled in two separate *Diwāns*. Numerous works written by him still survive and are regarded as very valuable contributions to *hikma* and philosophy.

His works synthesize aspects of the peripatetic doctrines of ibn Sinā with the Ishrāqī theosophy of Shaykh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardi Maqtūl so far as they were compatible with the teachings of Ahl-i Bayt. No wonder that they took even the Sunnī world by storm, let alone influencing the Shī'i intellectuals. The following themes around which they centre were of deep interest to both Sunnī and Shī'i *hakīms* (sages).

1. *Hudūs Dahri* (Eternal Creation).

According to Mīr Dāmād neither was the posture of the *mutakallimūn* to the effect that *hudūs* (the actual act of beginning) of universe took place

116 *Qisasu'l-'ulamā'*, II, 122-24, 137-38.

117 E. I.², II, p. 104.

at some point of time (*hudūs zamānī*) nor was the claim of the peripatetics, that the universe had always existed (*hudūs zāti*), tenable. Mīr Dāmād's term *hudūs dahri* implies a beginning perpetually occurring, an idea which he found implicit in the works of Avicenna.¹¹⁸

2. *The metaphysics of the Essence*

Mīr Dāmād does not envisage existence as something extra to the Essence; it is rather the very reality of every existing thing, either in concrete or in thought, or else, the being, the thing which exists, would itself be a quiddity amongst other quiddities to which existence would have to be added and so on to infinity. Mīr Dāmād, however, maintains that Essence came before existence, with the idea of existence as ontological.¹¹⁹

3. *Divine knowledge*

The Platonic schools and the peripatetics differed on the subject of knowledge which Divine or Being has got of beings and things. Mīr Dāmād takes sides with the peripatetic theory of imprinted forms in the Divine thought. He refutes the objections to the effect that one single subject could not be both agent and patient simultaneously.¹²⁰

4. *Barzakh* (Intermediary world)

According to Shaykh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī Maqtūl the philosophy would suffer an irremediable loss if it failed to recognize the autonomous intermediary world known as *barzakh* or '*alam al-misāl*' that existed between the world of purely intelligible and the physical world of sense. Mīr Dāmād, however, is undecided. On the one hand he seems to be aware of the significance of such a world for those who have mystical experience, while on the other hand he never really manages to suppress his desire for logical proof of the same.¹²¹

Mīr Bāqir Dāmād's fame spread to India in the great savant's own life time. Students from India travelled to Isfahān to sit at Mīr's feet. One of them was Mullā Bāqir Sabbāgh of *muhalla* Kalashpura in Srinagar. According to A'zamī none could match Mullā Sabbāgh in the knowledge of rational sciences.¹²² The works of Mullā Bāqir, particularly the *Ufuq al-mubīn* were taught in the Khayrābād school. Mawlānā Fazl-i Haqq seems to have studied the *Ufuq al-mubīn* at a very young age. The indelible

118 *Anthologie*, pp. 4-40.

119 *Ibid.*, pp. 40-47.

120 *Ibid.*, pp. 47-52.

121 *Ibid.*, pp. 52-61.

122 *Tārīkh-i A'zamī*, p. 148.

impact was, however, made on the Sunnī seminaries and on Sunnī 'ulamā' by Mīr Bāqir Dāmād's disciple Mullā Sadra.

The Impact of Muhammad bin Ibrāhīm Shīrāzī (Mullā Sadra)

Mullā Sadra was the only son of a rich man of Shīrāz, Ibrāhīm ibn-i Yahya Qawīmī Shīrāzī. When his father became old and was despaired of begetting a male child he began to distribute his wealth in charity. Ultimately a male child was born to him in 979-80/1571-72, whom he named Muhammad. In his father's life time Muhammad studied in Shīrāz but after his father's death he moved to Isfahān. There he sat at the feet of Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn 'Āmilī and Mīr Dāmād. He inherited the versatility of both. He also seems to have been benefited by the teachings of Mīr Abu'l-Qāsim Findīrīskī, whose contributions to philosophy and sciences, we shall be discussing in the following pages. Muhammad who shall now be mentioned by his title Mullā Sadra, was however, influenced mainly by Mullā Bāqir Dāmād. Eminent scholars such as Sayyid Ahmad 'Alawī, Āqā Husayn Khwānsārī, Mullā Muhammad Bāqir Sabzwārī were Mullā Sadra's class-mates but none could beat him in the perception of philosophical problems. Mullā Bāqir married his daughter to Mullā Sadra which union further stepped up the Mullā's respect for his teacher.

Mullā Sadra's works made even Mullā Bāqir envious. The lucid style he chose for his works made his thought intelligible to scholars of average intelligence. The 'ulamā' were alarmed. To them Mullā Sadra's works were sacrilegious. An anecdote in the *Qisasu'l-'ulamā'* tells us that after Mullā Bāqir's death, he saw Mīr Dāmād in a dream and said, "My views do not differ from yours, yet I am denounced as an infidel and you are not. Why is this?" "Because", replied Mīr Dāmād's spirit, "I have written on philosophy in such a way that the theologians are unable to understand my meaning, but only the philosophers, while you write about philosophical questions in such a manner that every dominie and hedge-priest who sees your books, understands what you mean and dubs you an unbeliever." The anecdote is designed to highlight the difference in the style of two great intellectuals. It was, however, the influence and prestige of Mīr Dāmād's ancestors, besides his own political influence, that had silenced the exoteric 'ulamā', Mullā Sadra was devoid of them.

After Mīr Dāmād's death he moved from Isfahān to Khāk, a small village surrounded by hills, near Qum, in order to contemplate upon Divine mysteries in a quiet retreat and to devote himself to inner purification and to the production of philosophical works. In his *magnum opus*, the *Asfār*, he says, "The stifling of the intelligence and congealment of nature, which follow from the hostility of our period, forced me to retire to a far away place, hiding myself in obscurity and distress, deprived of

my hopes and with a broken heart. Putting into practice the instruction of him who is my master and sustainer, the first Imām, ancestor of the holy Imāms, the friends and witnesses of God, I started to practise the discipline of dissimulation [*taqīyya*]." In autobiographical notes in his *Sih asl* he says, "Some of those who appear to be learned but who are full of evil and corruption, some of the *mutakallimūn* [theologians] who are deprived of correct logic and stand outside the circle of rectitude and the path of salvation, those who follow the religious law yet are deprived of law of servitude to the Divine and have deviated from the path of belief in metaphysics and eschatology, having tied the rope of blind imitation [*taqlīd*] around their neck, have made the denial of dervishes their slogan."

Before long, Shāh 'Abbās urged Mullā Sadra to resume his teaching career in the seminary built by a court-dignitary Allāhwirdī Khān in Shirāz and completed by his son. There Mullā Sadra taught for the last thirty years of the third phase of his life. He made seven pilgrimages to Mecca on foot and died returning from his seventh journey in 1050/1640 in Basra. The fame of his seminary, the Khān school by name elicited the admiration of even foreign travellers. Thomas Herbert who visited Shirāz in Mullā Sadra's life time says, "And indeed Shyraz has a college wherein is read Philosophy, Astrology, Physick, Chemistry and the Mathematicks; so as 'tis the more famoused through Persia."

Mullā Sadra was a prolific author. The titles of forty-six works authored by him have been discovered. All of these except about half a dozen titles, including the first part of the *Asfār* were composed during the third phase of his career. His works combine intellectual discipline with spiritual experience, called by Shaykh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī Maqtūl as the *muta'allih*, consequently Mullā Sadra refers to *hikma* as *al-hikmat al-muta'aliyyah* (exalted or transcendent theosophy) and he himself is known as the *Sadr al-muta'allihīn* (the foremost among the *muta'allihīn*). According to a later date expert of Mullā Sadra's works, Mīrzā Mahdī Ashtiyānī, "*Al-hikmat al-muta'aliyyah* entails the unity of Being *Tawhīd al-wujūd* in contrast to Peripatetic philosophy, in which is to be found only the unity of necessity (i.e. Necessary being *Tawhīd Wujūb Wājīd* [*al-wujūd*] not the unity of being).¹²³

The full title of Mullā Sadra's *Asfār* is *al-hikmat al-muta'aliyyah fi'l-asfār al'aqaliyyāt al-arba'ah* (The *muta'aliyyah* theosophy concerning the four intellectual journeys of the soul). The work he wrote a year before his death is also entitled "*al-Masā'il al-qudsiyyah fi'l-hikmat al-muta'aliyyah* (Spiritual questions concerning the *muta'aliyyah* theosophy).

Among Mullā Sadra's works are included *at-Tafsīr*, the Qur'ānic exegesis of selected chapters and verses emphasising their esoteric dimen-

123 *Qisas al-'ulamā'*, pp. 108-17; *Sadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī*, pp. 31-36.

sions and the *Sharh Usūl al-kāfi* (Commentary upon the *Usūl min al-kāfi*). The latter work is voluminous but could not be completed. The Mullā's commentary masterly analyses the gnostic elements in the *ahādīs* of the Prophet and the Imāms. His definition of the Haqiqat-i Muhammadiyya (Reality of Prophet Muhammad) is both exoteric and esoteric. In Mullā Sadra's world view the light of the Fourteen immaculates (Muhammad, Fātima and twelve Imāms) is the primordial manifestation of God to man. And that absolute Being in its very unity is multiplied by the multiplication of things which exist. Mullā Sadra's philosophy is based mainly on Divine revelation or religion, reason and rational demonstration and intellectual intuition or illumination combined into one as an organism.

In short Mullā Sadra's works are dominated by the metaphysics of Being. He gives priority of origin to the act of Being, of existing (*wujūd*) because it is that act of being which actuates and determines the essence or quiddity which by itself is actuated and determined by that very act of being. Mullā Sadra's concept of *ishtirāk-i ma'nawī* (ontological association) encompasses the totality of existence from the Prime Being to the lowest level of non-necessary beings. To him, all participate in Being, in existing and in turn affirming the unity of Being (*Wahdat al-wujūd*). Mullā Sadra disagrees with the idea of the existence of a realm of "immutable essences" postulated by the metaphysics of essence. One of the essential propositions of his own metaphysics was that of intrasubstantial movement (*harkat-i jawharī*), which made transubstantiation of a single essence possible, since no essence is confined within specific limits. According to him, Being unique in its essence is nevertheless susceptible to infinitely diverse "essencifications", due to the infinite scale of acts of Being. It is because of this infinite diversification that the so-called realm of "immutable essences" does not exist for Mullā Sadra.¹²⁴

Although *al-Asfār al-arba'ah* and some other works were studied in the Indian sub-continent, it was Mullā Sadra's commentary, *Sharh al-hidāya* on the *Kitāb al-hidāya* by Asīrū'd-Dīn Abharī (d.663/1264) that made Mullā Sadra immortal with the traditional scholars of Indian Sunnī seminaries. It is known in the Indian sub-continent as *Sadra*. The *Sadra* shows its author's masterly grounding in the works of ibn Sīnā and his commentators. It also exhibits Mullā Sadra's grasp over the principles of mathematics.¹²⁵ The work was included in the *Dars-i Nizāmī* and the commentaries on it were written in the Indian subcontinent both by the scholars trained in the *Dars-i Nizāmī* and those of the school of Shāh

124 *Anthologie*, pp. 100-18; *Sadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī*, pp. 55-68, Fazlu'r-Rahmān, *The Philosophy of Mullā Sadra*, Albany (New York), 1976.

125 *Anthologie*, pp. 62-63.

Walīu'llāh and Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz. The latter himself wrote a commentary on the *Sadrā*.

Neither did Mullā Bāqir Dāmād nor did Mullā Sadra visit India. Their influence penetrated into India through their books and disciples but the case was different with Mīr Abu'l-Qāsim Astarābādī Findīrīski who made several visits to India, exhibited interest in Persian translations of Sanskrit classics made in the reigns of Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān and himself wrote the *Muntakhabāt Jog* or an anthology of *Yoga Vashīstha*. In Isfahān he taught *Canon* and *Shifā'* by ibn Sīnā. He was deeply devoted to Peripatetic philosophy and wrote treatises on that philosophy. His groundings in 'irfān (gnosis) are reflected in his odes. He was extraordinarily careless of appearances, dressing like a *derwish*, avoiding the society of the rich and the respectable, and associating with disreputable vagabonds. One day Shāh 'Abbās Safawī, intending to rebuke him for keeping such low company, said to him, "I hear that certain students cultivate the society of vagabonds and look on at their degrading diversions." "I move constantly in those circles," replied Mīr Abu'l-Qāsim, "but I have never seen any of students there." In 1050/1640-41 he died.

The following treatises written by him have been discovered:

1. *Risāla-i Sīnā'iyya* (On arts and human activities)
2. *Risāla-i Harkat* (On motion)
3. Reply to a question put by Āghā Muzaffar Husayn Kāshānī.

The themes of the *Risāla-i Sīnā'iyya* pass from the hierarchical classification of the arts and human activities to the question of philosophers and prophets, and from these to the theme of hermeneutic and esoterism. The picture of the Islamic city presented by Mīr Findīrīski through his schematization of professional activities is archetypal and idealistic. His principal objective is to emphasise the phenomenon of *futūwwa* or spiritual chivalry. The treatise goes on to make a parallel of the microcosm (*'ālam-i saghīr*) which is man and of homo-maximus (*Insān-i kabīr*) or the universe. Both present an analogous organic structure, the members of each being respectively interdependent and laws governing the function of those members, the means of palliating their deficiencies or their disorders, are in perfect correspondence with each other. It is also inadmissible on both sides that one member should remain without any activity and paralyse the whole.

Mīr Findīrīski goes on to say that the hierarchy of the arts, trades and human activities is determined largely by their relative utility. To Mīr Findīrīski the position of the prophet and the philosopher lies at the top of the ladder, while that of the blacksmith is regarded as most inferior. Between these two degrees in the social scale lie multitude of arts, trades etc. the dignity of which is determined by the service they give in terms of Absolute Good. Despite the eminence of the philosopher, Mīr Findīrīski

is still able to see the differences between philosophers and prophets in the light of the *ahādīs* of Imāms. Philosophers are fallible while prophets are preserved from error. What to the philosophers is the result of reflection and research, is a spontaneous blossoming in the prophets through revelation (*wahī*) and inspiration (*ilhām*). Thus Mīr Findīrīskī outlines a whole theory of visionary experience, which presupposes the idea of those "spiritual senses" which Mullā Sadra emphasizes and which are the senses of '*ālam al-misāl*'). To Mīr Findīrīskī the knowledge of the prophet begins where that of the philosophers ends. The prophethood and the *imāma* are not acquired but are born spontaneously in those chosen by God, while the *hikma* of the philosophers is something which is acquired by effort. The prophets address the whole of mankind, while philosophers can only talk to an elite capable of understanding them.

Among the pupils of Shaykh Bahā'ū'd-Dīn, Mīr Bāqir Dāmād, Mīr Findīrīskī and other scholars of Shirāz [possibly Mullā Sadra and others] most renowned in India, was Hakīm Dastūr. His ancestors hailed from Isfahān but he himself was born in Balkh. Before proceeding to Iran he studied under the students of Mullā Mīrzā Jān Shirāzī. He strictly followed the rules of peripatetics and recited hymns relating to the eminence of *Wājibū'l-Wujūd* [Necessary Being], '*uqūl* [celestial intellects], *nufūs* (soul) and the heavenly bodies. He arrived at Lahore in 1054/1644-45. He was a merchant by profession. Although he was not an ascetic, he refrained from immoral and wicked deeds.

Hakīm Dastūr believed that the laws of the Persians, Indians, Greeks, Turks and Arabs were eternal, some being practical, and some theoretical. Hakīms with an exceptional reasoning faculty promoted both theoretical and practical laws. An outstanding *hakīm* was one whose rational faculties were awakened in a comprehensive manner. The ultimate goal of laws was to brighten the order of the world and to regulate peoples' needs.¹²⁶

A more fascinating personality was Hakīm Kāmran Shirāzī. Mīr Findīrīskī used to call him "a brother dear to life" and would address him as an "elder brother". He was peripatetic but his studies of Islam, Christianity and Hinduism had made him an eclectic thinker. In Goa he studied Christian theology and Gospel under the Portuguese priests. In India he became a friend of some of the rājās. Under the guidance of learned brahmins he studied Sanskrit *Shāstras*. At Banaras he lived with the yogī Chatrūpa. Ostensibly he adopted the Hindu faith but in reality he remained devoted to the creeds of the ancient philosophers. He showed a deep aversion to lying, thieving, debauchery and unnatural love. He accepted gifts from none, was employed in trade and contented

126 *Dabistān-i mazāhib*, pp. 364-65.

himself with a small capital. He was a vegetarian but occasionally drank wine, saying that it was very salutary.

He used to recite recently translated hymns in praise of the Necessary Being or knowledge, spirits and stars, such as were prevalent among the Greek philosophers. In 1050/1640-41 he began to lead a retired life at a place called Sarā'ī Farrukh near Agra. Before his death he distributed his entire property including food, grain in his store and books among the deserving people. His invocations were:

“I believe in the Divinity of the Most High Creator, the prophethood of intellect, the *imāma* (leadership) of the Spirit, the heavens as a *Qibla*, the liberation of the philosophers. I detest other faiths and religions.”

Joined in the chorus by the visitors at his bed side, he finally gave up the ghost chanting the name of Necessary Being, the intellect, spirits and stars at the age of one-hundred years.

The Author of the *Dabistān-i mazāhib* gives several anecdotes showing Hakīm Kāmran's hostility to revelation and prophecy. For instance, he says that the Hakīm was of the opinion that had the so-called revealed Books of different religions been Divinely inspired, they would have prophesied future events in the same way as they related past ones. No such account was found in the Qur'ān for example, which is regarded as the Word of God. It was only through the interpretation of his followers that many prophecies concerning the Prophet Muhammad came to be believed. The same might be said of the books of Moses or of Jesus, the Hakīm stated, ‘Neither of these clearly foretold anything about the appearance of the forthcoming prophets. Consequently Christians interpreted the symbolic language of the Bible to suit their own persuasions and beliefs.

The Hakīm was equally unsparing in his condemnation of the prophets. For instance, he called Moses a magician, and a *rabbī*. He called Jesus a physician and referred to him as Hakīm Jesus, son of Joseph the carpenter. To him the Prophet Muhammad was the prince of the Arabian poets. Krishna was also included in the list of prophets and was dubbed a debauchee, both sensual and licentious. Here is Hakīm Kāmran's definition of the Sunnī and Shī'ī beliefs.

“Sunnīs, after the praise of God the Most High, and the encomiums to the Prophet, beseech blessing and mercy of God upon all rascals and rogues, men and women, and the Shī'īs after the praise of God and encomiums to the Prophet, invite the curse of God upon all believers and Muslims, men and women.”

Mirzā Kāmrān seems to have been a Shī'i but he had forsaken Islam and the religious contents of the teachings of Mīr Findīrīski and other *hakīms*. He was simply a peripatetic philosopher. Among Mirzā Kāmrān's most distinguished disciples were Zamānā Beg Arghūn Kābulī entitled Mahābat Khān and Abu'l-Hasan Tehrānī entitled 'Āsaf Khān, the *wakīl* of Shāhjahān. The author of the *Dabistān-i mazāhib* says that he had seen the letters of above dignitaries to Mīrzā Kāmrān and their tone was full of humility and respect as the pupils exhibited towards their teachers and masters. Perhaps both studied *hikma* under Mirzā Kāmrān but did not share with him his materialistic beliefs.¹²⁷

The *Dabistān-i mazāhib* dealing with the beliefs of different religious systems is a unique work in its own right. It does not mention the name of its author, but its authorship is ascribed to the eminent Kashmirī poet Muhsin Fānī. No literary source, however, supports this myth. The historian Erskine was the first scholar to rightly reject the legend that ascribed the authorship of the *Dabistān-i mazāhib*, to Muhsin Fānī. In a manuscript copy of the *Dabistān* in the library of Mullā Fīrūz of Bombay, a marginal note towards the close of chapter fourteen reads:

“In the city of Daurse, a king of the Pārsis, of the race of the imperial Anūshīrvān, the Shet Dāwer Huryār, conversed with Amīr Zu'lfikār 'Alī al-Husainī (on whom be the grace of God!) whose poetical name was Mobed Shāh.”¹²⁷

Erskine considers this to be a “slight on authority for ascribing the authorship of the work to Zu'lfāqār, as the owner of the manuscript had also done”. Erskine possibly did not know that Shāhnawāz Khān, the author of the *Ma'āsīrū'l-umarā'* had positively ascribed the authorship of the *Dabistān-i mazāhib* to Zu'lfāqār Ardīstānī.¹²⁸

The stray autobiographical notes in the *Dabistān* tend to indicate that Zu'lfāqār belonged to an Irānī family of merchants, most probably Shī'is who lived in Patna. He seems to have seriously studied *hikma*, mainly in India, visiting Khurāsān possibly only once. The latter journey brought him directly in touch with the disciples of Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn 'Āmilī, Mīr Bāqīr Dāmād and Mīr Findīrīski. In the earliest autobiographical notes we find him closely associated with Mobed Hūshīār. A note concerning 1028/1618-19 says that as an infant he was taken to a yogī, Bālāk Nāth Tapeshwarī by name, who blessed him. Again, he informs us that in 1033/1623-4, his friends and relations took him from Patna to Akbarā-

127 David Shea and Anthony Troyer (tr.), *The Dabistān or the School of manners*, I, Paris, 1843, p. IX.

128 *Ma'āsīrū'l-umarā'*, II, p. 392.

bād (Agra). Mobed Hūshīār took him in his arms to ascetic Chatrūpa. The ascetic, welcoming their visit, blessed the author and taught him the *mantra* of *surya* (sun). One of his disciples, Ganesha, who had had a profound control over breath, in obedience to his teacher's orders, lived with the author until his manhood. In 1048/1638-9, Zu'lfqaār again met Bālak Nāth in Lahore.

Zu'lfqaār made rapid progress in his education and was also able to collect notes for the *Dabistān-i mazāhib* between 1055/1645-46 and 1058/1648-49, completing his work before the accession of Awrangzīb. He seems to have lived a retired life in the latter's reign, not even disclosing his own name in the book. Shea and Troyer who translated the *Dabistān-i mazāhib* in English say,

"We collect in his work fifty-three dates relative to himself between the year 1618 and 1653. From 1627 to 1643, we see him mostly in Kashmir and Lahore, travelling between these two places; in 1643, he was at the holy sepulchre, probably at Mashhad, which appears to be the furthest town to the West which he reached; from 1634 to 1649, he dwelt in several towns of the Panjab and Guzerat; the next year he proceeded to Sikākul, the remotest town in the East which he says he has visited; there he fell sick, and sojourned during 1653, at which epoch, if the year of his birth be correctly inferred, he had attained his thirty-eighth year. We have no other date of his death than that before stated; if he died in 1670, it was in the eleventh year of the reign of Aurangzeb, or 'Alemgīr.'"¹²⁹

Zu'lfqaār Ardistāni seems to have all religious classics in Sanskrit, Pahlāwī, Arabic, Persian and Turkish to his hands. He seems to have studied Arabic and Persian translations of Christian classics. No inhibitions prevented him from questioning and listening to the beliefs of the leaders of different religious systems and their sectarian votaries, and no trouble or hardship deterred him from undertaking long and arduous journey to seek a satisfactory answer to his problems. In the *Dabistān-i mazāhib*, the religions of the Jews and Christians are briefly discussed, the discussion on Buddhism is disappointing; although the section on Tibetan Buddhism is based on information supplied by a learned Buddhist who was unable to give the author any satisfactory answers. The religions discussed in detail are Zoroastrianism, Hinduism and Islam. The *Dabistān-i mazāhib* explains the subtle philosophical notions of the different religious systems in the philosophical and mystical terminology of Islam, and in the terminology which had evolved in Persian translations during the

129 *The Dabistān*, I, pp. XIV-XV.

reign of Akbar and his successors. The *Dabistān* carefully analyses the principal beliefs of the various Hindu and Muslim sects and groups who had emerged independently in different orthodox systems. These groups included the Nāth yogīs, the Kabīr Panthīs and the Nānak Panthīs among the Hindus and the Rawshanā'īs, philosophers and *hakīms* among the Muslims. The author's respect for Avicenna and Shaykh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī Maqtūl knew no bounds. His description of *usūlī* and *akhbārī* controversies is very valuable.

The Seventeenth Century Interest in Western Philosophy and Sciences

The unquenching thirst for knowledge among some philosophers imbued with the *hikma* tradition prompted them to delve deep into Western philosophy and sciences. Among them was a leading noble of Shāhjahān's court, Dānishmand Khān, the patron of the French Scientist Francois Bernier and to whom the latter referred as "my Navaab or Aqah".¹³⁰ A native of Yazd in Iran, his name was Mullā Shafī'ā'i. He was a Shi'i. After he had acquired the current sciences both rational and traditional in Iran, he moved to Ahmadnagar with capital from Iranian merchants and passed some time there as a merchant. He stayed in the imperial camp, and accompanied it from Agra to Lahore and thence to Kābul. On the return of the royal retinue from Kābul, he went to the port of Surat with the intention of returning to his native country. Meanwhile Shāhjahān's interest in his scholarship was aroused. The Emperor summoned him to the court. On 9 Zu'lhiġja of the 24th year/23 November 1650 he was presented before the Emperor. A debate on scientific subjects between him and Mullā 'Abdu'l-Hakīm Siyālkoti (d. 1067/1656), who had written a number of glosses and commentaries on the works of Sharīf Juzġānī, Taftāzānī and Dawwānī, is recorded. 'Allāmi Sa'du'llāh Khān (d. 1066/1656), the learned vizier of the Emperor was appointed as a judge. Both got engaged in a long discussion on the conjunction *waw* in the Qur'ānic verse, "Thee (alone) we worship; Thee (alone) we ask for help".¹³¹ The discussion must have centred round subtle points of philology and the Qur'ānic exegesis. After a long discussion Sa'du'llāh adjudged both of them as equal. Shāhjahān might have been deeply impressed with the rationalistic approach of Mullā Shafī'ā'i. He was raised to the rank of 1000 with 100 *sawār*. Five years later he was made the second *bakhshī* and was given the title Dānishmand Khān. His rank was raised to 2500/

130 Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul empire*, 1656-68 tr. by A. Constable, 2nd edition revised by V. A. Smith, London, 1916, p. 352.

131 Qur'ān, I, 4.

600; in the 31st year/1657 he was promoted to the rank of 3000/800. He was appointed the governor of Delhi. His differences with the heir apparent, Dārā-Shukōh, prompted him to resign but after his accession to the throne, Awrangzib re-employed him, awarding him a high *mansab* of 4000/2000. Despite his differences with Dārā-Shukōh, Dānishmand Khān joined a minority group of nobles who recommended that Dārā's life be spared, and that he be imprisoned in Gwalior. Awrangzib continued to promote him to higher *mansabs*, appointing him the *mīr bakhshī* in the tenth year of his reign. Two years later when Awrangzib moved to Agra, he added to Dānishmand Khān's duties the governorship of Delhi. On 10 Rabi' I 1081/18 July 1670, he died. According to Sāqī Musta'id Khān, the historian of Awrangzib's reign, Dānishmand Khān was one of the greatest scholars of the age and his life was devoted to charity and piety.¹³²

In consideration of his studious habits, Awrangzib, according to Bernier, had exempted Dānishmand Khān "from the ancient ceremony of repairing twice a day to the assembly, for the purpose of saluting the king".¹³³ In 1663 Dānishmand Khān visited Kashmir with Awrangzib's retinue and took Bernier with him who was his translator of European works. Bernier says:

"He can no more dispense with philosophical studies in the afternoon than devoting the morning to his weighty duties as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Grand Master of the Horse. Astronomy, geography, and anatomy are his favourite pursuits, and he reads with avidity the works of Gassendi (1592-1655) and Descarte (1596-1650)".¹³⁴

Describing Dānishmand Khān's interest in Hindu philosophy, Bernier says:

"Do not be surprised if, notwithstanding my ignorance of Sanskrit (the language of the learned, and possibly that of the ancient Brahmans, as we may learn further on), I yet say something of books written in that tongue. My *aqah*, *Daneschmendkan*, partly from my solicitation and partly to gratify his own curiosity, took into his service one of the most celebrated *Pendets* in all the *Indies*, who had formerly belonged to the household of *Dara*, the eldest son of the king, *Chah-Jehan*; and not only was this man my constant companion during a period of three years, but he also introduced me to the society of other learned *Pendets*,

132 *Mā'āsir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, p. 105; *Mā'āsir-i 'umarā'*, II, pp. 30-32; *'Amal-i Sālīh*, III, pp. 321-82.

133 *Travels in the Mogul empire*, p. 186.

134 *Ibid.*, pp. 324, 325 and 353.

whom he attracted to the house. When weary of explaining to my *Aqah* the recent discoveries of *Harveus* and *Pecque* in anatomy, and of discoursing on the philosophy of *Gassendi* and *Descartes*, which I translated to him in Persian (for this was my principal employment for five or six years) we had generally recourse to our *Pendet*, who, in his turn, was called upon to reason in his own manner, and to communicate his fables; these he related with all imaginable gravity without ever smiling; and at length we became disgusted both with his tales and childish arguments."¹³⁵

It would seem that Dānishmand Khān discussed with the Sanskritists the Hindu concepts of Being in order to make a comparative study of theories of Being in the works of the French philosopher Descartes and those in the studies of the *Hakims*. The works of Perre Gassendi (1592-1655) the French philosopher, scientist and mathematician who was famous for his revival of Epicureanism seem to have added new dimensions to Dānishmand Khān's perception of 'Umar Khayyām and of other Iranian *hakims*. Dānishmand Khān's passionate devotion to anatomy made him deeply interested in the works of William Harvey (1578-1657) who started his professional career as a lecturer at the Royal College of Physicians in London in 1616 and was famous for his contribution of the theory of blood to Western medical sciences. Likewise Jean Pecquet (1622-74) who was a class-fellow of Bernier in medicine at Montpellier in France was famous for his discovery of the conversion of the chyle into blood. Dānishmand Khān could get no better scholar than Francois Bernier to authoritatively explain the Western philosophy and sciences. Unfortunately for the Indian scholarly world, none of Bernier's translations survive. Dānishmand Khān also does not seem to have written any books and no further researches were made on the line initiated by Dānishmand Khān. The orthodox Muslims were hostile to his researches. Shāhnawāz Khān says, "As to what they say that in the end of his life he became inclined to the learning of the Franks, and repeated many of the paradoxes of that set, it is impossible, when we consider his learning and excellence."¹³⁶

Dānishmand Khān seems to have brought home to Awrangzīb the defects in the current educational system which was stereotyped and called for an objective understanding of the Western history, geography, sciences and philosophy. The Asian teachers filled the mind of their students with obscure terms of philosophy and ambiguous jargans. Toeing the line of Dānishmand Khān, Awrangzīb wished the teachers to

135 *Ibid.*, pp. 324-25.

136 *Ma'āsiru'l-umarā'*, II, p. 32.

teach "that philosophy which adapts the mind to reason, and will not suffer it to rest satisfied with anything short of the most solid arguments" and to impart lessons, "which elevate the soul and fortify it against the assaults of fortune, tending to produce that enviable equanimity which is neither isolently elated by prosperity, nor basely depressed by adversity."¹³⁷

The Legacy of Dānishmand Khān

Awrangzib did not make any efforts to achieve the objectives stated above. The growing dominance of Hanafī *fiqh* over his mind made him a stereotyped legalistic. The political and social crisis in the empire, and the growing inanity of the eighteenth century emperors, however, did not destroy the creativity of the intellectuals. The opportunity offered by the British conquest of Bengal, stimulated some scholars to learn Western languages and sciences. It sharpened their mind and they made singular contributions to promote philosophical studies. The most prominent among them was 'Allāma Tafazzul Husayn Khān Kashmīrī, popularly known as the Khān-i 'Allāma. He was born at Srinagar in Kashmir. Tafazzul Husayn Khān's grandfather Karamu'llāh was an eminent scholar and a competent administrator. For a long time Karamu'llāh served as *wakīl* (minister) to Mu'īnu'l-Mulk alias Mīr Mannū the son of the Emperor Muhammad Shāh's prime minister I'timādu'd-Dawla Qamru'd-Dīn Khān. Mu'īnu'l-Mulk was the governor of Lahore. Karamu'llāh's son Asadu'llāh did not rise to similar prominence. Asadu'llāh's son Tafazzul Husayn was born in Siyalkot around 1140/1727. At an age of thirteen or fourteen, he moved to Delhi. There Tafazzul Husayn studied rational sciences under Mawlawī Wajih—a disciple of the eminent Mullā Nizāmu'd-Dīn. He sat at the feet of Mīrzā Muhammad 'Alī son of Mīrzā Khayru'llāh, the eminent mathematician. When Tafazzul Husayn was eighteen years old, Karamu'llāh moved to Lucknow with his family. Tafazzul Husayn was admitted to the seminary of Mullā Hasan of Firangi Mahal, the author of a commentary on the *Sullamu'l-'ulūm*. Tafazzul Husayn's lessons began with the *Sharh Mawāqif* by Mīr Zāhid Harawī. Tafazzul Husayn's precocity and perspicacity aroused serious differences between the pupil and the teacher. Tafazzul Husayn left the school and independently studied works of *hikma* and philosophy. Among the works mastered by him was ibn Sinā's *Shifā'*.

Muhammad Yāqūt Khān, the *khwāja sarā* of Burhānu'l-Mulk introduced Tafazzul Husayn to Nawwāb Shujā'u'd-Dawla. The latter appointed him the tutor to his son Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān (b. 1167/1753-54). Tafazzul Husayn moved to Allahabad with Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān. There he entered into serious discussions on logic with Mīr Ghulām Husayn

137 *Travels in the Mogul empire*, pp. 155-56.

of Deccan, a disciple of Mawlawī Muhammad Barkatu'llāh Ilāhābādī and Mawlawī Muhammad 'Ālim Sandīlawī. Mawlawī Dildār 'Alī (the later Ghufrān Ma'āb) who studied astronomy under Tafazzul Husayn Khān took his teacher's letters to Mīr Ghulām Husayn and brought the latter's letters to Tafazzul Husayn. Salāmu'llāh Khān, the son of Pīr Muhammad Khān, a student of Ghulām Husayn also acted as their messenger. Tafazzul Husayn Khān accompanied Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān on his expedition to Dig. When Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān settled at Banaras, Tafazzul Husayn accompanied him there. Tafazzul Husayn took the opportunity to discuss *hikma* with Shaykh 'Alī Hazīn's disciples and sharpened his knowledge of traditional philosophy.¹³⁸

Nawwāb Āsafu'd-Dawla appointed him as an ambassador to the court of the Governor-General of the East India Company at Calcutta. There Tafazzul Husayn learnt Greek, Latin and English and obtained considerable proficiency in these languages. He translated many philosophical works from Western languages into Arabic and wrote some original ones on philosophy, *hikma* and mathematics. He was the author of the following works:

1. Commentary on the *makhrūtāt* (Conica) of Abullūniyūs (Appollonus) of Tyana (ca 81-96).
2. Two treatises on Algebra.
3. Commentary on the *makhrūtāt* by Devanpal [Diophant and Simson/Robert Simson].
4. Persian translation of Newton's (d. 1827) *Philosophiac naturalis principiamathematica*.
5. A book on Physics.
6. A book on Western astronomy.

Some of these books were taught in Shi'i seminaries in the nineteenth century but are now scarce. He also wrote commentaries and glosses on the works of *fiqh*. His devotion to teaching and studies knew no bounds. Early in the morning he taught mathematics to scholars. He then performed his official duties. In the afternoon he lectured on Imāmiyya (Isnā 'Ashariyya) *fiqh*. Before sunset he taught Hanafī *fiqh*. After night prayers immersed himself in study and research. After his morning prayers he slept for a very short time. Before he went to bed his musicians played for him. No physician could persuade him to take more rest. He was enamoured of the company of scholars. Shustari frequently called on Tafazzul Husayn. The latter also paid return visits and both discussed problems of rational and traditional sciences. Shustari was proud of

138 *Tuḥfatul 'ālam*, pp. 342-49; *'Imādu's-sa'ādat*, pp. 156-57; *Nujūmū's-samā'*, pp. 323-27; *Sawānihāt-i Salātin-i Awadh*, I, pp. 117-22.

considering himself as one of Tafazzul Husayn's disciple, although he had not studied regularly under him.

Tafazzul Husayn's ancestors were Sunnis but Tafazzul Husayn's personal researches made him a staunch Shī'ī. His other relations also embraced Shī'ism and made significant contributions to the dissemination of science and philosophy.

Ignoring the advice of the Governor-General Sir John Shore, Āsafu'd-Dawla appointed Tafazzul Husayn as his *nā'ib* (chief minister). The Nawwāb believed that Tafazzul Husayn's friendship with the British would save his kingdom. Tafazzul Husayn made some wise appointments and introduced reforms. He was accessible to the common people and led the simple life of a Mullā. He did not abandon his studies and researches. After the death of Āsafu'd-Dawla, his young son Wazīr 'Alī Khān ascended the throne. Nawwāb Tafazzul Husayn was removed from his position as a *nā'ib*. Wazīr 'Alī was not allowed by the British to rule for more than a few months. Āsafu'd-Dawla's brother Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān was made the Nawwāb. Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān appointed Tafazzul Husayn as his ambassador to the court of the British at Calcutta. Early in 1214/1799, he suffered a stroke which left him permanently disabled. While returning to Lucknow for a change, he died between Banaras and Lucknow on 18 Shawwāl 1215/3 March 1801.¹³⁸

According to Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, Tafazzul Husayn was *mulhid-i kāmil* (perfect heretic).¹³⁹ Mirzā Abū Tālib who will be discussed below wrote a touching elegy on his death and presented it to Lady Bedford on 2 May 1802 in London. Here are a few verses:

“Alas! he's fled; who the Heavens expanse,
With truer ken than the Pelusian Sage
Survey'd or than that other, Grecian born,
Tho' Egypt's boast, unopen'd, unexplain'd.
Again obscure, the Almagestum lies,
Alas! the zest of Learning's cup is gone;
Whose taste ne'er cloy'd, tho' deep the draughts,
Whose flavour yet upon the palate hangs
Nectareous, nor Reason's thirst assuag'd.
But yes!—rent is the garment of the morn;
And all dishevell'd floats the hair of night;
All bath'd in tears of dew the stars look down
With mournful eyes, in lamentation deep;
For he, their sage believ'd is dead; who first
To Islam's followers explain'd their laws,

139 *Malfūzāt-i Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz*, p. 117.

Their distances, their orbits, and their times
 As great Copernicus once half divin'd,
 And greater Newton proved; but, useless now,
 Their works we turn with idle hand, and scan
 with vacant eye, our own first master gone.¹⁴⁰

Tafazzul Husayn's younger brother Salāmu'llāh Khān was also an eminent scholar and had considerable mastery over English. He had studied under his talented brother and was Shustari's fast friend. Tafazzul Husayn's wife did not survive for long. A son, Tajammul Husayn was born to them and obtained a good position under the Nawwābs of Awadh.

One of the contemporaries of Tafazzul Husayn was Mīr Muhammad Husayn. His ancestors belonged to Isfahān but he was born in India. He excelled in the knowledge of rational sciences. He was an indefatigable traveller and had travelled to Hijāz, Egypt and Europe. He was also a poet and composed a *Diwān* comprising some five-thousand verses. According to Shustari, he was a free thinker and sometimes claimed that he was a Shī'i, sometimes he posed as a *mutakallim* (scholastic theologian) and sometimes arrogated to himself the title of *hakim*. Consequently none of the above groups was loyal to Muhammad Husayn. For a long time he lived in Calcutta, from thence he moved to Lucknow. Ultimately he died at Banaras.¹⁴¹

Mawlānā Najmu'd-Dīn 'Alī Khān, the *Qāzī'u'l-Quzāt* of the East India Company was also a *hakim*. The European scholars were enamoured of his company. He wrote a commentary on the *Lāmiyya qasida* of Shaykh 'Alī Hazīn for the use of Sir William Jones and sent a copy to Shustari requesting him to make necessary corrections. He had collected a very valuable library containing rare manuscripts in it.¹⁴²

Mīrzā Abū Tālib Isfahānī, also known as Abū Tālib Landani (of London), the author of elegy on 'Allāma Tafazzul Husayn was born in 1166/1752-3 at Lucknow. He lived at Murshidabad from his thirteenth to twentieth year, and moved back to Lucknow after Āsafu'd-Dawla's accession. He served Āsafu'd-Dawla's prime minister for about one year but was then pensioned off. He was also employed by Col. A. Hannay at Gorakhpur and by N. Middleton, the British Resident. In 1787-8 he moved to Calcutta. In 1213/1798, he left for Europe with Captain D. Richardson, returning to India in 1218/1803. He wrote a detailed account of his travels and his own impressions of Europe in a book entitled the *Masīr-i Tālibī fī bilād-i*

140 C. Steward, *Travels of Mīrzā Abū Tālib Khān*, London, 1814, III, second edition, p. 250.

141 *Tuhfatu'l-'ālam*, pp. 448-49.

142 *Ibid.*, pp. 451-52.

Afranji. It was completed in 1219; in 1220/1805-6 Abū Tālib died at Lucknow.

In London, Mirzā Abū Tālib was known as the 'Persian Prince'. He called on the King of England and Queen Charlotte, visited members of the British nobility and met the British orientalists. The debates he witnessed in the House of Commons did not impress him; the most noisy members were Pitt and Fox. English Law appeared ambiguous to him. In his travelogue, Abū Tālib discussed both the virtues and defects of the Englishmen. The common people had no interest in religion and the nation at large was blindly confident of its good fortune. The British were greedy, licentious and extravagant and governed by self-interest. Their orientalists were vain about their command of foreign languages. Englishmen had no respect for the customs of other nations, and Abū Tālib defended Muslim customs without inhibition. He says:

"In London, I was frequently attacked on the apparent unreasonableness and childishness of some of the Mohammedan customs; but as, from my knowledge of the English character, I was convinced it would be folly to argue the point philosophically with them, I contented myself with parrying the subject. Thus, when they attempted to turn into ridicule the ceremonies used by the pilgrims on their arrival at Mecca, I asked them, why they supposed the ceremony of baptism, by a clergyman, requisite for the salvation of a child, who could not possibly be sensible what he was about? When they reproached us for eating with our hands, I replied. 'There is by this mode no danger of cutting yourself or your neighbours, and it is an old and a true, proverb "the nearer the bone, the sweeter the meat" but, exclusive of these advantages, a man's own hands are surely cleaner than the *feet of a baker's boy*; for it is well known, that half the bread in London is kneaded by the feet.' By this mode of argument, I completely silenced all my adversaries, and frequently turned the laugh against them, when they expected to have refuted me and made me appear ridiculous."¹⁴³

Abū Tālib was, however, deeply impressed by the English printing industry and newspapers. He observed with great interest the various uses to which the science of mechanics was applied in England and visited mills, foundries and water works. The education and perseverance of the English and the courtesy of their shopkeepers, left an indelible mark of appreciation on his mind. He was able to note that English law gives had placed women under many salutary restraints, which prevented them from making an improper use of their liberty.

The English educational system and its public schools were judged by Abū Tālib as an asset to character-building, making their products "honourable, courageous and capable of enduring hardship". In France, Napoleon

Bonaparte was at the apogee of his power but Abū Tālib hardly mentions his achievements. Visiting Italy and Turkey, he reached Baghdād and made a pilgrimage to the holy shrine of Imām Husayn at Karbalā and that of Imām 'Alī at Najaf. In April 1802, while he was in Karbalā, it was plundered by a force of 25,000 Wahhābīs and its inhabitants were massacred. The day was carefully chosen, as a large number of town's people had gone to visit Najaf.¹⁴⁴ When the Wahhābīs retired, other Arabs in the neighbourhood of Karbalā stole the heavy articles which the Wahhābīs had been unable to remove, and Arab robbers, dressed as Wahhābīs, continued to raid the town. Abū Tālib reported on this event and also collected information about the Wahhābī doctrine and history. From Basra he went to Bombay and then to Calcutta, ending his journey on 4 August 1803. In the preface of his travelogue he writes:

"I have named this work *Masīr Taleby fi Bulād Affrenjy—The Travels of Taleb in the Regions of Europe*; but, when I reflect on the want of energy and indolent disposition of my countrymen, and the many erroneous customs which exist in all Mahomedan countries and among all ranks of Mussulmans, I am fearful that my exertions will be thrown away. The great and the rich, intoxicated with pride and luxury, and puffed up with vanity of their possessions, consider universal science as comprehended in the circle of their own scanty acquirements and limited knowledge; while the poor and common people, from the want of leisure, and over-powered by the difficulty of procuring a livelihood, have not time to attend to their personal concerns, much less to form desires for the acquirement of information on new discoveries and inventions; although such a passion has been implanted by nature in every human breast, as an honour and an ornament to the species. I therefore despair of their reaping any fruit from my labours; being convinced that they will consider this book of no greater value than the volumes of Tales and Romances which they peruse merely to pass away their time, or are attracted thereto by the easiness of the style. It may consequently be concluded, that as they will find no pleasure in reading a work which contains a number of foreign names, treats on uncommon subjects, and alludes to other matters which cannot be understood at the first glance, but require a little time for consideration, they will, under pretence of zeal for their religion, entirely abstain and refrain from perusing it."¹⁴⁵

Abū Tālib's despair for the future was realistic. The inanity and thoughtlessness of Muslim courts and aristocracy, both Sunni and Shī'is were main obstacles to the reinvigoration of intellectual heritage through Universities and academies of science and art on the Western pattern. The

144 For Indian Shī'i concern, *Supra*, p. 121.

145 *Travels of Mīrzā Abū Tālib Khān*, I, pp. 5-6.

intellectuals like Tafazzul Husayn and Abū Tālib did emerge but their individual efforts could not change the destiny of the nation. Among farsighted intellectuals was Abu'l-Qāsim popularly known as Ghulām Husayn bin Fath Muhammad Karbalā'ī Jawnpūrī. Ghulām Husayn was born in 1205/1790. He studied religious sciences under Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā' Mawlānā Sayyid Husayn but his expertise in mathematics and astronomy made even the British scholars envious of his attainments. His works are based mainly on the researches of Nasīru'd-Dīn Tūst and Bahā'u'd-Dīn 'Āmilī but he did not ignore the British researches in mathematics which he could learn from his British friends. His patron Rāja Khān Bahādur of Gunya (Tikārī) held him in great esteem. He compiled his mathematical works mainly in Rāja Khān Bahādur's service and immortalised his patron of petty resources by naming his *magnum opus* on mathematics after him. The work is entitled the *Jāmi'-i Bahādur-Khāni*. From Tikārī Ghulām Husayn moved to the court of the Hindu Rāja of Banaras. In 1279/1862 he died.

In 1234/1818-19 Ghulām Husayn wrote a commentary on Bahā'u'd-Dīn 'Āmilī's Arabic treatise on the astrolabe. It was entitled by Ghulām Husayn as the *Anīsu'l-ahbāb fī bayān masā'ilu'l-usturlāb*. In 1241/1825-6 he wrote his astronomical work *Zīj-i Bahādur Khāni*. Another astronomical treatise by him divided into a preface, fourteen short chapters and a conclusion is entitled the *Istilahātut-t-Taqwīm*. The *Jāmi'-i Bahādur-Khāni* was completed in 1249/1833. It is divided into a preface, six *khazīnas* ('treasuries' here meaning 'chapters') and a conclusion. The six chapters deal with (1) geometry, (2) optics, (3) arithmetic, (4) mensuration, (5) astronomy, (6) astronomical tables and almanacs. The work consisting of 720 pages of folio size was published in Calcutta in 1835. Two years later J. Tytler, who had translated Robert Hooper's *Anatomist's vade mecum (Anīsu'l-musharrihin; Calcutta 1830)* into Arabic, contributed a paper on the *Jāmi'-i Bahādur-Khāni* to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain. He says that the author "had devoted himself to the study of mathematics and astronomy, not only as far as they are contained in the Arabian and Brahmanical writings, but also as far as he could gain from the interpretation of European books, as given him by European friends, he himself being ignorant of English; that he had, under the patronage of Khān Bahādur, compiled a system of these sciences from all these sources."¹⁴⁶

In the nineteenth century Sirāju'd-Dīn 'Alī Khān of Mohān (near Lucknow) specialized in medicine, philosophy and literature. The East India Company appointed him the *Qāziu'l-quzāt*. His scholarship and catholicity made both Shi'i and Sunni scholars enamoured of his

146 J. Tytler, Analysis and Specimens of a Persian Work on Mathematics and Astronomy, *JRAS*, 1837, p. 254.

company. The Urdu poet Ghālib was Sirāju'd-Dīn's friend. In 1244/1828-29 he died in Calcutta and was buried there. He was the author of of some treatises on *fiqh*.

The son of Mawlānā Sirāju'd-Dīn's¹⁴⁷ daughter, Kamālu'd-Dīn by name was the son of Sayyid Nizāmu'd-Dīn. His father was a rich *zamīndār* of Mohān but Kamālu'd-Dīn was passionately fond of studies. He studied rational sciences under the eminent Shi'i rationalists of Lucknow and also sat at the feet of Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' Mawlānā Sayyid Muhammad and Sayyidu'l-'Ulamā' Mawlānā Sayyid Husayn. In 1240/1824-25 he moved to Calcutta. When Wājid 'Alī Shāh was expelled to Matiyā Burj in Calcutta, he invited Kamālu'd-Dīn to his court. He wrote commentaries on the works of *hikma*. He had obtained complete mastery over the *Qānūn* by ibn Sīnā which he had committed to memory. In his lectures on the *Qānūn* he never consulted the work. He was proud of his knowledge of philosophy and logic. He also learnt English. From Calcutta he moved to Lucknow where his debates with 'ulamā' brightened the intellectual atmosphere of the city. Kamālu'd-Dīn held lively discussion with Muftī Muhammad 'Abbās. With his command over logic and philosophy he strove to gain prominence. Sometimes friendly 'ulamā' intervened and the debates ended peacefully. In 1299/1881-82 he died. Among his disciples Mawlānā Ghulām Jabbār, a judge of the High Court of Hyderabad and Hakīm Sayyid Muhammad Jawād of Mohān were very prominent. Mawlānā Kamālu'd-Dīn was the author of commentaries on *al-Majisti* (Megale Sntaxix), *Ishārāt* by ibn Sīnā, *Sadra* and *Shams Bāzigha* of Mullā Mahmūd Jawnpūri Fārūqī (993/1585-1062/1652).¹⁴⁸

LITERATURE

Persian Poetry

Under the Delhi Sultans a large number of poets moved from Iran to India but it is not possible to ascertain their sectarian beliefs. The description of the Mughal poets and their verses give us some idea of their beliefs. Haydar Tunīā'i, an eminent poet of Humāyūn's court wrote excellent poetry and was a competent musician. He seems to have been a Shi'i. Mullā Badā'ūnī quotes a verse composed by Haydar which was recited during the 'Āshūrā (10th Muharram) in the assemblies for the commemoration of the martyrdom of Imām Husayn.¹⁴⁹ Bayram Khān wrote both the Turkī and Persian poetry and the collection of his poems in both languages was compiled. Nothing can match his *qasīda* on 'Alī ibn Abi Tālib in his Persian *Dīwān*. It starts with the verse:

147 *Nuzha*, VII, p. 156.

148 *Nuzha*, VII, p. 401, *Bī-bahā'*, pp. 297-300.

149 *Muntakhabū't-tawārīkh*, I, p. 481.

“Though a king be so great that his crown towers over the nine heavens,
If he be not the slave of 'Alī let dust be cast upon his head.”

The *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh* gives the biographical notices on 168 poets of Akbar's reign. He collected his biographical notes and verses largely from the *Nafā'isu'l-ma'āsir* by Mir 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Qazwīnī. The biographical notes on 59 poets described in the *Ā'in-i Akbari* are very brief. Only Fayzī had been described at some length. The *Tabaqāt-i Akbari* briefly describes eighty-one poets of Akbar's reign. Among the poets described in the *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh*, 82 were of Iranian origin. Abu'l-Fazl also gives a list of Iranian poets who sent their encomiums from distant places but were not presented to the court. Among them were: Qāsim of Gunābād, Zamīr of Isfahān, Wahshī of Bāfā, Muhtashim of Kāshān, Malik of Qum, Zuhūrī of Shirāz, Walī Dasht Bayāzī, Nekī, Sābrī, Figārī, Huzūrī, Qāzī Nūrī of Isfahān, Sāfi of Bām, Tawfī of Tabriz and Rashkī of Hamadān. Out of 103 poets associated with the court of Khān-i Khānān 'Abdu'r-Rahīm, 71 were Iranians. Muhtashim Kāshī, Zuhūrī and Qummī wrote *qasidas* eulogizing the Khān-i Khānān but did not visit his court.

It was not only the patronage of Akbar and his successors but it was the peaceful condition in India that prompted the talented Iranian and Central Asian poets to move to India. There they found the opportunity to sharpen their poetical sensitivity in all the branches of poetry in a competitive atmosphere. Generally the poets from Iran first moved to one of the provincial kingdoms of Deccan and from thence found their way to the court of one of the important Mughal dignitaries before they were presented to the imperial court itself. According to the definition of Mullā Badā'ūnī and Shaykh Abu'l-Fazl, the Iranian immigrants were Shī'īs but there might have been some Sunnis too among the Iranian new-comers.

According to Badā'ūnī, among the poets of Akbar's reign most distinguished were Ghazālī of Mashhad, Qāsim-i Kāhī of Kābul, Khwāja Husayn of Merv and Qāsim-i Arsalān of Mashhad. Badā'ūnī says, “I should state here that the three or four poets whose biographies I have already given have been mentioned first on account of the fame which they acquired as poets only, and of the ill-luck which they brought with them to the world, as they occurred in my mind, and in no particular order.”¹⁵⁰ Badā'ūnī concludes the biographical notice on Qāsim-i Kāhī with the remark, “.....and all the poets of the present age together, both small and great, are, with the exception of three or four aged men, adherents of the Jauratī and Haydarī sects, yet these two [Ghazālī Mashhadī and Qāsim-i Kāhī] whom I have just mentioned were the guides and leaders of all the rest, and

left the heritage of their baseness to their followers and dependents."¹⁵¹

Qāsim-i Kāhī was a Sunnī from Kābul and had served at the court of Emperor Humāyūn. He had chosen the life of a *malāmātī sūfi*¹⁵² in order to escape the frowning and fury of the orthodox Sunnī leaders of the first half of Akbar's reign. Kāhī advised the new-comer Ghazālī Mashhadī to declare himself *mulhid* (heretic) in order to save himself from the orthodox Sunnī persecution.¹⁵³ A Shi'i could not survive in the first half of Akbar's reign but a *mulhid* (heretic) and a crazy went unharmed. Naturally that was the easiest course open for survival.

Ghazālī was born in a humble family in 933/1526-27 in Mashhad. He was proud of his birth of that holy city. He says,

"No matter if I am good or bad in the workshop of heavens,
To me this good turn of fortune is more than enough that
I hail from the dust of Mashhad."

Between 930/1524 and 934/1527 the annual raids of 'Ubaydu'llāh Khān Uzbek destroyed the important towns of Khurāsān. The Shi'is were slaughtered mercilessly. In 935/1529 Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī of Iran who had ascended the throne five years earlier at a young age of ten made a counter-invasion with full force and annihilated the Uzbek army. The Sunnīs were wantonly put to sword. As soon as Shāh Tahmāsp left Khurāsān, 'Ubaydu'llāh Khān re-conquered the lost province. The *qāzīs* appointed by him capriciously slaughtered the Rāfizis (Shi'is) and their property was plundered. In 937/1531 and 938/1532 the Uzbek army ruled over Khurāsān. Shāh Tahmāsp returned again and the Uzbek army withdrew leaving the Sunnīs of Khurāsān to the mercy of the Qizilbāsh army. In 941/1534-35 Shāh Tahmāsp's brother Sām Mīrzā, whom the Shāh had appointed the governor of Khurāsān, rebelled and indiscriminately sequestered the wealth of both the Sunnīs and Shi'is. Shāh Tahmāsp replaced Sām Mīrzā with Sūfiyān Khalīfa of the Rūmlū tribe but he was even more capricious. 'Ubaydu'llāh Khān again seized Khurāsān but Shāh Tahmāsp immediately expelled the Uzbeks and re-conquered Khurāsān.¹⁵⁴ The bloodshed in Khurāsān left an indelible mark on the sensitive mind of Ghazālī who from his childhood was precocious and meditative.

In his youth Ghazālī obtained a minor position in the *langar-khānā* (centre of free distribution of food) of Imām Rizā's tomb at Mashhad. A few years later he joined the court of Shāh Tahmāsp but found no opportunity

151 *Ibid.*, III. p. 170; Haig, p. 247.

152 Eminent *sūfis* who deliberately indulged into impious deeds in order to avoid crowds of visitors.

153 *Majālis-i-mu'minīn*, p. 283.

154 *Ahsanul-tawārīkh*, pp. 272-74.

to develop his talents. He moved from place to place with the imperial camp, met 'Urfī's teacher Husayn Dūst in Shīrāz, and lived for some months in Kirmān. He called on eminent poets but was not satisfied with them and wrote touching satires on their mediocrity. Ghazālī's liberal views aroused universal dissatisfaction against him. Around 960/1553 he left Iran for the Deccan and stayed in Ahmadnagar. Mullā Mu'in Mirak extended his patronage to Ghazālī. His poetry was already known in the Deccan but his unorthodox religious views were not liked. Clarifying his position he wrote in a *qasida*,

"I am the slave of the Prophet's *Āl* (nearest relation) everyone knows me,
The Qizilbāsh rulers and the Uzbek kings,
Islam is nothing but the friendship to the Prophet's *Āl*."
One who doubts this subtle point is an infidel.

From Ahmadnagar Ghazālī moved to the Qutb Shāh's court at Golkonda. Khān-i Zamān 'Alī Qulī Khān Shaybānī¹⁵⁵ who was appointed along with his brother and father as a commander of the Iranian auxiliaries placed by Shāh Tahmāsp at Humāyūn's disposal had been made governor of Jawnpur by Akbar. Perhaps Khān-i Zamān had seen Ghazālī at the Shāh's court and was deeply impressed with his poetry. When he came to know of Ghazālī's presence in the Deccan he sent him one thousand rupees for his expenses and wrote the following epigram:

"O Ghazālī, I adjure thee by the claims of the lord of Najaf ('Alī),
That thou come to the slaves of the peerless one ('Alī)!
Since thou art without honour in that country (Deccan),
Take thy head, and come out of it."

Ghazālī left for Jawnpur and was warmly welcomed by Khān-i Zamān. There he met poets of Khān-i Zamān's court such as Qāsim-i Kāhī, Ulfatī Yazdī, Sabūri of Hamadān and Sultan of Saplak. Ghazālī wrote a long *masnawī* eulogizing Khān-i Zamān. Both Qāsim-i Kāhī and Ghazālī became envious of each other and wrote satires against their respective rivals. When Khān-i Zamān rebelled against Akbar and declared his half-brother Mīrzā Hakīm as the Emperor, Ghazālī wrote:

"In the name of Allāh who is compassionate and merciful.
The heir to the empire is Muhammad Hakīm."

155 Both Khān-i Zamān and his brother Bahādur Khān were poets but Khān-i Zamān excelled Bahādur in writing elegant poetry. He founded the Zamaniya town in the modern Ghazipur district which in eighteenth century became an important Shī'i centre, *Isnā 'Ashari Shī'is in India*, I, pp. 234-39.

Towards the end of 974/1567 Akbar defeated and killed Khān-i Zamān in a hotly contested battle. Ghazālī was deeply disappointed. Akbar, however, ignored Ghazālī's panegyrics on Mīrzā Haktīm. Khān-i Zamān's successor, Mun'im Khān, Khān-i Khānān helped Ghazālī to overcome his financial difficulties. Mīrzā 'Azīz Koka was also impressed with Ghazālī who repaid his kindness by eulogising him in his verses. Muzaffar Khān Turbatī also helped Ghazālī. Akbar invited him to his court and made him his poet laureate. This distinction was conferred for the first time by Akbar on the most outstanding poet of his court. Ghazālī accompanied Akbar on his military campaigns, wrote poems to commemorate his conquests and immortalized minor events of the Emperor's reign by his panegyrics. On 27 Rajab 980/3 December he suddenly died at Ahmadabad and was buried at Sarkhij. Before his death the rumour of Qāsim-i Kāhī's death had prompted Ghazālī to write the following chronogram:

“The wretched Kāhī left the world.
Should you wish to know the date of his death,
Know that since he could not help but go he was constrained.”
And Qāsim-i Kāhī went from the world.

Qāsim-i Kāhī who outlived Ghazālī retaliated by writing the following chronogram on Ghazālī's real death.

“Last night Ghazālī, that accursed dog,
Went drunk and defiled to hell.
Kāhī wrote the date of his death,
A base infidel departed from this world.”

Ghazālī's verses were imbued with *sūfism* and he evaluated life mystically. He says,

“We fear not death, but this is our misfortune,
That we must remain disappointed of regarding the lovely ones of this world.”

The following verse is also ascribed to Ghazālī:

“We heard a noise and opened our eyes from the sleep of nothingness,
We saw that the night of strife had not passed away, and fell asleep
again.¹⁵⁶

156 *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh*, III, pp. 170-72, 175-76; Haig, pp. 239-42, 247.

The poet laureateship was not an official position. It was only an honorific title and was conferred again by Akbar on 11 February 1589 upon Abu'l-Fazl's elder brother Fayzī. He wrote a *qasida* on the occasion. The event is described thus:

“On that day when he was bounteous to all,
He made me the king of poetry [poets]
He altogether snatched me away
That he might complete the work of speech,
For the sake of exalting my genius
He made me the ornament of the seven heavens.”¹⁵⁷

Shaykh Abu'l-Fayz, the eldest son of Shaykh Mubārak, who adopted Fayzī and, just before he died, Fayyāzī as his *nom de plume* was born in 954/1547-8. By the time he was eleven, Fayzī had learnt ibn Sīnā's *Kitāb al-Shifā'* and acquired the knowledge of medicine. Although he gave free medical advice to the needy, his genius was best suited to poetry. He specialized in the art of poetry, in the composition of enigmas; in prosody, and the composition of elegant prose; in historiography, philosophy, and medical writings.¹⁵⁸ The study of the Ishrāqī theosophy of Shaykh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī Maqtūl added a creative dimension to his *sūfic* and philosophical thoughts. He was not interested in the study of *fiqh* and considered the same as a branch of knowledge, that suited the crafty and the fraudulent. He dismissed controversies over obligatory Islamic duties as “a subject fit for corpse-washers”. Likewise he looked upon theological debates with contempt. In his *masnawī Nal-Daman* which he presented to Akbar in December 1594, he wrote:

“Today I am not a poet, I am a *hakim*;
I know the secrets of the temporal and the eternal (*hādīs wa qadīm*).”

Khawāja Husayn of Merv and Khawāja Husayn Sanā'ī of Mashhad trained Fayzī in the art of versification but the originality in Fayzī's poems emerged from Fayzī's sensitive heart and philosophical mind. Fayzī's associations with Ghazālī Mashhadī and Qāsim-i Kāhī left an indelible mark of catholicity on his mind. By the time Fayzī reached twenty, he had already made his mark as a poet. In Rabī' I 975/September 1567 Akbar invited Fayzī to his court. The governor of Agra presumed that Akbar wished to imprison Fayzī who had gone out for a stroll; the squadron of Turks wished to commit some sort of outrage when just then Fayzī

157 *Akbar-nāma*, III, p. 535; Beveridge III, p. 814.

158 *Muntakhabū't-tawārikh*, III, p. 299.

appeared and left for the court. He composed a *qasida* which is a masterpiece of his poetic genius and adequately reflects his highly-strung temperament and the frankness that he had inherited from his father, for instance:

“Sometimes I was disturbed by anxiety, thinking by what argument
I could raise doubts and misgivings about the intellectual disciplines
whose truth was taken for granted,
Wherefore diversity of practices in Islam?
Wherefore allegories in the words of the Qur‘ān,
The lips opened before the tribunal of conceit and hypocrisy, and
The lies told to support high claims of faith.
If such be the truth of Islam in this world,
Kufr (infidelity) can have a thousand smiles at Islam.”¹⁵⁹

The respect Fayzī enjoyed at Akbar’s court did not silence the orthodox Sunni ‘*ulamā*’. In 1569-70 the intrigues of the ‘*ulamā*’ forced Fayzī, his brother Abu‘l-Fazl and father Mubārak to leave their home and seek asylum from place to place. They were accused of spreading heresy and innovations in faith. Nevertheless Shaykh Mubārak and his sons enjoyed support of some important members of Akbar’s nobility. Their recommendations prompted Akbar to offer Shaykh Mubārak and his sons protection. They returned to their home and avoided provoking the ‘*ulamā*’s wrath. In June 1574 Abu‘l-Fazl was presented to the court. His careful leadership in the debates of the ‘*Ibādat-Khāna*’ which started from March 1575 cut the ground from under the feet of the ‘*ulamā*’. In Rajab 987/August-September 1579 Shaykh Mubarak obtained the signature of the ‘*ulamā*’ on the document known as *mahzar*. Akbar’s policy of universal peace and concord took some time to take root, but the *mahzar* was the first effective declaration of the principles which the Emperor had decided to implement fairly. In the realm of politics the prominent role was played by Abu‘l-Fazl but Fayzī’s poems buttressed Akbar’s ambitions to allow all religious communities to promote their spiritual aspirations in an atmosphere of peace and amity. Orthodox Sunnis were hostile to Fayzī and Abu‘l-Fazl and even to Shaykh Mubārak but they remained steadfast to their principles. Shaykh Mubārak’s pupil, Mullā Badā‘ūnī says :

“In short, the saying of the common people, that the son brings curses on his father, is exemplified in his [Shaykh Mubārak’s] case, just as it happened in the case of Yazīd, in respect of whom some imprudently and presumptuously say, ‘Curse be on Yazīd and on his father [Mu‘āwiya].’”¹⁶⁰

159 *Akbar-nāma*, II, p. 305.

160 *Muntakhabu‘t-tawārīkh*, III, p. 75; Haig, p. 120.

Fayzī came to the rescue of Mullā Badā'ūnī whenever ruin started into the Mullā's face. The orthodoxy of Badā'ūnī made him forget his obligations to Fayzī, but neither did Fayzī nor Abu'l-Fazl change their kindly attitude towards him and other orthodox Muslims. Badā'ūnī writes, "He (Fayzī) was a master of malevolent activity, idle jests, conceit, pride, and malice, and one epitome of hypocrisy, baseness, dissimulation, love of pomp, arrogance, and ostentation. All Jews, Christians, Hindus, and fire-worshippers, not to speak of Nizārīs (Ismā'ilīs) and Sabā'īs (followers of Ibn Sabā) held him in the very highest honour for his heresy, his enmity to the followers reviling the very fundamental doctrines of our faith, his contemptuous abuse of the noble companions (of the Prophet) and those who came after them, of holy Shaykhs, both dead and living, and of his unmannerly and contemptuous behaviour towards all learned, pious, and excellent men, both in secret and openly, and both by day and by night."¹⁶¹

Only Mullā Badā'ūnī is an authority to the allegation that Fayzī wrote his unique exegesis of the Qur'ān containing only undotted Arabic letters entitled the *Sawā'it-u'l-Ilhām* in the height of his drunkenness, and while he was ceremonially impure, and that his dogs used to trample on it in all directions. Badā'ūnī seeks to belittle Fayzī's eulogies on the Prophets' *mī'rāj* (night journey to Divine proximity) in the *Nal-Daman* by telling his readers that Fayzī only wrote those verses to please some of his friends and that he did not believe in the Prophethood of Muhammad or in Islam. Poems in Fayzī's *Diwān*, however, exhibit that Badā'ūnī's charges against Fayzī were farthest from truth. Fayzī's approach to God and Reality is similar to Abu'l-Fazl's but what distinguishes Fayzī from his brother is his verses in praise of the Prophet Muhammad, the Khulafā'-i Rāshidūn and the twelve Imāms. He regards Adam as the prologue and the Prophet Muhammad as the epilogue of the book of "Prophethood",¹⁶² In a *qasida* on the distinctive features of mankind, he addresses the Prophet Muhammad as *Ahmad-i Mursal* (Muhammad the ambassador of God) and describes him as the epitome of the highest qualities of humanity. He goes on to say that the angels learn the lesson of piety from the Prophet Muhammad. The Prophet Muhammad's piety transcends the heavens and stars and they at the feet of that pious element i.e. Prophet Muhammad sit to learn the lessons of purification.¹⁶³ In another *qasida*, he writes ten verses eulogizing Prophet Muhammad and affirms his devotion to the Prophet in a very challenging style. He says "Stars and heavens would mock our wisdom, were we not to recognise the great personality of whom God said, 'But for thee the world would not have been called out of non-existence'".

161 *Muntakhabat-tawārīkh*, III, pp. 299-300; Haig, p. 413.

162 *Kulliyāt-i Fayzī*, Lahore, 1967, p. 11.

163 *Ibid.*, p. 23.

And again

“Let both worlds be dark before our eyes,
If we do not recognise the countenance of that moon
(Prophet Muhammad) in darkness.”¹⁶⁴

After eulogizing Prophet Muhammad, Fayzī returns thanks for his devotion to the Prophet’s companions. He refers to Abū Bakr as the leader of truth and purity. His hope to receive justice on the great day of Judgment because of his recognition of the services of ‘Umar to the cause of justice and to the annihilation of tyranny. He waxes eloquent in eulogizing ‘Alī in several *qasidas*. In one of the *qasidas*, from which the above verses were quoted, he asserts,

“Let the chain of eternal punishment be round our neck,
If we do not recognise the descendants of the Lion of God [‘Alī].”

He uses the traditional Shi‘i epithets for the remaining eleven Imāms. About the twelfth Imām he says,

“O Fayzī ! Let me meet my end on the wrong path,
If we don’t recognize the last of the rightly guided Imāms.”

Describing ‘Alī’s reaction to the question of the succession to the Prophet Muhammad, Fayzī reiterates a typically Shi‘i theory. Addressing ‘Alī as the Prophet’s *wasī* (executor of Prophet Muhammad’s will), he says,

“An Imām who on the day of the death of the Prophet,
Forsakes the Caliphate and plunges himself to the mourning.”

Referring to the tradition that ‘Alī mounted the shoulders of the Prophet Muhammad and broke the idol, Fayzī brings out the importance of ‘Alī’s foot imprint which rose higher than the seal of the prophethood. He says,

“How good ! The foot imprints which on the shoulders of Prophet
Muhammad,
were placed above the seal of Prophethood.
(*Zihī naqsh-i pā‘i ki bar Dūsh-i Ahmad*
Zi muhr-i nubuwat muqaddam nishīnad.)”¹⁶⁵

164 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

165 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

Some scholars doubt the authenticity of the above verses but they are found in the earliest copies of the *Kullīyyāt-i Fayzī*. A complete copy, in Aligarh University, was transcribed in 1063/1653. It contains the above *qasīda*.¹⁶⁶ The *'ulamā'* and *sūfīs* discussed the verse in their assemblies. For example in Jumāda I 1086/July-August 1675 Shaykh Badru'l-Haqq Muhammad Arshad son of Shaykh Muhammad Arshad 'Usmānī of Jawnpur told in his assembly how at the Prophet's request 'Alī mounted the shoulders of the Prophet in order to smash the idols. One Mullā Muhammad Amīn recited the above verse of Fayzī. Shaykh Badru'l-Haqq repeated the verse and said, "A large number of Rāfīzīs are definitely infidels for their manners exhibit that they love 'Alī more than the Prophet. The above verse confirms his (Shaykh Fayzī's) contention."¹⁶⁷ Only a few decades after his death Fayzī had come to be regarded as a Shi'i.

In the same *qasīda*, Fayzī reiterates,

"O King of warriors ('Alī) the world is full of calamity,
May you reappear so that the confusion of the world should subside."

And lastly he writes with great pride,

"Because of the blessing of nearness to you, [O 'Alī]
Fayzī is always honoured when he walks and is respected where he sits."¹⁶⁸

His encomiums both on Imām 'Alī and the first three successors of the Prophet Muhammad seem incompatible to orthodox Sunnīs and Shi'īs but accord with the beliefs of the Tafzīliyya Sunnīs and the Ishrāqīs, who unlike orthodox Shi'īs acknowledge the political and administrative achievements of Prophet Muhammad's first three successors but consider Imām 'Alī as superior to them and for that matter to all other companions of the Prophet Muhammad. Although not a Shi'i, Fayzī's devotion to universal peace and concord went a long way to the promotion of Shi'ism. On 10 Safar 1004/5 October 1595, Fayzī died. Mullā Badā'ūnī says, "At last, after all his denial of the truth, his obstinacy, his pride, and his heresy, he hastened to the place to which he belonged, and went in such sort that I pray that nobody may see or hear of the like. When the Emperor went to visit him when he was at his last gasp, Fayzī barked like a dog in his face, and the Emperor used to relate this story in open *darbār*.... But, without a doubt, the sufferings which he had already endured were very little considered with reference to his vice, his abuse of the faith,

166 *Kullīyyāt-i Fayzī*, Habibganj Ms., Aligarh University Ms., 48/18.

167 Abu'l Fayyāz Qamaru'l-Haqq Ghulām Rashīd, *Ganj-i Arshadī*, Aligarh University Ms. ff. 174a-b.

168 *Kullīyyāt-i Fayzī*, p. 41.

and his revilings of his holiness the last of the Prophets (may God bless him and his family, all of them). Many abusive chronograms were discovered for the date of his death. One was as follows :—

“When Fayzī the atheist died an eloquent man uttered (as the date of his death, the words”.

A dog has gone from the world in an abominable state.¹⁶⁹

Badā'ūnī's tirades against Fayzī are designed to prove the Sunnī legend that the transfiguration into an animal (*maskh*) generally into a dog or a pig happened very often to Shi'is, because they reviled the Prophet's companions. Badā'ūnī was pleased to note that Fayzī was not an orthodox Sunnī; he was not concerned with the real beliefs of Fayzī.

According to Badā'ūnī, Fayzī spent large sums of money from his *jāgīr* in having his works copied and illustrated but nobody asked for them. The most popular *dīwāns*, he says were those of Husayn Sanā'ī and of 'Urfī.¹⁷⁰

Husayn Sanā'ī bin Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn 'Alī belonged to Mashhad. His father was a rich cloth merchant. When Sultan Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, a son of Shāh Ismā'il Safawī was the governor of Mashhad and Sabzwār, Husayn Sanā'ī gained notoriety for his elegant poetry and musical genius. His *qasīdas* eulogizing Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, Shāh Tahmāsp's governor of Mashhad came to be regarded as inimitable. When Shāh Ismā'il II, who was a Sunnī, ascended the throne, Ibrāhīm Mīrzā had already died. Sanā'ī presented a well-written *qasīda* at the Shāh's coronation. Shāh Ismā'il suspected that the *qasīda* was written for Sultan Ibrāhīm and his name was deliberately omitted from it. Sanā'ī fled from Iran to India in order to save his life. Akbar liberally rewarded him but he was not satisfied. Resigning from the imperial service he became a protegee of Hakīm Abu'l-Fath. Although Hakīm Abu'l-Fath paid him enormous sums of money, the munificence of Khān-i Khānān 'Abdu'r-Rahīm prompted Sanā'ī to move to the Khān-Khānān's court. In 990/1582 he died and was buried in Lahore. Later on one of his cousins transferred Sanā'ī's dead-body to Mashhad and buried it near the tomb of Imām Rizā'.

He wrote *qasīda* in praise of his patrons. A verse in the first *qasīda* in his *Dīwān* eulogizes Imām Rizā' thus:

“The moon of *shifā'at* (intercession), light of the religion and *shari'a*
After 'Alī is *Shāh-i Khurāsān* (the ruler of Khurāsān) [Imām] Rizā'.”

169 *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, III, p. 300; Haig, pp. 414-15.

170 *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, III, p. 301.

Mullā Badā'ūnī says that before Sanā'ī came to India, his verses were read in all the important assemblies and all persons of distinction discussed them but after his arrival in India, people became jealous of him and he became the target of "a hundred shafts of criticism". Badā'ūnī was also critical of some of Sanā'ī's poems but on the whole was impressed with the popularity of his *Diwān*.¹⁷¹ Badā'ūnī makes no comments on his Shī'ism.

Sanā'ī's match in popularity was Khwāja Sayyid Muhammad Jamālu'd-Dīn 'Urfī of Shīrāz. He obtained training in poetry in his own homeland. At the age of twenty he moved to India in search of better opportunities. At Fathpur he attached himself to Shaykh Fayzī and moved with him to the Panjab. Before long their relations were strained and 'Urfī attached himself to Hakīm Abu'l-Fath. 'Urfī wrote many *qasidas* eulogizing the Hakīm but later on he attached himself to the Khān-i Khānān. Hakīm Abu'l-Fath himself magnanimously recommended 'Urfī to the Khān-i Khānān. 'Urfī wrote brilliant *qasidas* eulogizing the Khān-i Khānān. The competition with the galaxy of talented poets in the Khān-i Khānān's court sharpened Fayzī's poetic talents.

Badā'ūnī says that one day 'Urfī visited Fayzī and found him fondling a puppy. He said, "What is the name of this high born one?" Fayzī replied, "His name is 'Urfī". 'Urfī was the poet's *nom de plume* but it also meant 'well-known'. 'Urfī at once replied, "*Mubāarak bāshad* (May it be *Mubāarak* or auspicious)." *Mubāarak bāshad* is a common expression of politeness but *Mubāarak* was the name of Fayzī's father. If Fayzī meant to give 'Urfī's name to the puppy, 'Urfī's reply recoiled on Fayzī's head. It gave Fayzī's father's name to the puppy.¹⁷²

'Urfī composed elegant and touching *ghazals* but his *qasidas* reflect his poetic mastery and thoughtfulness. The *qasidas* eulogizing Prophet Muhammad and depicting the *mi'rāj* are the best specimens of devotional poetry but nothing can match his encomiums on Imām 'Alī wherein he exuberantly pours his heart into the verses. In a *qasida* he wrote 35 verses demonstrating in various ways how knowledge became illustrious through Imām 'Alī ibn Abi Tālib.

In Shawwāl 999/November 1582 'Urfī died of dysentery, or, according to another account, of poison, at the age of thirty-six. Before his death he is said to have composed a quatrain lamenting his departure from the world without accumulating any funds of spiritual value.

Some poets, such as Sā'ib considered Nazīrī's poems superior to those

171 *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, III, pp. 208-10; *Mā'āsir-i Rahīmī*, III, pp. 354-81; 'Abdu'n-Nabī *Maykhāna*, Lahore, 1926, pp. 162-65.

172 *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, III, pp. 285-86; *Mā'āsir-i Rahīmī*, III, pp. 293-353.

of 'Urfi. Sā'ib says,

“Sā'ib what do you think ? Can you become like Nazīri ?”
Even 'Urfi has not written poetry like Nazīri's.

Mawlānā Husayn Nazīri belonged to Nīshāpūr where he made his mark as a poet in no time. From thence he moved to Kāshān and wrote poems in competition with the poets of that region. Like other Iranian adventurers he also left for India to find wider field to exhibit his talents and to accumulate riches. He entered the court of the Khān-i Khānān where both competition and patronage came to his hand. By the end of the sixteenth century glowing tributes had been paid to Nazīri's poetic achievement by all the distinguished Indian scholars. Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad says that “Nazīri is not devoid of freshness of intellect; he has written many tasteful verses.” Abu'l-Fazl says, “He (Nazīri) possesses poetical talent, and the garden of thought has a door open for him.” Mullā Badā'ūnī was also impressed with Nazīri's graceful wit and clearness of intellect.” According to 'Abdu'l-Bāqī Nihāwandī, Nazīri was a poetical genius and was endowed with far-reaching perspicacity in writing poetry. In 1012/1603-4 the Khān-i Khānān granted his earnest request to perform pilgrimage to Mecca and placed ample funds at his disposal to travel comfortably. His encomiums on Ka'ba obtained resounding fame. After his return from Mecca he called on his patron at Ahmadabad and recited *qasidas* to express his gratitude.¹⁷³ Early in 1611 Jahāngīr invited Nazīri to his court. He says,

“I had before this sent for Nazīri of Nīshāpur, who excelled other men in the art of poetry and passed his time in Gujarat as a merchant. At this time he came and waited on me, and imitating a poem (*qasida*) of Anwarī (d. 585 or 587/1189 or 1191).

‘Again, what youth and beauty this is for the world!’
laid before me a poem (*qasida*) that he had composed on me. I presented him with 1,000 rupees, a horse and a robe of honour as a gift for his poem [*qasida*].¹⁷⁴

In 1022/1613 he again paid his respects to the Khān-i Khānān at Agra and presented his *Dīwān* to his patron. He returned to Ahmadabad and died in 1023/1614. He was buried in the mosque which he had built near his house. In the encomium written by him on Prophet Muhammad Nazīri invoked the Prophet's blessings for the appearance of Mahdi,

173 *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh*, III, pp. 375-76; *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, II, pp. 514-15; *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, I, p. 175; *Mā'āsir-i Rahīmī*, III, pp. 115-293.

174 *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, p. 91; Rogers and Beveridge, I, p. 188.

In an eloquent *qasida* on Imām 'Alī, Nazīri writes,

“The Prophet who performed the miracle of splitting the moon,
 Demonstrated separately two parts of Divine light;
 of his own and that of 'Alī
 In the night of *mī'rāj* [Muhammad] indulged in conversation with God
 who assumed the form of 'Alī
 In the morning 'Alī offered his congratulations to Muhammad.

× × ×

How can 'Alī's lover encounter darkness,
 For he (the lover) has brightened his heart by 'Alī's love;
 How can he [Nazīri] be overawed by the majesty of someone else,
 For he has attained the status of the Lord because of his slavery to
 Qanbar ('Alī's slave).”

In a different *qasida*, Nazīri writes,

“'Alī's light appeared in the form of Ahmad,
 Or else the combination of body and soul was not possible.

× × ×

“After the Prophethood (*nubūwwat*), the Prophet's *Āl* became *wasī* (a
 testator)
 This position was not easy for the angels to obtain.”

In a verse in the *qasida* eulogizing Imām Husayn, Nazīri says,

“*Zibh-i 'Azīm*¹⁷⁵ [in the Qur'ān] refers to Husayn's martyrdom,
 Husayn obliged the Khalīl (Abraham) of the Lord of the world.”

× × ×

“To please the wretched Yazīd, the dog ibn Ziyād,
 Put the Prophet's family to the sword of tyrannising and malevolence.”

Nazīri's equal in Mullā Badā'ūnī's eyes was Shikībī Isfahānī. According to Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad Shikībī had acquired many accomplishments and had many praiseworthy qualities. He wrote elegant verses.¹⁷⁶ Abu'l-Fazl says that Shikībī possessed fine taste and wrote well. He was

175 The word occurs in the following verse of the Qur'ān (XXXVII, 107):

“Then we ransomed him with a tremendous victim.”

It follows the story saying how Ishmael was saved when in obedience to Divine command his father Abraham proceeded to slaughter him. According to the authors of Shi'i exegesis the “tremendous victim” referred to in the above verse was Imām Husayn whose martyrdom saved Ishmael. Imām Husayn was the ransom of Ishmael.

176 *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, II, p. 502.

acquainted with chronology and the ordinary sciences; and the purity of his nature led him to philosophical independence.¹⁷⁷

Shikibi was the son of Zahiru'd-Dīn 'Abdu'llāh Imāmi of Isfahān. He studied under Amīr Taqīu'd-Dīn Muhammad of Shīrāz, and then moved to Mashhad and Hirāt for further studies. When he was well known as a poet, he returned for a short time to Shīrāz, from thence he went to India, and became the constant companion of the Khān-i Khānān.¹⁷⁸ In 1592 Shikibi presented a *masnawī* to the Khān-i Khānān describing his conquest of Thatta. The Khān-i Khānān paid one thousand gold *mohars* to Shikibi as a reward. The defeated Mīrzā Jāni Beg of Thatta also presented a similar amount as a reward to Shikibi. A verse in the *masnawī* described the Khān-i Khānān's victory as follows:

“A *humā'*¹⁷⁹ which was moving over the heavens,
you seized and freed from delusion.”

Mīrzā Jāni Beg remarked, “May God bless Shikibi for calling me a *humā'*. “Had he addressed me a jackal, who could hold his tongue.”¹⁸⁰

In 1019/1610 Shikibi fell out with the Khān-i Khānān and moved to Agra from the Deccan. Mahābat Khān recommended him to Jahāngīr but for a couple of days he was not invited to the court. He applied to Jahāngīr to grant him leave to retire to Iran. Jahāngīr immediately invited Shikibi to the court and said that perhaps the Mawlawī was angry, while he (Jahāngīr) thought that he would in keeping with his *nom de plume* (Shikibi meaning a man of patience) would exhibit patience. The Emperor added that he had written one of the Shikibi's quatrains in his private diary. It reads:

“The world is the sort of game of chess whose victory amounts to defeat,
The fortunate is one whose stakes are low.
Everything in the world resembles dice,
Its picking up is meant for throwing.”

Shikibi immediately read the following quatrain,

“You say that Shikibi is angry with yourself
That is he (Shikibi) is angry with the *qibla* of invocations.
I don't dare say that it is a baseless accusation
People may say that a dog (i.e. Shikibi) forsook loyalty.”

177 *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, I, p. 174.

178 *Mā'āsir-i Rahīmī*, III, pp. 606-07.

179 A bird of happy omen, prognosticating a crown to every head it overshades.

180 *Zakhīratu'l-khawānīn*, I, p. 39.

The Emperor was very pleased and appointed Shikībī to the position of the *sadr* of Delhi. In 1023/1614 he died.¹⁸¹

Nazīrī's nephew Mawlānā Qaydī was also a poet of some note and visited India in Shāhjahān's reign and died at sea on his way back to Iran, in 1064/1633. Mullā Qaydī's son Mullā Muqīm or Muqīmā also visited India and attached himself to Mirzā Jānī Beg who was a governor of Orissa under Shāhjahān's son Shāh Shujā'. He adopted Fawjī as his *nom de plumé*. In the war of succession he fought in Shujā's army. After the defeat of Shujā' he seems to have left for Mecca and returned to Nishāpūr where he died in 1075/1664-65.

Fawjī's brother 'Azīm or 'Azīmā was also born in Nishāpūr. The statements of 'Azīmā's biographers on the poet's visit to India are conflicting. In a verse Fawjī introduces himself as *Hind parast* (a devotee to India). In 1110/1698 he died.

The *Diwān's* of both Fawjī and 'Azīmā are available. Fawjī's *Diwān* in the British Library contains *qasidas* in praise of the Imāms, Shāh Shujā' and Mirzā Jānī Beg.¹⁸² The *Diwān* of 'Azīmā in the Khudā Bakhsh Library, Bankipur contains a beautiful *masnawī*, composed by him in 1064/1653 eulogizing Shāh 'Abbās II. Mirzā Sa'du'd-Din *wazīr* of Khurāsān and Sāfi Qulī Khān were also his patrons. The chronograms in 'Azīmā's *Diwān* describe many contemporary events. His verses in praise of the Imāms are also very expressive.

In the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr Hayātī was a poet of considerable distinction. He hailed from Rasht in Gilān. He belonged to the class of plebeians and moved to India in search of better prospects of life. Hakīm Abu'l-Fath Gilānī extended him patronage and introduced him to the imperial court. According to the *Ma'āsir-i Rahīmī* he was appointed a *mansabdār* and obtained *jāgīr* and stipends. For a long time he served both the Hakīm and the imperial court. He wrote *qasidas* on Prince Salīm. Later on he moved to the Deccan and attached himself to the retinue of the Khān-i Khānān. Finally he settled at Burhanpur and built there an attractive mansion and a lofty mosque. He also laid a beautiful garden. One day the Khān-i Khānān took him to his treasury and allowed him to carry from there as much gold coins as he liked.¹⁸³ Around 1024/1615 he entered the Jahāngīr's service and became one of his *nadīms* (boon-companions). Hayātī, however, always felt himself indebted to the Khān-i Khānān. His *qasidas* and *masnawīs* dedicated to the Khān-i Khānān carve out a new style in poetry. In 1028/1619 he obtained leave from Jahāngīr

181 *Mir'ātu'l-'ālam*, pp. 601-2; *Maykhāna*, pp. 234-44; Qudratu'llāh Gopāmawī, *Tazkira-i Natā'ijū'l-afkār*, Bombay, 1336 Iran era, pp. 371-73.

182 British Library, Rieu, 690a, Or. 302.

183 *Zakhīratu'l-khawānīn*, I, 61.

to serve the Khān-i Khānan again but died shortly afterwards.¹⁸⁴ In an ode quoted by Badā'ūnī he wrote,

“I am content whether I be killed by the sword of the warrior of Islam or
the arrow of the unbeliever,
I thirst for my own blood and all I require is a cup.
Hayā'tī, sit not before me, prevent not my ravings,
I am a lover and thou art wise, a demented companion is what I
require”¹⁸⁵

Hayā'tī's encomiums on the Prophet Muhammad, Imām 'Alī and the Ahl-i Bayt are very impressive. In a *qasida* on Imām Rizā', he says,

“If you wish to know about the gateway, I may tell you,
That gateway is the gateway of the king of mankind and genii
Sultān Rizā', whose importance as it has been obtained by God,
Is farthest from thought and imagination.”

In another poem he says,

“'Alī Rizā', because of the favours obtained from your name,
I may give back two hundred paradises to their keepers.”

The galaxy of Iranian poets who became famous in Jahāngīr's reign had already become famous in Akbar's reign. Some talented poets moved from Iran and Central Asia to Jahāngīr's court for the first time. Some Indian poets also became famous. It was, however, Tālib Āmulī on whom Jahāngīr conferred the title of Maliku'sh-Shu'arā' in Safar 1029/ January 1620. Jahāngīr says,

“On this day Tālib Āmulī received the title of Maliku'sh-Shu'arā' (king of poets), and was clothed in a dress of honour. His origin was from Āmul. For some time he was with I'timādu'd-Dawla. As the merits of his style surpassed that of his contemporaries, he was enrolled among the poets of the throne. The following couplets are by him:

“Spring longs to rifle thy parterre,
For the flowers in thy hand are fresher than those on his branch.
I've so closed my lips from speech that you'd say,
His mouth is but a scar in his face.

Both first and last, Love is aye music and joy—
A pleasant wine both when fresh and when mellow.

184 *Ma'āsir-i Rahīmī*, III, pp. 740-42; *Mir'ātul-'ālam*, p. 569.

185 *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, III, pp. 221-22; Haig, 306; *Natā'ijul-afkār*, pp. 187-88; *Maykhāna*, pp. 536-37.

Were I glass instead of body,
I'd reveal thee to thyself without thy unveiling.
Two lips have I; one for drinking,
And one to apologise for drunkenness.'¹⁸⁶

Earlier around 1010/1601 when Shāh 'Abbās' son Ismā'il Mīrzā was born, Tālib joined the Shāh's court and began to dream the dreams of obtaining the position of Khāqānī. In about two years he was disillusioned and he attached himself to Mīrzā-i 'Alamiyān, Muhammad Shafi', the governor of Māzandarān. He wrote *qasidas* eulogizing the Mīrzā but before long the Mīrzā himself lost his position. Finding no satisfaction at the court of the governor of Merv his next patron, Tālib set off for India. There his cousin Hakīm Ruknā-i Kāshī had already attained a very high position among the poets of Jahāngīr's reign. Tālib arrived at Agra and travelled to Lahore. On his way to Qandahār he stayed for about four months in Multan. In Qandahār Tālib was called upon to measure his talents with more senior poets. Their influence disgusted Tālib and he moved to Peshāwar and travelled to Agra with its governor Chīn Qilich Khān, the son of Qilich Khān. At the end of 1021/1613 Tālib accompanied Chīn Qilich to Surat. After the departure of Chīn Qilich to Peshāwar, Tālib moved to Ahmadabad but its governor 'Abdu'llāh Khān Firūz-Jang had been struggling to regain the favour of Jahāngīr which he had lost because of his military failure in the Deccan. Tālib moved to Ajmir where I'timādu'd-Dawla took him under his protection. The position of *muhardār* (keeper of private seal) which I'timādu'd-Dawla offered him was too suffocating for the poet to breathe freely. After some months he resigned. Diyānat Khān, an important Mughal dignitary took him to Jahāngīr who had been heading towards Kashmir from Lahore. A dose of intoxicating drug Tālib had taken in order to raise his spirits, benumbed his senses. When he left the court he felt sore on his failure but Jahāngīr had already chosen him for his patronage. He was made poet laureate. His contemporaries became jealous of him but Tālib's poems catered to the changing needs in poetic style. Jahāngīr loved Tālib's poetry and he gained the Emperor's confidence. The jealousies and rivalries of the contemporaries could not undermine his influence with the Emperor.

Tālib's presence in India made his elder sister Satū'n-Nisā' Khānam very keen to move to India. After the death of her husband Nasīra, the brother of Hakīm Ruknā of Kāshān, she left for India. Tālib requested for leave from Jahāngīr to meet her. He presented his versified application whose touching couplets reflect a unique bond of love between a

brother and a sister. The poem says that her elder sister was quite old and a mother to him. They had been separated from each other for more than fourteen years. Finding herself unable to bear his (Tālib's) separation any more she had moved from Iran to Agra.

Tālib was granted leave from the imperial camp to meet his sister at Agra. Before long Saṭi'u'n-Nisā' Khānam's specialization in medicine and charming manners made her indispensable to the ladies of the imperial palace. In 1035/1625-26 however, Tālib died and was buried in a village of Lahore.¹⁸⁷ Saṭi'u'n-Nisā' Khānam and Ḥakīm Ruknā-i Kāshī built a monument, over his grave. His everlasting memorial is his *Kulliyāt*. A copy in the Aligarh Muslim University Library comprises 10,000 verses but the *Kulliyāt* published at Tehran contains some 20,000 verses. Tālib's *ghazals* are dominated by a sense of grief and lamentation but do not sacrifice lyrical excitability. He wrote *qasidas*, eulogizing Akbar, Jahāngir, Shāh 'Abbās, Muhammad Shāfi' (Mirzā-i 'Alamiyān), Mir Abu'l-Qāsim, the *wazīr* of Māzandarān, 'Abdu'llāh Khān Firūz-Jang, I'timādu'd-Dawla, Nūr-Jahān, Chīn Qilich Khān and Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī. Nevertheless he did not ignore the Prophet Muhammad, 'Alī and the twelve Imāms. In a *qasida*, he says,

“The candle of faith is 'Alī. For remembering him,
Shed your sleeve (ignore) on the world.”

In another *qasida* on Imām 'Alī, he says,

“The ill luck has made me the sweeper of all sorts of courts,
It is the jugglery of the fate, May the face of times be blackened.”

In a *qasida* eulogizing the Twelve Imāms, he says,

“Adorn the head of the tablet of my tomb,
With the address to the twelve Imāms written by the water of eyes
(tears).”

A verse in the *qasida* eulogizing twelve Imāms is as follows:

“The lord of the Muhammad's religion is Mahdī whose *shari'a*,
Popularised the rules of the Ja'fari faith.”

A devotee of 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib found the following chronogram for Tālib's death:

187 *Mir'ātu'l-'ālam*, p. 615; *Maykhāna*, pp. 384-88; *Natā'ijū'l-afkār*, pp. 438-41.

“On the day of resurrection, May he (Tālib’s) meet his end with ‘Alī ibn Tālib.”

Satīu‘n-Nisā‘ Khānam who outlived her younger brother became the favourite of Shāhjahān’s beloved wife Mumtāz Mahal. The Empress appointed Satīu‘n-Nisā‘ her *wakil* (representative). Satīu‘n-Nisā‘’s eloquence, expertise in medicine, vast experience of court etiquettes and versatility enabled Mumtāz Mahal to introduce reforms in the organization of court festivities. Satīu‘n-Nisā‘ was appointed the *muhardār* (keeper of the imperial seal) and tutoress to the princess Jahān Ārā known as Begum Sāhiba. After the death of Mumtāz Mahal on 17 Zu‘lqā‘da 1040/17 June 1631 at Burhanpur, Satīu‘n-Nisā‘ Khānam and Prince Muhammad Shujā‘ took her dead body to Agra and buried her in the famous Tāj Mahal.¹⁸⁸

In recognition to her services Shāhjahān appointed her the *Sadru‘n-nisā‘* (head of the ladies of the harem). She adopted two daughters of her brother Tālib and brought them up. The eldest was married to ‘Āqil Khān ‘Ināyatu‘llāh son of Afzal Khān Mullā Shukru‘llāh who in the 19th year of Shāhjahān’s reign rose to the *mansab* of 2,500 *zāt* and 800 *sawār*. The younger one was married to Hakīm Ziyā‘u‘d-Dīn entitled Rahmat Khān, son of Hakīm Qutbā brother of Hakīm Ruknā of Kāshān.¹⁸⁹ In the 20th year of Shāhjahān’s reign, the wife of Rahmat Khān died. Satīu‘n-Nisā‘ Khānam who dearly loved her was deeply upset. Shāhjahān personally visited her and offered her consolation. Satīu‘n-Nisā‘ Khānam herself did not survive long. After her death Shāhjahān paid Rs. 10,000 from the imperial treasury for her temporary burial in Lahore. A year and odd later her dead body was taken to Agra and buried at a cost of Rs. 30,000 in a tomb west of the sepulchre of Mumtāz Mahal in the Jilaw Khāna. A village yielding Rs. 3,000 was assigned for the upkeep of her tomb.¹⁹⁰

Hakīm Ruknu‘d-Dīn Mas‘ūd’s *nom de plume* was Masīh. He was known by the name Hakīm Ruknā. His father Hakīm Nizāmu‘d-Dīn was also a learned physician. Hakīm Ruknā was born and educated in Kāshān. Shāh ‘Abbās Safawī whose court Ruknā first served was highly impressed with his talents. In his youth Ruknā was addicted to drinks and recited lovely verses in the court of the Shāh. The rivalries of his contemporaries, however, undermined Ruknā’s importance at the Shāh ‘Abbās’ court and he was disgusted with life in Iran. He moved to India where Mirzā Ja‘far Beg Āsaf Khān Qazwini introduced him to Emperor Akbar. When

188 *Bādshāh-nāma*, I, p. 402, *Mā‘āsiru‘l-umarā‘*, I, p. 160.

189 *Mā‘āsiru‘l-umarā‘*, II, pp. 283-86.

190 *Bādshāh-nāma*, II, p. 629; *Mā‘āsiru‘l-umarā‘*, II, pp. 790-92.

Prince Salīm (future Jahāngīr) assumed royal powers at Allahabad, Ruknā moved to Salīm's court in search of better prospects. Before the death of Akbar, Prince Salīm moved to Agra. Hakīm Ruknā fled to Golkonda in order to escape Akbar's fury for deserting him. For several years he lived at the court of the Deccan rulers. There too he was not satisfied and became a *derwish*. Wandering about the different parts of India, in 1023/1614-15 he reached Thatta. When Jahāngīr was informed from the news report of Thatta that Ruknā was planning to return to Iran, the Emperor summoned him to his court. At the request of Mahābat Khān, Jahāngīr assigned the Hakīm to the Khān's court. For two years Hakīm Ruknā served under Mahābat Khān. 'Abdu'n-Nabī, the author of the *Maykhāna*, who was also in Mahābat Khān's service, took the occasion to compile Hakīm Ruknā's *Diwān*. When Mahābat Khān was posted to the Deccan, Hakīm Ruknā was ordered by the Emperor to serve the imperial court. He remained in the imperial service until 1061/1650-51. Shāhjahān granted his request to go on pilgrimage. From Mecca and Medina he visited Imām Rizā's tomb at Mashhad and then moved to Kāshān. His failure to obtain patronage at the Safawid court prompted the Hakīm to move to the holy shrines of Iraq. Nevertheless he used to send poems to Shāhjahān until his death in 1064/1653-54 at a very ripe old age. Even in Iraq he obtained gifts from Shāhjahān which made his old age comfortable.¹⁹¹

Although the most distinguished poets of Shāhjahān's reign were Abū Tālib Kalīm and Qudsi Mashhadī, Sa'idā-i Gilānī enjoyed a unique kudos. He was both a poet and an accomplished jeweller. He arrived in India in Jahāngīr's reign and was appointed the Superintendent of the Imperial Jewel House (*darogha-i zargar-khāna*).¹⁹² In 1031/1621 he was given by Jahāngīr the title of Bībadal (matchless) Khān. He wrote *qasidas* on important events of Jahāngīr's reign such as the Emperor's encampment at Pir Panjāl in 1029/1620, the conquest of Kāngrā fort in 1029, the fall of a meteorite in 1030 from which a dagger, a knife and two swords were made for Jahāngīr. On the last event he wrote:

“By Shāh Jahāngīr the world acquired order,
There fell in his reign raw iron from lightning
from that iron were made by his world-taking command,
A dagger, a knife, and two scimitars.”

Sa'idā wrote the following chronogram on the construction of a mosque inside the Kāngrā fort in 1031:

191 *Maykhāna*, pp. 360-69; *Natā'ijul-afkār*, pp. 644-46.

192 *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, p. 226.

“Nūru-d-Dīn Shāh Jahāngīr bin Shāh Akbar,
Is a king who in the age hath no equal.
He took Fort Kāngrā by the aid of God,
A drop from the cloud of his sword is a tempest.
As by his order this illuminated mosque was built,
May his forehead shine by his prostration.
A hidden messenger said: In seeking for the date
(say) the mosque of Shāh Jahāngīr was illumined.”¹⁹³

Jahāngīr quotes the following verses composed by Sa'ida containing the chronogram of the conquest of the Kāngrā fort.

The Emperor of the world, King Jahāngīr, son of Akbar the King, who, by the decree of Fate, has become King of the Seven Climes. World-taker (*Jahāngīr*), world bestower (*Jahān-bakhsh*), world possessor (*Jahān-dār*) and world monarch through whose faithful luck the old world has acquired safety.

With his conquering sword, he took the Fort and a mental flash supplied the date “*Jahāngīr's good fortune* took this fort—1029.”¹⁹⁴

In 1027/1618 Sa'ida was weighed at Jahāngīr's orders in silver, for composing a *qasida* in his own honour and that of Prince Khurram.¹⁹⁵ Jahāngīr quotes following verses:

“The nine heavens are an exemplar of thy threshold:
aged time hath become young in thy reign.
Like the sun, thy heart bestows largess without a cause:
all lives are meant to be a sacrifice for thy gracious heart,
Heaven is a green orange from the garden of thy power,
suspended by thy gardener in the air.
By God, of what substance art thou made (O King);
since from all eternity the souls of the saints have been deriving
their lustre from thy sparkling life.
O King of the age, may the world function according to thy desire-
with thy Shāh Jahān flourishing (Khurram) under thy shadow.
O shadow of God on earth, the world hath been illumined by thee, for
thou art light (*Nūr*), and may the light of God always be thy canopy!”¹⁹⁶

Jahāngīr tells us that the above *qasida* was written by Sa'ida after a *qasida* of Maghribī the poet laureate of Sultan Sanjar (511/1118-552/1157).¹⁹⁷

193 Hādī Hasan, *Mughal poetry*, Hyderabad, pp. 36-37.

194 *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, pp. 334-35.

195 *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, p. 240.

196 Hādī Hasan, *Mughal poetry*, p. 55.

197 *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, p. 240.

Shortly after his accession to the throne in 1037/1628 Shāhjahān selected jewels worth 86 lakhs of rupees and with them a lakh of *tolas* of pure gold, worth 14 lakhs of rupees, and commanded Sa'ida-i Gilāni to construct the famous Peacock throne. Seven years later, in 1044/1635 the throne was ready: it was $3\frac{1}{4}$ yards long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards broad and 5 yards high, with two peacocks with upraised tails, carrying a ruby each in their beaks, on the quadrangular-shaped canopy of the throne. A jewelled tree separated the peacocks which faced each other; and 108 rubies and 116 emeralds, whose weight varied respectively from 100 to 200 carats and from 30 to 60 carats each, were studded on the outside of the throne. Twelve pillars of emerald surrounded with rows of round and luxurious pearls weighing 6 to 10 carats each, supported the throne; and three jewelled steps led up to the Emperor's seat whereon glittered a historical ruby worth a lakh of rupees, sent to Jahāngir by Shāh 'Abbās the Great of Persia.¹⁹⁸ We shall be quoting twenty verses of Qudsi which were inscribed in enamel by order of Shāhjahān in the notice on Qudsi.

Two years before the completion of the Peacock Throne, Sa'ida was reweighed against silver by orders of Shāhjahān for an ode depicting the cool courage of Prince Awrangzib during an elephant combat. The amount of rupees Sa'ida received was 5,000.¹⁹⁹

Sa'idā also wrote a unique ode of 134 couplets to celebrate the second coronation of Shāhjahān on the Peacock Throne. Its first 12 couplets gave 1000/1591, the date of Shāhjahān's birth, the succeeding 32 couplets gave 1037/1637 the date of Shāhjahān's first coronation; then followed a hemistich which gave 1043/1634, the date of Shāhjahān's return from Kashmir for his second coronation; finally there were $89\frac{1}{2}$ couplets which gave 1044/1635 the date of Shāhjahān's second coronation on the Peacock Throne. In the early eighteenth century, the throne was robbed of some of its precious jewels before Nādir Shāh took it to Iran along with his plunders. Only twenty couplets reproduced in the *Bādshāh-nāma* and the *'Amal-i sālih* survive. Hādī Hasan says, "The Arabs say that God in His mercy has given three things to three people—the hands to the Chinese, the brains to the Greeks and the tongues to the Arabs. But to the poet-artist Sa'ida-i Gilāni, he had given all the three—the Chinese hands, the Grecian intellect and the Arabian tongue."²⁰⁰

Again unfortunately for us, the manuscript copy of Sa'ida's *Kulliyāt* has not yet been discovered. No judgement on Sa'ida's religious views can authoritatively be made but Gilān of his days was predominantly Shi'i and Sa'ida could not be an exception.

198 *Bādshāh-nāma*, I, pp. 80-81, *'Amal-i Sālih*, III, pp. 409-10.

199 *Khizāna-i 'āmira*, pp. 262-63.

200 Hādī Hasan, *Mughal poetry*, p. 62.

Shāhjahān's poet laureate Abū Tālib Kalīm was born in Hamadān around 995/1587. The Ottoman threat to the region prompted Kalīm's parents to move to Kāshān and settle there. The artistic environment of Kāshān made a deep impression upon Kalīm's mind. He obtained higher education at Shirāz and moved to Bijapur sometime after 1014/1605-6. Shāhnawāz Khān Shirāzi, the prime minister of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh was preoccupied with the construction of the Sultan's artistic town Nawraspur. In it Shāh Nawāz's own palace occupied a distinctive position.²⁰¹ In the 'Ādil Shāhi court eminent poets such as Sanjar Kāshī, Malik Qummi and Zuhūri occupied prominent positions but before they died one after the other Kalīm had already carved out an important place among Shāh Nawāz's proteges. In 1020/1611-12 Shāh Nawāz himself died.

Eight years later Kalīm returned to Isfahān and stayed there for two years. He cultivated friendship with Nāzim Tabrīzi, the author of *Nazm-i Guzīda*. In 1030/1620-21 both Nāzim and Kalīm set off for Northern India. Mīr Jumla Shahrastāni, a distinguished noble of Jahāngīr became Kalīm's patron. For seven years hopes of success and despairs of failure made life a burden to Kalīm. The accession of Shāhjahān to the throne filled him with new hopes. He wrote a short poem of seven verses congratulating Shāhjahān. Both the Emperor and Āsaf Khān were deeply impressed. Shāhjahān made Kalīm the *Maliku' sh-shu'arā'*²⁰² in the first year of his reign. After the Emperor's coronation, the rulers of the neighbouring kingdoms sent ambassadors to congratulate the Emperor. The Ottoman Sultān Murād IV (1032-1049/1623-40) took exception to the assumption of the title Shāhjahān (the Emperor of the world) by an Indian Emperor. According to him the Indian Emperor was patently presumptuous, for other kings were also found in the world. Shāhjahān wished to send an appropriate reply. Kalīm came to his Emperor's rescue. He pleaded that numerical value of the letters in the word *Jahān* (world) and *Hind* (India) were equal. The Emperor of India was therefore justified to call himself the Emperor of the world. The verse containing the above argument was incorporated in a *qasīda* and recited by Kalīm in the presence of the Ottoman ambassador.

The Emperor was highly pleased and ordered that Kalīm should be weighed against silver rupees and the money should be given to him.²⁰³

When Shāhjahān sat on the Peacock throne for the first time, Kalīm recited a *qasīda* congratulating Shāhjahān. The Emperor again weighed Kalīm against silver coins and paid the money to him. The *Kulliyāt* of Kalīm is a compendium of odes composed by him on all important occa-

201 *Isnā 'Asharī Shī'īs in India*, I, pp. 276-279.

202 *Bādshāh-nāma*, I, p. 254; *'Amal-i Sālih*, III, pp. 394-96.

203 *Khizāna-i 'āmira*, pp. 391-92; *Natā'ijū'l-afkār*, pp. 601-5.

sions of Shāhjahān's reign and is a very important historical document. The celebrations of *Nawrūzs* and *'ids*, festivities of the weighing ceremonies of the Emperor, conquests of the territories, birth of princes and the important events in the lives of noblemen gave Kalīm opportunity to present *qasidas* and win admiration of the Emperor, princes and noblemen.²⁰⁴ Kalīm's poems comprising chronograms on the births and weddings of Princes, important military expeditions and conquests, condoling the deaths of the personalities, such as Mumtāz Mahal, Nawwāb Āsaf Khān and Salābat Khān are very elegant. Kashmir, its gardens and even its winter elicited Kalīm's admiration. He also loved to compose *qasidas* in favourite metres of Amīr Khusraw. Kalīm's prodigal living could not, however, be paid off by the salary, gifts, and rewards he received from the Emperor. He borrowed money and was unable to repay the loan on time. The bankers pressed for repayments. In a poem complaining his insolvency he wrote,

“The bankers insist on cash in repayment of their loan,
Behold their high handedness! They insist on cash (*naqd*) and do not
accept my life (*naqd-i jān*).”

A *qasida* which he wrote in his old age eulogizing Imām 'Alī takes stock of his past life and is full of grief for his inability to perform pilgrimage to Karbalā. A verse says,

“Ahl-i Bayt of the *Sarwar-i 'Ālam* (sovereign of the universe, the Prophet Muhammad) is the Noah's arc.
The Shāh-i Awliyā' (Prince of Wali's i.e. 'Alī) is both the arc and the sailor.”

A verse in the same *qasida* says,

“If a traveller has some one else except 'Alī as one's religious guide,
He is blind and the guide is lifeless like a wooden staff.”

Invoking 'Alī's help, Kalīm says,

“O 'Alī! I find myself helpless in the world,
Untie this knot, O king of the solver of difficulties.”

In his old age Kalīm settled in Srinagar and began to compose an epic poem which the Emperor had ordered him to undertake in 1047/1637-38

204 Hādī Hasan, *Mughal poetry*, pp. 49-50.

on the history of his own reign. Kalīm intended to give the title *Shāh-nāma* to the work after the Firdawsi's *Shāh-nāma*. It could not, however, be completed. The incomplete copies of the work in Indian and British Libraries are entitled the *Pādshāh-nāma*. The manuscript in the Khudā Bakhsh Library, Bankipur, Patna ends with Zafar Khān's expedition to Tibet in the tenth year of the Shāhjahān's reign (1109/1697).

In 1061/1651 Kalīm died. His friend Hājjī Muhammad Jān Qudsi Mashhadī, who like Abū Tālib Kalīm was commissioned by the Emperor in 1047/1637-38 to compose an epic poem on his reign, was also unable to complete it and died at Lahore in 1056/1646. Abū Tālib wrote an elegy. The concluding verse says:

“When the sweet scents of the piety reached his mind,
The nightingale Qudsi flew from this low-spirited garden.”

Hājjī Muhammad Jān Qudsi was born at Mashhad and was educated in his homeland. In a very young age he became famous as a poet. He adopted Qudsi from the shrine of Imām Rizā' which has made the town itself holy (Mashhad-i Muqaddas) as his *nom de plume*. In his youth he performed a pilgrimage to Mecca. According to 'Abdu'n-Nabi, the author of the *Maykhāna* who personally knew the poet, Qudsi returned to Mashhad. Before the completion of the *Maykhāna* in 1028/1619 at Patna, Qudsi earned his living as a *baqqāl* (green-grocer) in Mashhad and was quite rich. He also associated himself with the local governors and their courtiers.²⁰⁵ In 1041/1631 he arrived in India and was patronized by 'Abdu'llāh Khān Firūz-Jang. Shāhjahān considered that none could compete with the rewards presented by 'Abdu'llāh Khān to Qudsi. In Rabi' I 1042/October-November 1632 'Abdu'llāh Khān introduced Qudsi to Shāhjahān. Abū Tālib Kalīm had already obtained the title of the poet laureate and was at the height of his fame but Qudsi found no problems in gaining the Emperor's favour and patronage. Qudsi also received liberal rewards from the Emperor on several occasions. On 16 Shawwāl 1045/24 March 1636 he presented a *qasida* congratulating the Emperor for the *Nawrūz*. The Emperor had him weighed against silver coins; 5,500 rupees which were equivalent to his weight were paid to him. In the middle of Rabi' I 1049/June 1639 he received one hundred gold *muhurs* for a single verse in praise of the Emperor. In the beginning of 1054/1644 Qudsi composed a *qasida* congratulating the Emperor's daughter Jahān-Ārā for her escape from burning fire. He was handsomely rewarded.

The fact that Qudsi and Kalīm, both enjoying almost equal reputation, lived at the same time in the court of Shāhjahān has led several biographers

205 *Maykhāna*, pp. 539-41; *Mir'ātu'l-khayāl*, pp. 134-39; *'Amal-i Sālih*, III, pp. 389-93.

If the sky could reach the base of the throne, it would offer the sun and the moon as gifts.
The nobleman who rubs his head against the base of the throne is raised one step above the sky.
Its decoration is the tribute of the sea and mine; its shadow is (like) the shelter of the throne of God.
Glittering with multi-coloured gems, each one of which is a lantern to light the world.
The floral gems of its panel shine like the light (of God) on Mt. Sināī.
Despairing of reaching the throne, Jamshīd has lent the gem (of his ring) to decorate the leg of the throne.
With the lustrous rubies and pearls (of the throne) the dark night can provide a hundred skies with stars.
Not because of its gems but because it kisses the feet of Shāhjahān (when he takes his seat) has the value of the throne ascended to heaven.
The world bestowing King, full of youthful promise, spends all the wealth of the world on a single throne.
The God who hath elevated the Emphyrean, it is His Power which hath constructed the throne.
Till the world exists, Shāhjahān (king of the world) shall retain his seat on the throne.
A throne like this is his proper seat: the tribute of the Seven Climes lies at his feet.
When the tongue wanted to express a chronogram, the mind suggested.
Awrang-i Shāhīnshāh-i 'ādil (the throne of the just Emperor).²⁰⁸

The third great poet in Shāhjahān's court was Mīrẓā Muhammad 'Alī Sā'ib but his patriotism dominated his spirit of adventure and he did not struggle for a place in Shāhjahān's court. Sā'ib's ancestors belonged to Tabriz but his father who was the *kad-khudā* (the provost) of the merchants of Isfahān settled there. Sā'ib was born in c. 1012/1603. In his early age he evinced a special taste for poetry and associated with the learned poets such as Hakīm Ruknā, Shifā'ī and others. In his youth Sā'ib performed a pilgrimage to Mecca. After his return from Mecca he visited Mashhad. Towards the end of Jahāngīr's reign he set off for India as a merchant. At Kābul Zafar Khān Ihsān Sabzwārī, son of Khwāja Abu'l-Hasan Turbatī offered him his patronage. Sher Khān Lodī says that since Zafar Khān and Sā'ib belonged to the same sect (i.e. Shī'is) both became fast friends.

In the beginning of Shāhjahān's reign, Sā'ib accompanied Zafar Khān to the imperial court. When Shāhjahān marched to his Deccan expedition,

Mirzā Sā'ib also moved to the Deccan in Zafar Khān's retinue. At Burhanpur, Sā'ib wrote *qasidas* eulogizing Zafar Khān and Āsaf Khān. Sā'ib returned to Agra with his patron. After some months Zafar Khān was appointed the governor of Kashmir. Sā'ib also accompanied him to Kashmir. The beauty of Kashmir deeply impressed Sā'ib. Once a Kashmiri homosexual was also present in Zafar Khān's assembly. Sā'ib was reciting his poetry. The young man observed that ancient poets had exhausted all possible themes in their poetry, the contemporary poets had no choice but to repeat them in different words. Sā'ib offered his compliments to the young man and with smile on his lips recited the following verse:

“Wisemen have exhausted all the colourful topics in their verses.

The only topic that has not been described relates to the strings of your trousers.”²⁰⁹

Zafar Khān laughed and gave Sā'ib rewards.

Sā'ib did not stay in Kashmir for long. He left for Isfahān and became the court poet of Shāh 'Abbās II who gave him the title of poet laureate. In Iran Sā'ib did not forget his patron Zafar Khān and sent an ode to him for which he received five thousand rupees as reward. Shāh Sulaymān Safawī also patronized Sā'ib. In 1080/1669-70 Sā'ib died at Isfahān. Other dates of his death are also given by the authors of biographical dictionaries. The poet Wā'iz's chronogram who was Sā'ib's contemporary gives 1088/1677 as the date of Sā'ib's death.

Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgarāmī (d. 1200/1786) says that Sā'ib was a Sunnī but prudently concealed his religion from Irānī Shī'is. Consequently he was very popular among all sections of the Iranian population.²¹⁰ Sher Khān Lodī who completed the *Mir'ātu'l-khayāl* in 1120/1690-91, twenty-two or fourteen years after Sā'ib's death, however, categorically says that the reason of friendship between Mirzā Sā'ib and Zafar Khān Ihsān was their devotion to same faith. The patronage of Shāh 'Abbās II and Shāh Sulaymān to Sā'ib²¹¹ also confirms the fact that the poet was a Shī'i. Sā'ib's pilgrimage to Mashhad in his youth was not designed to convince the Shī'is of Iran of his devotion to Shī'ism but the verses in the above *qasidas* reflect his convictions and emotional attachment to Imām Rizā'.

The tradition of weighing poets against silver ended with Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān. Awrangzīb did not patronise poets and from the eleventh year of his reign banished music from his court. The migration of talented poets from Iran stopped. It is said that Awrangzīb invited Mullā

209 *Mir'ātu'l-khayāl*, pp. 140-41.

210 *Khizāna-i 'āmira*, p. 287.

211 *Natā'iju'l-afkār*, pp. 512-14.

Muhammad Tāhir of Kashmir (d. 1079/1688) to his court but the poet refused to leave his birth place. When he was forced to move to Delhi, he began to behave as a lunatic. He started writing poetry from the age of twenty and adopted 'Ghani' as his *nom de plume*. 'Ināyat Khān, the son of Zafar Khān, a Shī'ī governor of Kashmir was Ghani's patron but Ghani himself was a Sunnī.

Mirzā 'Abdu'l-Qādir Bidil who was born at Patna in 1054/1644 was the greatest Persian poet of the second half of the seventeenth century India. Until 1096/1685 he spent his life mostly in wandering from place to place. For a few years he served Prince Muhammad A'zam but before long he resigned. From 1096/1685 to his death in 1133/1721 Bidil lived in Delhi. He composed over ninety thousand verses which are imbued with *sūfic* themes. His mystic *masnawīs* and mystic treatises in prose made him popular in Afghānistān and Chinese Turkistān. Bidil was, however, also a Sunnī.²¹²

Among the Shī'ī poets of Awrangzib's reign Mir Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Muhammad Musawī Khān Fitrat was a fine poet and a high *mansabdār*. The greatest Shī'ī poet of Awrangzib's reign was, however, Mirzā Nūru'd-Dīn Muhammad 'Alī Shirāzī (d. 1120/1710). He moved from Iran to India in Shāhjahān's reign. Awrangzib appointed him as the *dārogha* (superintendent) of the royal kitchen and conferred the title Ni'mat Khān on him in 1104/1692-3. At the end of his reign Awrangzib appointed him the superintendent of the Crown-Jewels (*dārogha-i Jawāhir-khāna*) with the title Muqarrab Khān. Awrangzib's successor, Bahādur Shāh, gave him the title Dānishmand Khān.²¹³ He wrote both the historical works and poetry. His fertile imagination and profound intellect enabled him to produce subtle satire, ridiculing Awrangzib's Sunnī orthodoxy. His *qasidas* on Imāms are very profound.²¹⁴

The eighteenth century saw the rise of a large number of Persian poets but the dazzling brilliance of Shaykh 'Alī Hazīn who died at Banaras in 1180/1766 obscured other poets. He has been discussed in chapter second.²¹⁵ The greatest Persian and Urdu poet of the nineteenth century was Mirzā Asadu'llāh Khān Ghālib. He was also a Shī'ī.

His grandfather was a Turk of Samarqand. Differences with his own father prompted Ghālib's father to move to India. In Lahore Mu'īnu'l-Mulk offered him patronage. After the fall of Mu'īnu'l-Mulk, Asadu'llāh's grandfather moved to Delhi and entered into the service of Zu'lfaqāru'd-Dawla Mirzā Najaf Khān Bahādur. There 'Abdu'llāh Beg, the father of Asadu'llāh Khān, was born. When Asadu'llāh (b. 8 Rajab 1212/27

212 *Ibid.*, pp. 112-18; *Khizāna-i 'āmira*, pp. 152-67.

213 *Ma'āsiru'l-umarā'*. III, pp. 633-635.

214 *Khizāna-i 'āmira*, pp. 333-47.

215 *Supra*, pp. 107-117.

December 1797) was only five years old his father died, fighting for his employer, Rāja Bakhtāwar Singh of Alwar. Asadu'llāh Khān and his younger brother, Yūsuf Khān were brought up by their uncle, Nasru'llāh Beg Khān, a commander of 400 horse in the army of Lord Lake who conquered Delhi in 1803. When Asadu'llāh Khān was nine years old his uncle also died. The British assigned a small pension of Rs. 62.50 per mensem to Asadu'llāh. Two *parganas* of Agra which were also given in *jāgīr* to Samsāmu'd-Dawla were confiscated. Asadu'llāh settled in Delhi. The British pension remained his basic source of income throughout his life. From 1830 to 1832 he lived in Calcutta unsuccessfully struggling to have his pension increased. He supplemented his income from gifts and stipends offered by different Indian states.

Bahādur Shāh Zafar conferred upon Ghālib the bombastic title of Najmu'd-Dawla Dabīru'l-Mulk Nizām Jang and commissioned him to write a history of the Tīmūrīds at a salary of Rs. 50 a month. Until 1857 he could write only a portion of history entitled the *Mīhr-i nim-rūz*. In 1854 Wājīd 'Alī Shāh, the last king of Awadh, granted Ghālib a stipend of Rs. 500 per annum but two years later he was deposed. Ghālib was also accused of participating in the freedom struggle of 1857. His pension was stopped but ultimately Ghālib in his own inimitable style proved his neutrality. From July 1859 Nawwāb Yūsuf 'Alī Khān of Rampur who used to offer Ghālib gifts for correcting his verses granted him a salary of Rs. 100 per month. Although Ghālib lived in Delhi, he received his salary from Rampur until his death on 2 Zu'lqā'da 1285/14 February 1869. Ghālib's frequent sickness and financial worries delayed the correction of Nawwāb's verses but his salary was never affected.

Ghālib could not obtain a deep grounding in Arabic but his own instinctive interest in Persian made him perfect in that language. Later he invented the story that he had learnt Persian from one 'Abdu's-Samad of Iran in order to silence his critics. The verses of 'Urfī, Nazrī, Zuhūrī, Tālib Āmulī and Shaykh 'Alī Hazīn sharpened Ghālib's poetical creativity. Among the Indian poets he considered only Amīr Khusraw as perfect and believed that Fayzi despite his fame could merely write correct verses. He considered the seventeenth and eighteenth century poets and scholars such as Khalīfā Shāh Muhammad of Qanauj, Madho Rām, Shaykh Muhammad Ghanīmat of Gunjāh (Panjab) and Muhammad Hasan Qatīl of Delhi as the members of a pack of rabble. Ghālib urged one of his disciples, Nawwāb 'Alī Bahādur to imitate 'Urfī, Nazrī, Sā'ib and Hazīn in Persian and Mīr Taqī Mīr and Mīrzā Muhammad Rafī' Sawdā among the Urdu poets.²¹⁶

216 Imtīyāz 'Alī 'Arshī (ed), *Makātib-i Ghālib*, Bombay, 1837, pp. 17-169; Imtīyāz 'Alī 'Arshī (ed.), *Dīwān-i Ghālib*, New Delhi, 1982, 2nd edition, pp. 3-72.

One of Ghālib's master-pieces is his translation of the *Du'a Sabāh* (Morning Invocations) by Imām 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib from Arabic into Persian verses. This long invocation of the Imām which many Shi'is recite after their morning prayers is an epitome of subtle philosophical and mystical concepts on which the later Muslim philosophers and *sūfis* built the super structure of their theories. One of the lines of the Arabic invocation says,

“*Ya man dalla 'alā zātihī bizātihī
wa tanazzahā 'an mujānasati makhluqātihī*”

Ghālib translates

“*Ay ki zātash rā bizātash rahbari
Gasht az hamjinsi-i 'ālam barī.*”

It may be rendered in English as follows:

“Oh He who demonstrates His essence by His Essence, transcends congeniality with His creatures.”

The following Urdu letter truly reflects Ghālib's interest in intellectual pursuits and his religious beliefs. It would seem that in 1861 Mīrzā Mahdī Majrūh, one of Ghālib's devoted disciples, informed him from Lucknow of his interest in the study of *fiqh*.

Ghālib wrote,

“Convey my greetings to Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' [Sayyid Muhammad] and Mawlānā Sarfarāz Husayn. Tell them that I send them my greetings, they may pray for me. Dear! Why are you involved in these worries? What are you going to gain by the study of *fiqh*? If you wish to become a man, study medicine, astronomy, logic and philosophy.

“After God is the Prophet and after the Prophet is the Imām ('Alī).
This is the true religion, Good by
Repeat the name of 'Alī and live comfortably.”²¹⁷

Urdu Poetry and Prose

The eighteenth century saw the gradual replacement of Persian by Urdu. Its precursor was the corpus of early Hindi poetry written by the *sūfis* such as Shaykh Hamīdu'd-Dīn Nāgawrī (d. 673/1274), Bābā Farīd

217 Mahesh Prasad (ed.), *Khutūt-Ghālib*, Allahabad, 1941, volume I, p. 171.

to see the Emperor being blinded in 1168/1754. Many prominent Muslims and Hindus offered him employment and pension from time to time.

Between 1184/1770 and 1196/1782 even the meagre sources of Mīr's income dried up. In 1196 Mīr moved to Lucknow at Āsafu'd-Dawla's invitation and was relieved of financial worries. Mīr was not pleased with Nawwāb Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān's succession to the throne. To him Lucknow of Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān was a desolate place and he intended to move out from there. For four years Mīr Taqī did not receive any salaries. He applied for a position to the Fort William College Calcutta but his application was rejected because of his old age. Mīr Taqī remarked that he had applied for a position on the assumption that an academic was required at Calcutta. He did not know that wrestlers were in demand. In 1216/1801 Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān restored the Mīr's salary but Mīr was not reconciled with his ruler. On 20 Sha'bān 1225/20 September 1810 Mīr Taqī Mir died at Lucknow.²¹⁹

Mīr Taqī wrote a biographical dictionary of about one hundred *Rekhta* (Urdu) poets entitled the *Nikātu'sh-shu'arā'* in Persian. He also wrote his own memoirs in Persian entitled the *Zikr-i Mīr*. Both works are very important historical documents but his fame rests on his *ghazals*. They form a big section of his *Kulliyāt* (collection of poems) comprising some 13585 couplets. He also composed nine *masnawīs* concentrating mainly on love and beauty. Thirteen *masnawīs* composed by him deal with historical events. Four *masnawīs* eulogize pets such as cats, dogs and goat. A *masnawī* eulogizes one Āgha Rashīd a calligraphist. Thirteen *masnawīs* are satirical and ridicule ugly situations in his own environment. He wrote *qasīdas*, praising the Emperor of Delhi and Āsafu'd-Dawla but his best *qasīdas* eulogize the first Imām 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib. Thirty-four *marsiyas* composed by him in different metres have been discovered but he could not beat his contemporary Mīrzā Sawdā in *marsiya* writing.

The ancestors of Mīrza Muhammad Rafī' Sawdā lived in Kābul. Mīrzā Muhammad Rafī's father Mīrzā Muhammad Shafī' was a merchant. In Awrangzīb's reign he settled in Delhi. Sawdā was born in about 1125/1713. Other dates such as 1100 and 1106 assigned to his birth don't seem as correct. Around 1148/1736 Sawdā came to be regarded as an eminent Urdu poet. By the end of Muhammad Shāh's reign he had composed some of his most renowned pieces of poetry such as a *qasīda* ridiculing the miserable condition of the horse of a soldier who lived on an uncertain salary. Sawdā's satires were directed generally against the inanity and decline of the Mughal emperor. Sawdā's patron 'Imādu'l Mulk deposed and blinded the Emperor Ahmad Shāh. The tragedy

219 Russell, Ralph and Khurshīdu'l Islām, *Three Mughal poets*, Cambridge Mass., 1968, pp. 232-270; Akbar Haydarī (ed.), *Dīwān-i Mīr*, Srinagar, 1973, pp. 1-74.

shocked Mīr Taqī Mīr but Sawdā's patron was the villain of the drama. 'Imādu'l-Mulk raised 'Ālamgīr II (1161-67/1748-54) to the throne. The Emperor made Sawdā his court poet and gave him the title of *Maliku' sh-shu'arā'* (poet laureate). Sawdā was not, however, satisfied with life in Delhi. In 1168/1755 he moved to the court of Nawwāb Farrukhabad. In 1183/1769 at the invitation of Nawwāb Shujā'u'd-Dawla he left Farrukhabad for Fyzabad. He moved to Lucknow with Āsafu'd-Dawla and died on 4 Rajab 1195/26 June 1871 at Lucknow. His dead body was buried in Āghā Bāqir's Imāmbārha in Lucknow.²²⁰

Unlike Mīr Taqī Mīr, Sawdā led a care-free and gay life. He never experienced financial hardships. His *ghazals* are devoid of Mīr Taqī's lyrical ecstasy but his *qasidas* are ornate. He was regarded as unique in composing satires and always vented his spleen in satirical poems. None who appeared nasty to Sawdā was spared by him. His satires on a pseudo poet, Mawlawī Nudrat Kashmīrī, a bad physician, a Panjābī *baqqāl* (green-grocer), a miserly rich man, an old bride-groom, a tax-collector, a *kotwāl* (head of city police) apparently ridicule particular individuals but in fact they are designed to condemn the rapid decline in intellectual, social and administrative standards of his times. The satire on Mawlawī Sājid confirms the growing pro-Yazid sympathies of a section of the eighteenth century Sunnis. The satire on a bigoted person in the *Kulliyāt-i Sawdā* published by Munshī Nawalkishore Press, Lucknow is designed to ridicule Shāh Walīu'llāh Dihlawī who introduced the theory of the *khilāfat-i khāssa* (superior caliphate) of Abū Bakr and 'Umar and considered them superior to 'Alī. Shāh Walīu'llāh's principal concern was to stem the tide of the *tafzīliyya* (belief in Imām 'Alī's superiority over the Prophet's companions) groups in the Sunnis. In the manuscript of the Sawdā's *Kulliyāt* transcribed in 1232/1816-17, the poem is ascribed to Mawlawī Sājid but the John Reyland Manchester manuscript of the Sawdā's *Kulliyāt* and several other manuscripts ascribe the poem to Shāh Walīu'llāh.²²¹ Although the main objective of his poem is to assail Shāh Walīu'llāh's attempt to minimise the importance of Imām 'Alī, Sawdā in his usual style condemns Shāh Walīu'llāh lock, stock and barrel. He says,

“He (Shāh Walīu'llāh) is so deeply bigoted,
That he would not apply collyrium to his eyes if he happened to know
that it has been imported from Isfahān [A Shī'i city]
If some one might ask the reason for his decision,
He would reply that it was no Islam at all.

220 *Three Mughal poets*, pp. 37-69; Shaykh Chānd, *Sawdā*, Awrangabad, 1939, pp. 35-84, 294-95.

221 *Sawdā*, pp. 254-55.

Collyrium from a place which is inhabited by Shī'is should not be applied,

It was preferable to get blind.

Should some one take the name of 'Alī in his assembly,

he would order him to be killed believing him of the Iranian origin.

Thinking Mu'āwiya as the fifth *khalīfa*,

He sacrifices his entire self on Mu'āwiya.

He has made the following will to his disciples,

When his soul had left his (the Shāh's) body.

They should shave his beard and make a whisk,

To flap flies off Mu'āwiya's grave."

Sawdā then writes nine verses abusing Shāh Walīu'llāh and says,

"He (Shāh Walīu'llāh) boastfully says that he was a very important Shaykh,

Let not the Rāfizis honour him.

He (the Shāh) was the descendant of Imām Husayn's enemies, Who in Karbalā, had banned the water-supply of the Furāt river to Ahl-i Bayt."

The verses exhibit the bad taste of the Sawdā's age and Sawdā's enthusiasm to compose abusive verses. Perhaps Sawdā's contemporary Shī'is and his admirers enjoyed them but none would appreciate them in modern times. Sawdā also deeply resented the low standard of poetry found in the *marsiyas* of his contemporary poets. To him it was designed to pander to the taste of the devotees whose main concern was to shed tears on the tragedy of Karbalā. Sawdā tried to make the *marsiyas* artistic. For about forty years in his life he composed *marsiyas* but he was not himself satisfied with his own efforts. His audience was also not impressed. He says,

"*Marsiya* is a form of poetry which make people cry when it is recited before them, When Sawdā recites his *marsiya*, people keep mum."²²²

Urdu *marsiyas* had to wait for some more years before they could be perfected by Mīr Hasan's grandson Mīr Anīs and his contemporary Mīrza Dabir. Mīr Hasan's father Mīr Ghulām Husayn Zāhik of Delhi was the hero of a number of Sawdā's satires in which his wife Hamida was also not spared by Sawdā. It would seem that both Zāhik and Sawdā

quarrelled during their stay at Fyzabad. Zāhik was also expert in writing satires. Zāhik retaliated and their contemporaries enjoyed the slanderous poetry composed both by Sawdā and Zāhik. After Zāhik's death in about 1196/1782 Sawdā is said to have apologized to the family of the deceased.²²³

Zāhik's son Mīr Ghulām Hasan was born at Delhi in 1141/1728-29 or 1142/1729-30. After Durrāni's second invasion over Delhi in 1174/1759 Mīr Hasan moved to Fyzabad with his father. An important dignitary of Shujā'ud-Dawla's court, Sālār Jang Bahādur became his patron. Mīr Hasan's *masnawī* the *Gulzār-i Iram* completed in 1192/1778 shows that Angūrī Bāgh, Motī Bāgh, Chawk, Tripuliya and roads in the city centre made Mīr Hasan forget Delhi. After the transfer of capital from Fyzabad to Lucknow, Mīr Hasan's financial circumstances were deeply straitened. He visited Lucknow but Āsafu'd-Dawla paid no attention to him. He presented his *magnum opus*, the *Sahrū'l-bayān* to Āsafu'd-Dawla but could not receive adequate recognition. In 1201/1786-87 he died at Lucknow.²²⁴

Hasan's miserable life like that of Mīr's made his *ghazals* deeply sensitive. Mīr Hasan was however a born story-teller and a deep connoisseur of human psychology. These qualities made him the greatest Urdu poet of romantic *masnawīs*. In 1181/1767 he composed his first *masnawī* entitled the *Shādī* (wedding). It describes the festivities of Āsafu'd-Dawla's wedding. The last one entitled the *Sahrū'l-bayān* was compiled in 1199/1785. It is Mīr Hasan's master-piece. He composed thirteen other *masnawīs*. The *Rumūzu'l-'arīfīn* completed by Mīr Hasan around 1188/1784 is a didactic *masnawī*. Eight *sūfic* anecdotes are designed to inculcate ascetic morality in the readers. The *Gulzār-i Iram* completed in 1192/1778 is an important historical document. It describes the poet's travels from Delhi to Fyzabad. Lucknow was then a petty miserable town but the capital Fyzabad was very attractive. The crowds of the city centre (Chawk) and the lively scenes of sale and purchase reflect the economic prosperity of Fyzabad. The prostitutes and dancing girls freely roamed in Lāl Bāgh (Red Garden) in their most attractive attire and captivated the hearts of men. The *masnawī* reflects the decline in moral standards that had already penetrated into Fyzabad of Shujā'ud-Dawla's reign. The small and dilapidated house of Mīr Hasan described in a *masnawī* was a hell for all the seasons. The overflow of dirty water, from the adjacent house of a *baqqāl* (green grocer) had made the life impossible. Lucknow of Āsafu'd-Dawla was unable to captivate Mīr Hasan's heart. He, however, composed his master-piece, the *Sahrū'l-bayān* hanging between a state of hope and despair. The *masnawī* did not make Mīr Hasan rich as he wished but it made him immortal as a romantic poet.

223 Fazlu'l-Haqq, *Mīr Hasan*, Delhi, 1973, pp. 34-84.

224 *Ibid.*, pp. 85-109; *Three Mughal poets*, pp. 69-75.

Three *marsiya*s composed by Mīr Hasan have been discovered. Some *nawhas*²²⁵ composed by him have also been published. Although the corpus of Mīr Hasan's elegies dealing with the martyrs of Karbalā is not big, it indicates that the stage was set for his grandson Mīr Anīs to make *marsiya*s artistic and articulate.

Untli the end of eighteenth century A.D., poets such as Mīr Taqī Mīr, Sawdā, Zāhik and Mīr Hasan had been moving from Delhi to Lucknow in order to seek patronage and livelihood. After the British occupation of Delhi in 1803, life again became peaceful and poets, intellectuals and artists settled down in Delhi. Among them was the great poet Ghālib whose Persian poetry has been mentioned in the previous pages. Ghālib's contributions to enriching Urdu was unique for it extended both to the realm of poetry and prose.

Ghālib commenced composing verses both in Persian and in Urdu from a young age. In 1816 he had himself compiled his *Dīwān*. From 1822 to 1852, however, he composed mostly Persian verses. From 1850 his associations with Bahādur Shāh's court prompted Ghālib to pay more attention to Urdu. The principal incentives were the *mushā'iras* (poetical gatherings) in the Red Fort where Ghālib also recited his newly composed *ghazals*. The editors of news-papers of Delhi and Agra were also Ghālib's friends. Their requests forced Ghālib to send his newly composed poems to them for publication.

In his early Urdu poetry Ghālib tried to follow the complex style of the Persian poet Bīdil but before long he was convinced that Bīdil could not be his model. The influence of Zuhūri, 'Urfi and Nazīri on his Persian poetry stepped up creativity and beauty in his Urdu poetry. He tried to inculcate his reformed taste among his disciples who belonged to various religious communities and social groups. In his letters to his disciples correcting their *ghazals*, Ghālib invariably justified his corrections and gave them instructions to improve their style. Sometimes he was annoyed at their mistakes and warned his disciples in a very subtle style. Gradually Ghālib became a unique correspondent in his own right both in Persian and in Urdu. His Urdu letters are more frank and lively. He encouraged his disciples to imitate his style and appreciated the success achieved by some of them. Like his *Dīwān*, collection of Ghālib's letters were also published in his life time. The first collection was compiled by Chawdhari 'Abdu'l Ghafūr Sarūr. It was entitled *Mīhr-i Ghālib* and comprised letters of literary importance written by Ghālib to the Chawdhari. The second collection of literary letters was compiled by Khwāja Ghulām Ghaws Khān Bikhābar. It was entitled the '*Ūd-i Hindī* and published at Meerut about four months before Ghālib's death. A collection of all types of

Ghālib's letters was compiled in his life time and corrected by Ghālib himself. It was published after Ghālib's death and entitled the *Urdu-i mu'allā'* volume I. In 1899 Ghālib's friend and biographer Khwāja Altāf Husayn Hāli added the letters written by Ghālib to him and published it as a second part of the *Urdu-i mu'allā'* volume I. Three other collections of Ghālib's unpublished letters also saw the light of the day. Of these the *Makātib-i Ghālib* comprising letters written by Ghālib to the rulers of Rampur edited by Imtiāz 'Alī Arshī is very important.²²⁶

Ghālib wrote letters in the form of dialogues. His subtle humour, self-criticism and witty remarks have made Ghālib the best Urdu prose writer.

After 1857-58 the changing needs of the times prompted Urdu prose writers to imitate the clarity of Ghālib's expression. The retelling of the classical stories in ornate prose which was popular before 1857-58 lost its kudos. Literary criticism, biographical and historical works and essays on the pattern of English authors became popular. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān, Khwāja Altāf Husayn Hāli, Nazīr Ahmad and their friends made singular contributions to the Urdu prose. A unique style was, however, invented by Āghā Muhammad Bāqir's son Muhammad Husayn Āzād. He was born in June 1830. Between 1848 and 1852 he was educated at the Delhi College. In the College he studied the *Sunnī fiqh* in order to avoid the classes of his father's rival Mawlānā Ja'far 'Alī, the lecturer on *Shī'i fiqh*. Mawlānā Muhammad Husayn became a disciple of the leading Urdu poet Shaykh Muhammad Ibrāhīm Zawq and intensely admired him. Naturally he avoided the company of Zawq's rival *Shī'i* Ghālib.

In 1836 Āghā Muhammad Bāqir founded a weekly newspaper, the *Dihli Urdū Akhbār*. Āzād began to contribute his poems and prose pieces to it. In 1857 his father was sentenced to death for participating in the rebellion against the British. Muhammad Husayn left Delhi and moved as a refugee from Delhi to Bombay, Lucknow, Siyalkot and Jind. In 1860, Āghā Bāqir's disciple Mawlānā Rajab 'Alī Shāh made him the editor of his newspaper the *Majma'u'l-bahrayn* which he had established in Ludhiana. In 1861 Āzād moved to Lahore and took up a minor position in the office of post-master general. In 1864 he was offered a minor position in the Education Department, Panjab. A year later he was assigned a diplomatic mission by the Government of India to compile a report on Central Asia. From 1865 to 1867 he lived in Tāshqand, Samarqand, Bukhārā and in other Central Asian towns. After his return to Lahore he worked as a lecturer of Arabic and mathematics firstly at Government College, Lahore and then at Oriental College, Lahore until his retirement, in 1889. He also worked as a translator in the Government Central Book Depot, Lahore.

In 1837 he was awarded the well-deserved title of Shamsu'l-'Ulamā'. Before retirement he had become a lunatic and died on 22 January 1910 in Lahore.²²⁷

Muhammad Husayn Āzād was an educationist, a linguist, a social reformer and a patriot. Besides historical and general text book for all level of students in Urdu and Persian which the Indian schools taught in their classes for about fifty years, Mawlānā Āzād's monumental contributions to scholarship are the *Āb-i Hayāt* and, the *Darbār-i Akbarī*, the *Sukhandānān-i Faras* and the *Nayrang-i Khayāl*. His lively prose style and subtle satires are inimitable. The *Āb-i Hayāt* first published in 1881 is the biographical dictionary of Urdu poets. Some anecdotes relating to the lives of the poets seem imaginary, nevertheless they mirror the social milieu of the poets and their distinctive contributions to Urdu poetry. The *Darbār-i Akbarī*, first published in 1898, describes Akbar's history through biographies of the Emperor's dignitaries. They exhibit the Mawlānā's deep hatred to the religious bigotry and sectarian narrow-mindedness. Āzād's study and analysis of the sources of Akbar's history are remarkable but it is the expressive prose of Āzād that has made the *Darbār-i Akbarī* as one of the best works on history in Urdu. The *Nayrang-i Khayāl* by Mawlānā Āzād, first published in 1898, is a collection of lively essays wherein the vigour of Āzād's imagination runs riot and makes the essays an important contribution to the creative Urdu prose.

Shī'ī Historians

Shī'īs made singular contributions to all branches of Persian and Urdu prose. Their contributions to scientific, philosophical and religious literature have already been discussed in previous pages. Contributions to the historical literature which the Shī'īs made in Persian and Urdu call for an independent discussion. The part played by Mullā Ahmad in the compilation of the *Tārīkh-i Alfī* has already been discussed. Mirzā Qjwāmu'd-Dīn Ja'far Beg Āsaf Khān who compiled the second half of the *Tārīkh-i Alfī* was an Iranian, a free-thinker and a disciple of Akbar. Since he was the son of Mirzā Badi'ū'z-Zamān Qazwīnī, a *wazīr* of notoriously Shī'ī region of Kāshān, Ja'far Beg also seems to have been a Shī'ī.

Towards the end of Akbar's reign, the historiography of Abu'l-Fazl relegated other historians to background. The *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī* by the Emperor Jahāngīr is the primary source for the history of his reign. Muhammad Sharīf (to be distinguished from Amīru'l Umarā' Sharīf Khān) entitled Mu'tamad Khān, who undertook the completion of the *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī* from 1031/1622, also belonged to a distinguished Iranian family but no precise information about his sectarian beliefs is available.

227 Aslam Farrukhī, *Muhammad Husayn Āzād*, Karachi, 1965, I, pp. 49-384.

Mirzā Muhammad Jalālu'd-Dīn or Jalālā Tabātabā'ī Zawāri Isfahānī, the author of the *Pādshāhnāma* (a prolix account from the 5th to the eighth solar years of Shāhjahān's reign), Mirzā Muhammad Amin bin Abi'l-Husayn Qazwīnī, the author of the *Pādshāhnāma* (a history of the first ten years of Shāhjahān's reign), Muhammad Qulī Salīm Tīhrānī, a protegee of Islām Khān Mashhadī, the author of a *masnawī* on the victories of Islām Khān in Kūch Hājo and Assam, Mīr Muhammad Yahya of Kāshān, the author of the *Pādshāhnāma* (a metrical history of Shāhjahān's reign), Muhammad Tāhir "Ashnā" entitled 'Ināyat Khān, the son of Shī'ī Zafar Khān Ahsan, the author of the *Mulakhkhas* (an abridgement) of the *Pādshāhnāma* by 'Abdu'l-Hamid Lāhawri) and Boshishtī Shīrāzī, the author of the *Ashūb-nāma-i Hindūstān* (a war of succession between Shāhjahān's sons from the rise of Prince Murād Bakhsh at Ahmadabad in 1067/1657 to the death of Dārā Shukōh in 1069/1659) were Irānis. Some of them were Shi'is. The epics composed by Qudsi and Kalīm on Shāhjahān's reign have already been discussed.

Mirzā Muhammad Sādiq "Sādiqī" bin Muhammad Sālih Zubayrī Isfahānī Āzādānī, the author of *Subh-i Sādiq* and a friend of Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī's son, Abu'l-Ma'ālī, was definitely a Shi'ī. He was born at Surat in 1018/1609, where his father was in the service of the Khān-i Khānān Mirzā 'Abdu'r-Rahīm. Shāhjahān appointed him news-writer and soon after his accession gave him a petty *mansab* in Bengal. There his friendship with Abu'l-Ma'ālī promoted intellectual activities and interest in Shi'ism. He died in Bengal in 1001/1651 at the age of forty-three. In 1041/1631-2 he commenced his voluminous work, the *Subh-i Sādiq* and completed it in 1048/1638-39. He dedicated it to Shāhjahān's second son Shāh Shujā', the governor of Bengal. It comprises comprehensive historical, biographical and geographical notes from the earliest time to 1048/1638. Its first volume comprises the history from the creation to the 'Abbāsids, the second volume deals with the Persian dynasties, the third volume comprises notes on the celebrated men of the first ten centuries and the fourth volume deals with geography. It is the third volume particularly its concluding folios which are most valuable. In the latter he profusely draws upon the *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn* by Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī.

In 1054/1644 Mirzā Muhammad Sādiq commenced his encyclopaedic work entitled the *Shāhid-i Sādiq*, comprising notes on religious, ethical, philosophical, historical and cosmographical problems, miscellaneous notes and obituaries. He devoted three years to the work. In 1056/1646 he visited Jawnpur where he re-organized the material and completed the work in 1056/1648. The work eulogises the *Khulafā-i Rāshidūn* but gives precedence to the friendship of Ahl-i Bayt and waxes eloquent in eulogizing them. The seventy-ninth *fasl* (section) of the third chapter dealing with history is a valuable compendium of important events. The births, deaths

and incidents connected with the lives of Prophet Muhammad and his companions, the Imāms, kings, eminent authors, poets, saints and other distinguished personages are given under each year in chronological order from the first year of *hijra* down to 1040/1631. Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī's *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn* was a great help to the author.

Some important historians of Awrangzīb's reign were also Shī'īs. In his apologetic work on Awrangzīb, entitled *Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr par ek nazar* in Urdu, Shibli Nu'mānī mentions the following works:

1. *'Ālamgīr-nāma* by Kāzīm Shirāzī (*sic*) containing the account of the first ten years of Awrangzīb's reign. Its drafts were perused by the Emperor himself.
2. *Ma'āsīr-i 'Ālamgīrī* by Musta'id Khān Sāqī, an official of Awrangzīb. The account of the first ten years of the Emperor's reign have been summarised from the *'Ālamgīr-nāma*.
3. *Muntakhabu'l-lubāb* by Khāfi Khān. The author's father was employed under 'Ālamgīr's government. In the last years of the Emperor's reign Khāfi Khān had also obtained a position in 'Ālamgīr's court. This book was written ten years after 'Ālamgīr's death. All the above three works were published in Calcutta.
4. *Waqī'āt-i 'Ālamgīrī* by 'Āqil Khān. The author was one of 'Ālamgīr's nobles. Although the book had been written in 'Ālamgīr's reign, it was not published in the Emperor's reign. Khāfi Khān has himself mentioned this fact. Consequently he has written all the events without inhibition.
5. Bernier's travels comprise events witnessed by the author.
6. *Fayyāzu'l-qawānīn* comprises letters of the rulers of India, Iran, [Prince] Shujā', 'Ālamgīr and Tīmūrid noblemen. It also includes letters of Mīrzā Murād which were written during his preparations to march in collaboration with 'Ālamgīr against Dārā Shukōh. The letters were collected by Mullā Fayyāz in 1134/1712-22. A copy of the manuscript from the library of our friend Nawwāb 'Alī Husayn Khān is in our possession.

Shibli goes on to say, "Although the first two works are detailed and are very helpful in defending 'Ālamgīr we cannot quote them as a source, for in a way 'Ālamgīr himself is the author of *'Ālamgīr-nāma*. The controversial portions of *Ma'āsīr* are based on the *'Ālamgīr-nāma*. We shall be quoting these works only for such matters as are corroborated by other historians. We strictly hate to differentiate between Shī'īs and Sunnīs. We believe that those who arouse hatred between Islamic sects are enemies of the nation and mean. It is a fact that some people earn their livelihood by arousing sectarian differences. Our duty as an historian, however, compels us to assert that 'Ālamgīr was a Sunnī and all his historians such as Ni'mat Khān, [Alī], Kāzīm Shirāzī, 'Āqil Khān and Khāfi Khān were Shī'īs.

“We, however, do not mean to say that the sectarian beliefs of these historians have made their works unreliable. We wish to point out that the Asian historians are willy nilly influenced by their religious beliefs. As a matter of fact European historians are also not indifferent to these pressures but the Asian historians like the European ones cannot express their religious bigotry in a subtle manner?”²²⁸

Despite his claims of fair-mindedness Shibli defends Awrangzib mainly by debunking the beliefs of the Shi'i historians. For example he says, “Ni'mat Khān-i 'Alī filled his *Waqā'i* with Awrangzib's vilifications but the Emperor's successor Bahādur Shāh gave Ni'mat Khān the title Dānishmand Khān (The scholar Khān). *Waqā'i* written by him ['Alī] became a school text book. How can 'Ālamgir expect a fair deal from a successor such as Bahādur Shāh, historians such as Ni'mat Khān-i 'Alī, Khāfi Khān and Shāh Nawāz Khān?”²²⁹

Defending Awrangzib's discriminatory laws and imperial decrees to abolish higher schools of Hindu learnings, destruction of Hindu temples and imposition of *jizya*, Shibli says, “Īrāni historians who find fault with all the decrees of the Emperor generalise facts which were applicable to special situations.”²³⁰ Shibli then goes on to demonstrate that Awrangzib's discriminatory laws were meant for specific situations and special circumstances. For example Awrangzib had dismissed Hindus from some particular services in order to prevent corruption but according to Musta'id Khān, Hindus were totally dismissed from services. Presenting his apologies for Awrangzib's destruction of Hindu temples, Shibli sarcastically says, “The hostile Īrāni historians were not concerned to describe the causes and the factors that led to the destruction of temples.”²³¹

Although Shibli is unable to paint Awrangzib in the colour of his own choice on the basis of the contemporary historical works of Awrangzib's reign, the Emperor's history would have been reduced to legends without the Īrāni historians whom Shibli calls Shi'is. Of these the earliest 'Āqil Khān whose name was Mir 'Alī 'Askarī was a disciple of the Shattārī saint Burhānu'd-Dīn Burhānpūrī called Rāz-i Ilāhī. 'Āqil Khān's title Rāzī does not indicate his origin from Ray. He died at Burhanpur in 1083/1672-3 or 1089/1678. In 1053/1643-4 he compiled the discourses of his *pir* under the title *Samratu'l-hayāt*. He was second *bakhshī* to Prince Muhammad Awrangzib, who after his accession conferred upon him the title of 'Āqil Khān. In 1091-92/1680-81 he was appointed the governor of Delhi and held that office until his death at the age of eighty-two in Rabi' II 1108/October-

228 Shibli Nu'mānī, *Aurangzib 'Ālamgir par ek nazar*, Lahore, 1909, pp. 82-84.

229 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

230 *Ibid.*, p. 74.

231 *Ibid.*, pp. 68, 75, 78.

November 1696. He was a fine poet and wrote stylistic prose. A treatise on *sūfi* meditation by him entitled the *Naghmāt-i Rāzi* has been published. He might have been originally a Shī'i but *sūfism* was his principal interest. His *Waqī'āt-i 'Ālamgīri* or *Zafar-nāma-i 'Ālamgīri* deals with the first two years of Awrangzīb's reign and gives a fairly balanced account of the war of succession which to some historians was a war between Sunni orthodoxy represented by Awrangzīb and heterodoxy represented by Dārā Shukōh.

Munshī Muhammad Kāzim, the official historian of Awrangzīb who compiled the history of the first ten years of the Emperor's reign to the end of Rajab 1078/15 January 1658 was the son of Mirza Muhammad Amīn bin Abī'l-Husayn Qazwīnī. Like his father he also might have been a Shī'i but the evidences are not conclusive. As drafts were perused by the Emperor himself, Shī'i prejudices could not penetrate into it. Nevertheless Awrangzīb does not emerge as a fair-minded Emperor even in the above work.

Muhammad Sāqī Musta'id Khān was brought up by Awrangzīb's favourite eunuch Bakhtāwar Khān. Awrangzīb deeply mourned the death of Bakhtāwar on 15 Rabī' I 1096/1684-85 and acted as an *imām* at his funeral. Musta'id Khān worked as a *munshī* and a *dīwān* in the establishment of Bakhtāwar Khān. During the last seventeen years of Bakhtāwar's life Muhammad Sāqī assisted his patron in the compilation of his *magnum opus*, the *Mir'ātul-'ālam*. After Bakhtāwar Khān's death Awrangzīb authorised Musta'id Khān to publish the *Mir'ātul-'ālam*. Awrangzīb appointed Musta'id Khān successively as a *mushrif-i khawāsān* and *munshī-i nizārat*.

After Awrangzīb's death his favourite 'Ināyatu'llāh Khān Kashmīrī son of Mirzā Shukru'llāh (the compiler of two separate collections of Awrangzīb's letters and official notes entitled the *Ahkām-i 'Ālamgīri* and the *Kalimāt-i Tayyibāt*) urged Muhammad Sāqī Musta'id Khān to compile the history of the last forty years of Awrangzīb's reign, which was not included in the *'Ālamgīr-nāma* because of the abolition of the position of the official chronicler by the Emperor. Muhammad Sāqī was not chosen by 'Ināyatu'llāh Khān because of his Shī'ism or of his Iranian origin but because of the training he had obtained under Bakhtāwar Khān. Musta'id Khān's access to the papers of 'Ināyatu'llāh Khān and to the official records and news-letters enabled him to compile an authentic history of the last forty years, of Awrangzīb's reign. The account of the first ten years of the Emperor's reign was abridged from the *'Ālamgīr-nāma* by Munshī Muhammad Kāzim. Muhammad Sāqī Musta'id Khān's *Mā'āsīr-i 'Ālamgīri* saw the light of the day in 1122/1710-11. Although two other histories of Awrangzīb written by two Hindus, Isar Dās Nāgar and Bhīm Sen have also become available, the importance of the *Mā'āsīr-i 'Ālamgīri* remains unquestionable. Of the works of Hindu historians, the *Futūhāt-i 'Ālamgīri* by Isar Dās Nāgar is a history of Awrangzīb to the 30th

year of his reign (1101-2/1690-1). From his youth to the thirtieth year of his life Isar Dās was in constant attendance upon the Qāzī Shaykhu'l-Islām son of Qāzī 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb. Both the qāzīs were Awrangzīb's favourites, 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb was Awrangzīb's henchman but Shaykhu'l-Islām was a man of ascetic temperament and known for his impartial judgement. Isar Dās collected his informations mainly from these two dignitaries. The work comprises important notes on Awrangzīb's relations with Rājput for Isar Dās was personally responsible in persuading the Rājput chief Durgā Dās Rāthor to submit to the Emperor. The *Dilkushā* by Bhīm Sen is based mainly on the author's personal recollections of military transactions in the Deccan from 1068/1658 to 1120/1709. The author presents a valuable analysis of the catastrophic repercussions of Awrangzīb's Deccan policy. Perhaps Shibli did not have access to these two sources and to the daily bulletins of the news-writers which go a long way to show that Musta'id Khān's compilation was most sympathetic and presents Awrangzīb's complex personality in a balanced manner.

Muhammad Hāshim Khān belonged to Khwāf or Khāf near Hirāt. Khwāf was one of the most miserable districts of Khurāsān. Its inhabitants were harsh and boorish but were sincerely devoted to their masters. The loyalty of Shaykh Mīr of Khwāf to Awrangzīb led to the promotion of the people of the region in his reign. Mīr 'Alī 'Askarī 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, the author of the *Waqi'āt-i 'Ālamgiri* also belonged to Khwāf. According to Shibli the *Waqi'āt-i 'Ālamgiri* was kept secret by the author but this myth is generally ascribed to the *Muntakhabu'l-lubāb* by Khāfi Khān. The work does not itself mention any secrecy. According to Elliot the title Khāfi Khān was bestowed on Muhammad Hāshim for secretly writing Awrangzīb's history; Khāfi meaning "concealed". Dowson, disputing Elliot's contention, rightly points out that Khwāf was a district in Nīshāpūr which produced some eminent personalities such as Shaykh Zaynu'd-Dīn "Wafā'i" Khwāfi who was commissioned by Bābur to write his victory despatches.²³² Zaynu'd-Dīn also summarized the portions relating to the Indian period of Bābur's life in ornate prose. Other eminent historical personalities also belonged to the district. It is really astonishing that a scholar of Shibli's eminence, who was aware of Khwāf and its intellectual contributions, should accept the popular myth as an historical fact.

In fact, Awrangzīb's history was not written by Khāfi Khān at all. It is the verbatim copy of another history of Awrangzīb from 1068/1657-58 onwards, by Abu'l-Fazl Ma'mūrī so much so that some scholars consider Ma'mūrī's history as the first draft of Khāfi Khān's *Muntakhabu'l-lubāb*. Ma'mūrī's history is scarce. A copy of the work is available in Razā Library, Rampur and another copy in British Library, London. Khāfi Khān,

232 Elliot & Dowson, *History of India*, VII, p. 208.

however, made Ma'mūrī's work immortal by incorporating it in his *Muntakhabu'l-lubāb*. Nothing is known about Ma'mūrī's religious beliefs. Perhaps he was not a Shī'i.

Khāfi Khān divided the *Muntakhabu'l-lubāb* into three volumes, the first volume, dealing with the history of Muslim rulers in India to the reign of Lodīs was never completed, the third volume containing the history of different provinces is an abridgement of the *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* of Firishta and other histories. The second volume beginning with the reign of Bābur ends with the events of 1137/1724. The section from 1137/1724 to 1144/1731 deals mainly with the history of Iran. In fact, the most valuable part of the *Muntakhabu'l-lubāb* is the history of Awrangzīb's successors from 1707 to 1724. It shows that Khāfi Khān was endowed with a sensitive heart and was strongly opposed to injustice and tyranny. He was deeply concerned with the growing inanity of the Mughal empire, and with the breakdown of the Mughal institutions and the liberal traditions which had sustained the empire for more than one hundred fifty years.

Khāfi Khān was born about 1074/1603-64, and spent his early life in the Deccan. From 1093/1682 he was given both the military and civil assignments. Awrangzīb's successor Emperor Bahādur Shāh appointed Khāfi Khān as the *qala'dār* (governor of the fort) of Champānīr in Gujarat. In Farrukhsiyar's reign Qilich Khān (Nizāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur Fath-Jang), the newly appointed Viceroy of the Deccan, made Khāfi Khān his *dīwān*, but after the suppression of Nizāmu'l-Mulk and his return to Delhi, Khāfi Khān lost his position. After three years of unemployment, he was appointed the *amīn* and *fawjdār* of the *mahāl* (a fiscal division) of Mustafabad in Khandesh. He was more grateful for employment to the Sunnī Nizāmu'l-Mulk than to the Sayyid brothers who are regarded as Shī'is by some authors. He died sometime after 1144/1731-2.²³³

The principal historian of the decline and fall of the Mughal empire in the eighteenth century, Nawwāb Ghulām Husayn Tabātābā'i, was a Shī'i. His parents had settled in Delhi where Ghulām Husayn was born in 1140/1727-8. Unlike Khāfi Khān, Ghulām Husayn had not witnessed the splendour and glory of the Mughal empire. When he was only five, his parents and grand parents moved to Murshidabad to live in prosperous and affluent state of Bengal. 'Alī Wardī Khān Mahābatjang, then governor of Bihar, was a close relative of the family. He took Ghulām Husayn's father, Hidāyat 'Alī, to 'Azīmābād (Patna), and after some time made him a deputy-governor. Around 1746 Hidāyat 'Alī moved to Delhi and served as the manager of the *jāgīr* of Ghaziu'd-Dīn Khān Firūz-Jang, the eldest son of Nizāmu'l-Mulk, in Bareilly. Because of the predominance of the Sunnī Rohella Afghāns Hidāyat 'Alī controlled the region with great

233 *Muntakhabu'l-lubāb*, II, pp. 282, 424-7, 562, 593, 748, 798, III, p. 177.

difficulty for about two years, after which the return of the Rohella chief 'Alī Muhammad from Sirhind early in 1748 forced him to return to Delhi.

Ghulām Husayn's official career was very chequered. After the British occupation of Bengal in the wake of their victory at the battle-field of Plassey in 1757, Ghulām Husayn led a very unstable life, sometimes joining the British and sometimes joining the Bengal Nawwābs. He also played the role of intermediary between the British and Indian Chiefs. Many British officers befriended Ghulām Husayn and helped him in his difficulties. The Governor-General Warren Hastings (1774-85) was impressed with Ghulām Husayn's ability to write fine diplomatic letters in Persian, and seems to have employed him for some time as a *munshī* (secretary). After 1230/1815 Ghulām Husayn died.²³⁴

He wrote many works such as an Arabic commentary on the Qur'ān, a Persian commentary on the *masnawī* of Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī and theological works on Shī'ī faith, but his fame rests on his monumental *Siyarū'l-muta'akhhirīn* containing a history of India from Awrangzīb's death to 1195/1781. The work was begun in Safar 1194/February 1780 and completed in Ramazān 1195/August 1781. The first volume deals with the history of the Mughal emperors in the eighteenth century from the time of Awrangzīb's death to Nādir Shāh's departure from India in 1152/1739, the second volume contains the history of Bengal from the death of Nawwāb Shujā'u'd-Dawla of Awadh in Zu'lhiġja 1151/March 1739 to 1195/1781, and the third volume deals with the history of India from 1153/1740 to 1195/1781. The concluding section of the book contains remarks on Awrangzīb's character and an account of his conquest of Bijapur and Golkonda. An introduction (*muqaddīma*) containing a portion of Sujān Rāy's *Khulāsatu'l-tawārīkh* with a note dedicating the work to Warren Hastings was added later.

The earlier portion of the work draws heavily upon the *Muntakhabū'l-lubāb*, but the later portion is based on the author's own researches. It is a mine of information on Bengal and its administrative system. The work gives a valuable analysis on the factors leading to the decline and fall of the Mughal empire. Ghulām Husayn also expresses his dismay at British ignorance of the Indian administrative systems involving such features as the annual payment of revenue by *zamīndār* to the treasury. He exhibits awareness to the fact that such institutions as tributes, revenue from agriculture and land, *Subadārī* (provincial governorship), *fawjdārī* (head of the district civil and police administration), and *jāgīr* (assignment of land revenue in lieu of military service) were not to be found in Britain. Similarly, there was a vital difference of attitude between the British and the Indians regarding different types of crimes. Some crimes which the Indians consi-

234 *Siyarū'l-muta'akhhirīn*, II, pp. 573, 649, 674, III, pp. 129, 948.

dered insignificant were regarded heinous in Britain, and vice versa.

A number of other historians also wrote on different aspects of the fall of the Mughal empire in the eighteenth century. Two interesting genre of history of the eighteenth century were *Shahr āshūb* and *'Ibrat-nāma*. These works were designed to arouse the interest of Mughal dignitaries to saving the empire from its precipitous fall. Mawlawī Khayru'd-Dīn Muhammad Ilāhābādī (1751-1827), the author of one of the most detailed *'Ibrat-nāma* was a perspicacious historian and a zealous Shī'i. He was born at Allahabad in Safar 1165/1715 and was educated at Allahabad and Jawnpur. First he worked as a teacher in Allahabad. After the treaty of Banaras in 1773, Allahabad was transferred to Nawwāb Shujā'u'd-Dawla. The Nawwāb confiscated the stipends of the teachers of Allahabad forcing Khayru'd-Dīn to seek employment with the officers of the East India Company. He was attached with the staff of Captain W. Bruce, assisted James Anderson, British Resident in the Mahratta leader Sindiā's camp. He also served under the Mughal prince Jahāndār Shāh and then under Āsafu'd-Dawla, the Nawwāb of Awadh. In 1209/1794-5, the practice of appointing British judges and registrars was introduced. Khayru'd-Dīn served under two successive judges at Jawnpur. About 1827 he died. Besides the monumental *Ibrat-nāma* Khayru'd-Dīn wrote the histories of Banaras, Jawnpur, Gwalior, a history of India from Nādir Shāh's invasion to the death of Najaf Khān. *Khayru'l-majālis* is an abridgement of Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustari's *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*. He wrote separate books refuting chapters from the *Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya* by Shāh Abdu'l-'Azīz. Of these only the *Tawāli-i 'Azīz*, *Armughān-i 'Azīz* and *I'tizār-i 'Azīz* are available.

Some historians of the provincial dynasties were also Shī'is. 'Alī Sher Qāni' Thattawī who wrote the history of Sind entitled the *Tuhfatul-kirām* in 1180/1766-67 seems to have been a Shī'i. He was the author of *I'lān-i gham* comprising an account of the martyrs of Karbalā and the *Mukhtār-nāma*. The anonymous author of the *Bahāristān-i Shāhī*, a history of Kashmir, and Haydar Malik, the author of the *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr* were Shī'is. Historians of the Awadh dynasty were mostly Shī'is. Prominent ones among them were Abū Tālib Isfahānī (Landanī), the author of the *Tafzīhu'l-ghāfilīn*, Āghā Muhammad 'Alī Bihbihānī, the author of the *Tārīkh-i Wazīr 'Alī*, Sayyid Ghulām 'Alī Khān Naqawī, the author of the *'Imādu's-sa'adat* and Sayyid Kamālu'd-Dīn Haydar, the author of the *Sawānihāt-i salātīn-i Awadh* or the *Qaysaru't-tawārikh*.

Yūsuf 'Alī Khān bin Ghulām 'Alī Khān, the author of the *Tārīkh-i Mahābat-Jang* or *Tārīkh-i 'Alī Wardī Khān* of Bengal also seems to have been a Shī'i. Most of the historians of the Deccan were also Shī'is. The most prominent among them are Sayyid 'Alī bin 'Azīzu'llāh Tabātabā'i, the author of the *Burhān-i ma'āsīr*, Rafīu'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm bin Nūru'd-Dīn Tawfiq Shirāzī, the author of the *Tazkiratu'l-mulūk*, Hāshim Beg Fuzūnī

Astarābādī, the author of the *Futūhāt-i 'Ādil Shāhī*, Mahmūd bin 'Abdu'llāh Nishāpūrī, the author of the *Ma'āsir-i Qutb-Shāhī-i Mahmūdi*, Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad bin 'Abdu'llāh al-Shirāzī, the author of the *Hadīqatu's-salātīn*, and 'Alī bin Tayfūr al-Bistāmī, the author of a different *Hadīqatu's-salātīn* were Shi'is. Muhammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh Astarābādī known as Firishta, the author of the popular general history entitled the *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* dedicated his work to Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh. It exists in two slightly different recensions, the first is dated 1015/1606-07. The second recension has been given a new title the *Tārīkh-i Nawras-nāma*. The work is, however, generally known as the *Tārīkh-i Firishta*. Muhammad Qāsim was also a Shi'i.

Commemoration of the Tragedy of Karbalā

The Sunnis and Shi'is share many common festivals. They both celebrate the *'idu'l-fitr* (the festival at the end of the month's fast in Ramazān), the *'idu'l-azhā'* (the feast of sacrifice on the tenth day of Zu'lhijja) and the *shab-i barāt*, the night of the fifteenth day of the month of Sha'bān, when Allāh regulates man's actions during the coming year. The *laylatu'l-qadr*, or the *shab-i qadr* is the mysterious night in the month of Ramazān. Its precise date is said to have been known only to the Prophet but it is one of the last ten nights of the Ramazān month.

There are some differences however. The Sunnis commemorate the Prophet Muhammad's birth and death (*mawlūd* or *mawālid*) on the 12th day of Rabi' I. In India this festival is known as the *bārah-wafāt*. Assemblies are held in mosques, private houses and some public places and lectures are given on the Prophet's life. The houses and streets are brilliantly illuminated and food is freely distributed. The Wahhābis consider the birthday celebrations an innovation and do not participate. The Shi'is hold the anniversary of the Prophet Muhammad's death on 28 Safar. According to their calculations, the Prophet's birthday falls on 17 Rabi' I, the birthday also of the sixth Imām, Ja'far as-Sādiq. Like the Sunnis, the Shi'is celebrate the Prophet's birthday whole-heartedly as well as, at the same time, that of their sixth Imām.

The first day after the sun has crossed the vernal equinox used to be a day of great festivity during the reigns of some Delhi sultans. The Mughal emperors, except Awrangzīb, celebrated it with public rejoicings and festivities. It is called '*Nawrūz*'. Iranians and Shi'is all over the world celebrate *Nawrūz*. In Kashmir it is a public holiday.

The Shi'is celebrate the birthday of the Prophet's daughter, Fātima, on 20 Jumāda II and her death on 3 Jumāda II. The birthdays of all the twelve Imāms are days of Shi'i festivities but that of Imām 'Alī, on 13 Rajab, and Imām Husayn, on 3 Sha'bān, are the most important. The birthday of the twelfth Imām, Muhammad al-Mahdi, on 15 Sha'bān, which

coincides with the *shab-i barāt*, is also a very significant occasion of rejoicing for the Shi'is. Another great festival occurs on 18 Zu'l-hijja, for, on that day 'Alī was nominated by the Prophet as his successor at Ghadīr-Khumm. The day is also known as *'id-Ghadīr*.¹ Zu'l-hijja 24 is another *'id* day for the Shi'is; on that day, the Prophet was victorious in *mubāhila*.²

From 19 Ramazān to 21 Ramazān, Shi'is commemorate the martyrdom of Imām 'Alī. In the early morning of 19 Ramazān, Imām 'Alī was mortally wounded by the Khārijī assassin, ibn Muljam, in the Kūfa mosque and died later, on 21 Ramazān.³ For three days and nights mourning assemblies are held followed by mourning processions. On the night of 23 Ramazān, Shi'is perform one hundred *rak'a* (genuflexions) of prayers and chant invocations prescribed by the Imāms until sunrise.

Periods of prolonged mourning are observed during the first ten days of the month of Muharram (*'āshūra*) to commemorate the anniversary of the tragedy of Karbalā. During this time the Shi'is perform only routine worldly duties. Neither they observe any festivity nor participate in those of others. In fact, the tragedy of Karbalā is never forgotten by the Shi'is. When Shaykh Shamsu'd-Dīn, the commentator of the *Gulshan-i Rāz*⁴, called on Shāh Ismā'īl in Fārs, his black garments surprised the Shāh. The Shaykh explained that he had adopted them to commemorate the martyrdom of Imām Husayn. The Shāh reminded him that this commemoration was confined to the first ten days of Muharram but the Shaykh replied that it was eternal.⁵

In India, the whole of the months of Muharram and Safar and the first eight days of Rabi' I form the periods of mourning for Shi'is. On 8 Rabi' I, the eleventh Imām, Hasan 'Askari, was martyred and was succeeded by the twelfth Imām, Muhammad al-Mahdi. Consequently, the periods of mourning end on 8 Rabi' I, and 9 Rabi' I is celebrated as a day of rejoicing to mark the elevation of Imām Mahdi to the position of the twelfth Imām.

According to both Shi'i and Sunni authorities, the Prophet Muhammad foretold the tragedy of Karbalā. Among the transmitters of the prophecy were the Prophet's wives, Umm Salama and 'Ā'isha. Umm Salama

1 *Isnā 'Ashari Shi'is in India*, I, pp. 18-19.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 41.

4 *Gulshan-i Rāz* was composed by the mystic Sa'du'd-Dīn Mahmūd Shabistari (d. 720/1320) in 710/1311. It is an outstanding manual of the *Wahdatu'l-Wujūd* doctrine of *sūfism*. Shaykh Shamsu'd Dīn Muhammad bin Yahya bin 'Alī Gīlānī Lāhijī was the most distinguished disciple of Sayyid Muhammad Nūr Bakhsh. Kiwān Samī'ā (ed.), *Mafātihul 'ijāz fī sharh-i Gulshan-i Rāz*, Tehran n.d., pp. 82-88 (in words).

5 *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, p. 317.

recounts that one day in her house, when Imām Husayn was playing on the Prophet's chest, she was surprised to see some soil in the Prophet's hands and tears rolling down his cheeks. When Imām Husayn had left, Umm Salama asked the reason for the Prophet's anguish and the handful of soil. The Prophet replied that he had been happily watching Husayn play when Gabriel appeared. The angel gave him some soil and told him that it came from the place where Husayn would be martyred. This terrible news had made the Prophet burst into tears.

Justifying Imām Husayn's refusal to swear allegiance to Yazid, Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz traces the history of Imām Husayn's departure from Mecca to the time of his martyrdom. He then quotes the tradition of Gabriel's warning to the Prophet. He continues that, distraught, the Prophet had urged his companions to help Imām Husayn should they be close to him at the time of his destined martyrdom. He also mentions that when Husayn was killed, Umm Salama, then a widow, dreamed that her dear husband, his head and beard smeared with dust, told her that he was returning from the battlefield where Husayn had been martyred. The Shāh also quotes from Sunni traditionists who embellished the story by adding that on that fateful day, blood fell as rain and, on the following morning, the murderer's domestic utensils were found brimming with blood. In Jerusalem people witnessed blood gushing from stones.⁶

Consequently the mourning commemorating the tragedy of Karbalā is a legacy from the Prophet Muhammad which both Sunnis and Shi'is treasure and respect. It is, however, of greater concern to the Shi'is. After Imām Husayn's martyrdom, Umm Salama was the first of the Prophet's family in Medina to mourn her grand-son's death. The anguish and suffering of Imām Husayn's family, who had been left at Karbalā, were too deep to be imagined or expressed in words. Before the Imām's martyrdom they had shared the hardships of arduous travel in the deserts, the denial of food and water for three days and nights and, on 10 Muharram, had witnessed the death of their dear ones in heart-rending circumstances. After Imām Husayn's martyrdom their camp was pillaged and burnt, their children beaten and the women humiliated. On 11 Muharram, they were removed from Karbalā as captives and were not even allowed to bury the corpses of their loved ones. Nor were they allowed to sit down peacefully and mourn them. The sermons by Imām Husayn's sister, Zaynab, and Umm Kulsūm, and those by his son, Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn, in Kūfa, Damascus and elsewhere, recounting the atrocities of Yazid and his generals, transformed the street crowds and court gatherings into mourning assemblies. Yazid could not even stop his wife Hind, daughter of

6 Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, *Sirru'sh-Shahādatayn*, Lucknow, 1286/1869-70, pp. 28-29.

'Abdu'llāh bin 'Āmir, mourning the Karbalā tragedy. The resentment against Yazīd for these atrocities mounted rapidly.

When Yazīd ordered Imām Husayn's family to return to Medina from Damascus, he transferred them from the dungeon to a separate apartment in his palace. The ladies of the Umayyad palace called on Imām Husayn's family to offer their condolences. Several meetings were held in the precincts of Yazīd's palace at which tears were shed by his family.⁷ These may be regarded as the first free assemblies commemorating the Karbalā tragedy.

When Husayn's family returned to Medina, the entire city was filled with wailing and lamentations. Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn, his successors and friends never, for a single moment, forgot the tragedy. Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq reminds us 'Every day is 'āshūra (10 Muharram) and every land is Karbalā'.

The mourning assemblies re-affirm the conviction that truth and justice prevail and the forces of evil and injustice do not survive. The sacrifice by Imām Husayn and his companions inspires people of all religions and nations to fight injustice and tyranny. Not only Muslims, but the whole of mankind is encouraged to revitalise its ethical standards and social life in the light of the self-sacrifice made by the martyrs of Karbalā. No wonder that the history of the commemoration of the event is prolonged and chequered.

Yazīd's successor ruthlessly suppressed public expressions of grief and anguish over the events at Karbalā. Nevertheless, the political leaders and revolutionaries, who strove to overthrow Umayyad rule, rallied popular support to the cause of avenging Imām Husayn's martyrdom. The Umayyad repressions did not prevent those poets devoted to 'Alī's house from writing elegies on the martyrdom of Imām Husayn and his family. Farazdaq excelled other early poets in writing challenging verses on the Imām's martyrdom, calling the Arabs to throw away their arms and devote themselves to spinning and weaving were they unable to avenge the martyrdom of the best of mankind. The Umayyads never hesitated to retaliate by vilifying 'Alī and his successors. In 'Abdu'l-Malik's reign (65-8/685/705), Hajjāj bin Yūsuf (d. 95/714), ordered the celebration of festivities on 'āshūra day (10 Muharram) in order to offend the Shi'is.⁸

The legends regarding the importance of 'āshūra in pre-Islamic times began to be concocted. Following the Umayyad traditions, Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jilānī (d. 561/1166), the founder of the Qādiriyya order of the *sūfis*, uncritically lists the following ten important events that took place on 'āshūra day from the creation of the universe to the birth of Islam:

7 Tabarī I, pp. 384-390.

8 Maqrīzī, Ahmad ibn 'Alī, *Kitāb al-khitat wa'l āsār fi'l Misr wa'l Qāhira*, Bulaq, 1270/1853, I, p. 390.

1. God created the universe, mountains, rivers, pen and tablet. Following Adam's expulsion from paradise, God accepted his repentance of sin and re-admitted him to paradise. All these important events occurred on 'āshūra day;
2. Enoch granted a high status;
3. Noah left the arc;
4. Abraham was born and, on the same day ('āshūra), in a different year, Allāh made him His friend and saved him from being burnt alive in the fire prepared for him by Nimrod;
5. David's repentance was accepted;
6. Solomon regained his lost kingdom;
7. Job was cured of his chronic illness;
8. Moses crossed the Nile and Pharaoh and his followers perished;
9. Jonah was cast out of the fish's belly;
10. Jesus ascended into heaven and Muhammad was born.

The dates of these events are palpably legendary. Equally in dispute are some other 'āshūra legends Shaykh Jilānī recounts. For example, he claims that those who bathe on 'āshūra day do not fall ill but die naturally; those who apply collyrium to their eyes on 'āshūra day are safe from eye diseases in the future, those who visit a sick man are rewarded as if they had visited all the sick people in the world, and those who offer another a cup of sherbet, earn the merit of a person who has never neglected prayer, while the performance of four *rak'a* (genuflexions) of *namāz* means the sins of the past and the future fifty years are forgiven. Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Qādir quotes Abū Hurayra saying that the Prophet ordered Muslims to fast on that day and foretold that the reward for this compensated for any obligatory fasts missed during the last forty years. Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Qādir adds that, according to the holy men, fasting on 'āshūra day earned the reward of a whole year of fasting. The Shaykh did not agree with the popular belief that Imām Husayn's martyrdom on that day had made fasting then a sin but claims that it enhanced the importance of his martyrdom and raised his stature.

Monday, when Prophet Muhammad and Abū Bakr died, called for greater lamentation than 'āshūra, when Imām Husayn met his martyrdom. As 'āshūra day was one of blessings and Divine favours, it was not proper to express grief, concludes Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Qādir.⁹ This condemnation by such an eminent *sūfi* appalled the Shi'is and alienated most of them from both the Shaykh and *sūfism*.

There is no doubt that Sunni traditions tell us that the Prophet, after his arrival in Medina, followed the Jewish religious custom of fasting on

9 Muhyiu'd-Dīn 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jilānī, *Ghunyatut-tālibīn* with Persian interlinear translation by Mullā 'Abdu'l-Hakīm Siyālkotī, Delhi, 1883, pp. 673-83.

'*āshūra* day but, in the second year of Hijra (624 A. D.), the Ramazān fasts were made obligatory while the '*āshūra* fast was abrogated. In the first year of Hijra, the Prophet arrived in Medina in Rabi' I. In the second year of Hijra, according to the *Sahih al-Bukhāri*, he ordered the observation of the '*āshūra* fast when the sun had already risen. According to modern calculations the Jewish Day of Atonement in the second year of Hijra did not synchronize with '*āshūra*. It is, therefore, unlikely that the Prophet ever fasted on '*āshūra* day and the merits ascribed to that fast are an Umayyad legacy.

The subsequent 'Alid revolts made even the 'Abbāsids bitterly hostile to Imām 'Alī's descendants. Consequently, they discouraged public lamentation for the martyrs of Karbalā in order to crush the 'Alid sympathies which helped them overthrow the Umayyads. The 'Abbāsīd caliph, Mutawakkul (232-47/847-61) had Imām Husayn's grave destroyed in the hope of eradicating the principal Shī'ī centre of pilgrimage. The Shī'is, however, bravely resisted tyranny and persecution and never hesitated to pay homage to the Karbalā martyrs.

The eventual domination of the Būyid (320-454/932-1062) over the 'Abbāsids, as mentioned earlier,¹⁰ paved the way for Shī'ī resurgence. In 351/962, the Būyid, 'Azudu'd-Dawla Fānā Khusraw (338-72/949-83) ordered that Mu'āwiya bin Abī Sufyān should be publicly cursed in mosques. This was extended to include those who had usurped the rights of the Prophet's daughter Fātima, prohibited the burial of Imām Hasan near the grave of his grandfather (the Prophet) and banished Abū Zarr from Medina. Indirectly the Prophet's first three successors and his wife 'Ā'isha were indicted but this was modified through the intercession of the vizier, Abū Muhammad. He suggested that only Mu'āwiya should be specifically cursed. The others were dealt with in the blanket statement 'May Allāh's curse be on those who were cruel to the descendants of the Prophet'.¹¹ In 352/963, 'Azudu'd-Dawla ordered that on '*āshūra* day all shops should remain closed and no commercial transactions should take place either on the streets or in the city quarters. Mourning for Imām Husayn's martyrdom should be publicly observed.¹² In the same year, 18 Zu'lhijja ('*id al-Ghadīr*) was declared a day of festivity.¹³ The Sunnis strongly resented these orders and in 353/964 Sunni-Shī'ī riots broke out in Baghdād and a considerable amount of property was plundered and destroyed.¹⁴ Until Būyid domination over the 'Abbāsīd caliphate, however, Baghdād observed '*āshūra* mourning and celebrated the *Ghadīr* festival.

10 *Isnā 'Asharī Shī'is in India*, I, pp. 68, 109-112.

11 Ibn Asir, VIII, p. 542.

12 *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 549.

13 *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 553.

14 *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 557.

The Ismā'īlī Fātimids of North Africa, and then of Egypt and Syria (297/567-909-1171), who claimed 'Alid descent and derived their name from the Prophet's daughter Fātima, introduced mourning rituals into their caliphate. The monument known as the Rāsu'l-Husayn or al-Mashhad al-Husaynī in Cairo became the centre of the mourning ceremonies of Muharram.¹⁵ The Egyptians believed, and still believe, that Yazīd transferred Imām Husayn's head to Cairo where it was buried. Later on his sister, Zaynab, was also buried in Cairo, the Egyptians believe. From 360/970-71, the mourning assemblies on the eve of 10th Muharram and on 10th Muharram were enthusiastically organised in Cairo and other parts of the Fātimid caliphate. The markets were closed and the towns plunged into deep mourning.

After the extinction of the Fātimid caliphate, the Ayyūbids, who ruled over Egypt, Damascus, Aleppo, Diyārbakr and the Yemen from 564/1169 to the 15th century, reverted to the Umayyad tradition of hostility towards Imām 'Alī's house. They made 'āshūra a day of rejoicing and festivity. On that day the pro-Ayyūbids entertained their families lavishly. Delicious food and sweets were served. Big tables were laid with a variety of food and drink. New utensils were brought. Collyrium was applied to the eyes and considerable time was spent in the baths.¹⁶ Nevertheless, Egyptian devotion to Imām Husayn and Sayyida Zaynab as they remembered Husayn's sister, did not wane. The mourning ceremonies at the Rāsu'l-Husayn never completely stopped. The people of Aleppo continued to mourn 'āshūra eve and 'āshūra day. Mawlānā Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273) says,

“On the Day of 'Ashūra all the people of Aleppo gather at the Antioch Gate till nightfall,

Men and women, a great multitude, and keep up a constant lamentation for the (Holy) Family.

During the 'Ashūra the Shī'ites wail and lament with tears and sobs on account of Karbalā.

They recount the oppressions and tribulations which the (Holy) Family suffered at the hands of Yazīd and Shimr.

They utter shrieks mingled with cries of woe and grief: the whole plain and desert is filled (with their cries).

A stranger, (who was) a poet, arrived from the road on the Day of 'Ashūra and heard that lamentation.

He left the city and resolved (to go) in that direction: he set out to investigate (the cause of) those shrill cries.

15 Maqrīzī, *Khitat*, p. 490.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 390.

He went along, asking many questions in his search—'What is this sorrow? Whose death has occasioned this mourning?

It must be a great personage who has died: such a concourse is no small affair.

Inform me of his name and titles, for I am a stranger and ye belong to the town.

What is his name and profession and character? (Tell me) in order that I may compose an elegy on his gracious qualities.

I will make an elegy—for I am a poet—that I may carry away from here some provision and morsels of food.'

'Eh,' said one (of them), 'are you mad? You are not a Shi'ite, you are an enemy of the (Holy) Family.

Don't you know that the Day of 'Ashūra is (a day of) mourning for a single soul that is more excellent than a (whole) generation?

How should this anguish (tragedy) be lightly esteemed by the true believer? Love for the ear-ring (Imām Husayn) is in proportion to love for the ear (the Prophet).

In the true believer's view the mourning for that pure spirit is more celebrated than a hundred Floods of Noah.'

The poet, however, did not hesitate to assert his own hostile views on the subject. Rūmī says:

"Yes," said he (the poet); "but where (in relation to our time) is the epoch of Yazid? When did this grievous tragedy occur? How late has (the news of) it arrived here!

The eyes of the blind have seen that loss, the ears of the deaf have heard that story.

Have ye been asleep till now, that (only) now ye have rent your garments in mourning?

Then, O sleepers, mourn for yourselves, for this heavy slumber is an evil death.

A royal spirit escaped from a prison: why should we rend our garments and how should we gnaw our hands?

Since they (Imām Husayn and his family) were monarchs of the (true) religion, was the hour of joy (for them) when they broke their bonds.

They sped towards the pavilion of empire, they cast off their fetters and chains.

'Tis the day of (their) kingship and pride and sovereignty, if thou hast (even) an atom of knowledge of them.

And if thou hast not (this) knowledge, go weep for thyself, for thou art disbelieving in the removal (from this world to the next) and in the assembly at the Last Judgement.

Mourn for thy corrupt heart and religion, for it (thy heart) sees naught but this old earth.

Or if it is seeing (the spiritual world), why is it not brave and supporting (others) and self-sacrificing and fully contented?

In thy countenance where is the happiness (which is the effect) of the wine of (true) religion? If thou hast beheld the Ocean (of Bounty), where is the bounteous hand?

He that has beheld the River does not grudge water (to the thirsty), especially he that has beheld that Sea and (those) Clouds.”¹⁷

The sort of objections raised by Rūmī on behalf of the poet had always been levelled against the ritual mourning for the tragedy of Karbalā. To the Shi'is, and to a large number of Sunnis, however, the mourning is an act of catharsis and self-purification in its own right which elevates the soul and escalates ethical standards.

Rūmī's contemporary Hājji Bektāsh Walī the founder of the Bektāshiyya order in Anatolia, popularised these ceremonies throughout the Turkish speaking region on the Syrian border. His teacher, Bābā Ishāq was a popular missionary both in the south of eastern Taurus and Amasya. In 638/1240 he led an armed revolt against the Seljūq Sultan Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn Kay-Khusraw II (634-44/1237-46) and was defeated and captured by the Frankish mercenaries. He wore a red cap, black robes and sandals. He reinforced the Turkomans' devotion to the Ahl-i Bayt and the Muharram rituals.

Bābā Ishāq's disciple, Hājji Bābā Bektāsh, introduced secret rites and doctrines into his mystical movement giving predominance to 'Alī, Husayn and Muharram. The centre of the Bektāshiyya devotion was 'Alī. The pious Bektāshiyya fasted for the first nine days of Muharram. From the evening of 9th Muharram until the 10th, they recalled Imām Husayn's suffering by abstaining even from water. Before sunset they took water mixed with the dust scraped from a *sijdagāh* (*secede tasi*) a small sunburnt brick made from the dust of Karbalā. On the evening of the tenth day, a ceremony in which eating a special food called *asure measimī*, was held. For several days prior to this, the inhabitants of the *tekke* (monastery) gathered wheat, hazelnuts, raisins, almonds, dates and the other ingredients, making twelve in all, needed for making *asure*. On the evening itself, the Bektāshiyya dervishes gathered together and, while dirges in memory of Husayn were sung, the ingredients were cooked in the great *kazan* (cooking pot). The Bābā in authority stirred the mixture first, using a large spoon, and then, in order of rank, all present took their turn. Towards morning the *kazan* was

17 R. A. Nicholson (tr.), *The Mathnawī of Jalālud-Dīn Rūmī*, London, 1834, pp. 301-2.

ceremoniously lowered from the fire. All gathered around it, while a good singer sang a hymn commemorating Imām Husayn. The Bābā recited a prayer and then distributed food to all present. They formed groups and ate it.¹⁸ Mourning ended on the twelfth day of Muharram.

In the thirteenth century, the wandering dervishes, known as *qalandars*, *jawalaqis* and *Haydaris*, popularised devotion to 'Alī and the Ahl-i Bayt from Turkey to India. The Qalandariyya khānqāhs of Sehwan came to be the principal centres of the devotees of Ahl-i Bayt. They sang hymns commemorating the tragedy of Karbalā with great fervour and by their spectacular way of life aroused interest in the Muharram mourning rituals.

Muharram in Northern India

In the thirteenth century India, Muharram mourning ceremonies were held in mosques, public places and military camps and were considered part of *tazkirs* (religious sermons). For example, Minhāj Sirāj Juzjāni, the author of the *Tabaqāt-i Nāsiri* (completed in 658/1260), informs us of the *tazkirs* he delivered on various occasions in military camps.

In Sha'bān 629/May-June 12, Minhāj Sirāj arrived at Gwalior, which Sultan Shamsu'd-Din Iltutmish had besieged. The siege was prolonged. Iltutmish commissioned Minhāj Sirāj to deliver *tazkirs* in the camp. He served the Sultan for seven months as a preacher. He delivered *tazkirs* three times each week, for the whole of Ramazān month, the first ten days of Zu'l-hijja and the first ten days of Muharram.¹⁹ It can well be imagined that in his Zu'l-hijja *tazkirs* he could not ignore Abraham's sacrifice and in those for Muharram he must have concentrated on the tragedy at Karbalā in order to arouse in the soldiers the courage to sacrifice their life for their duty.

Ismā'ili preachers in Sind, Gujarat and Delhi might have introduced the commemoration of the tragedy of Karbalā, based on the rituals of the Egyptian Fātimids. The thirteenth century Ismā'ili orator, Nūr Turk²⁰, must have popularized the Fātimid pattern commemorating the Karbalā tragedy among the Sunnis in Delhi. Istikhān al-Dihlawī, who in 1326 wrote *Basātinu'l-uns*, a book of Hindu tales, gives Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq the credit for making the sun of the Ja'fari faith resplendent in India.²¹ It would seem that Muharram was publicly celebrated in his reign.

Sultan Firūz complains of the resurgence of Shi'ism in his reign. According to him, the Shi'is reviled the rightly-guided caliphs and 'Ā'isha

18 J. K. Birge, *The Bektāshī order of dervishes*, London, 1965, pp. 169-70.

19 *Tabaqāt-i Nāsiri*, pp. 174-75, 249.

20 *Isnā 'Ashari Shi'is in India*, I, pp. 149-152.

21 *Basātinu'l-uns*, Add. 7717; Rieu, II, 752-53, f. 5b.

Siddīqa. The Sultan sentenced the extremists among them to death and publicly burnt their books. He does not mention the Shi'ī mourning assemblies.²² Possibly they were part of both Shi'ī and Sunni religious life and did not call for any repressive measures.

The 'āshūra processions and the 'alams (Imitation of the standard given by Imām Husayn to his cousin in Karbalā) on the pattern of Sabzwār processions were introduced into India by Sayyid Muhammad Ashraf Jahāngir Simnāni (d. about 840/1436-37). The *Lata'if-i Ashrafī* describes the event:

The great *sūfi* saint (Sayyid Muhammad Ashraf) said that the eminent people, Sayyids of true lineage and the pious men of distinction went around their neighbourhood with a *zanbil* (a begging bag). As mentioned earlier in *Sabzwār*, Sayyid 'Alī Qalandar, who was the leading *sūfi* of his age, sat under the 'alam (standard). He sent his companions with *zambils* around the district. Sometimes he went personally. Neither he wore nice clothes during the first ten days of Muharram nor participated in any ceremonies of rejoicing. For thirty years, adds the compiler, Sayyid Muhammad Ashraf never neglected 'āshūra mourning whether he was travelling or encamped. Sometimes he himself sat beneath the 'alam. Occasionally his favourite companion, Sayyid 'Alī Qalandar, was sent around the district before sitting beneath the 'alam. During 8th-10th Muharram they led an austere life. Sayyid Muhammad Ashraf's companions followed their master's lead.

Once, during the first ten days of Muharram, Sayyid Muhammad Ashraf happened to stay in the great mosque in Jawnpur. He observed the 'āshūra rituals and went into mourning. The 'ulamā' and scholars visited the mosque to pay their respects to the 'alam. One of the learned men, Mawlānā Mahmūd, then asked the Sayyid to tell him why he cursed Yazid. The Sayyid replied that this was a controversial issue but that most eminent 'ulamā' and learned men, particularly the justice-loving friends of the Prophet Muhammad's family and that of Imām 'Alī, cursed Yazid. The Sayyid asked what objection there could be to cursing a tyrant who had acted so barbarously to the dearly loved ones of the Prophet Muhammad and his daughter Fātima. The following verse applied to them:

“Surely those who annoy Allāh and His Messenger, Allāh has cursed them in this world and the hereafter, and He has prepared for them an abasing chastisement.”²³

Mawlānā Mahmūd prolonged the discussion and introduced controversial issues. The Sayyid remarked that he followed the traditions of true *sūfi*

22 *Isnā 'Asharī Shī'īs in India*, I, pp. 157-58.

23 Qur'ān, XXXIII, 57.

saints and holy men. He claimed that 'āshūra helped him to commemorate the martyrdom of his great grand ancestor, Imām Husayn.²⁴

Sayyid Muhammad Ashraf seems to have introduced the 'alams into northern Indian mourning rituals, which in subsequent centuries became an integral part of Muharram assemblies and processions. He arrived in India in c 1380 and might have introduced 'alam rituals in the beginning of the fifteenth century.

No literary sources indicate the early Chishtiyya *sūfi* reaction to the Muharram celebrations. Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Chishtī (d. 633/1236) was a Sayyid and during Muharram must have discussed the Karbalā tragedy. The following expressive verses are attributed to him:

“Shāh is Husayn and Bādshāh is Husayn,
Dīn (faith) is Husayn, *dīn panāh* (defender of faith) is Husayn,
 He sacrificed his head but did not give his hands (allegiance) into the
 hands of Yazīd,
 By God, the foundation of *Lā Ilāh* (There is no God but Allāh) is Husayn.”

It would seem that on 'āshūra day some Chishtiyya *sūfis* recited verses mourning the martyrdom of Imāms Hasan and Husayn in their assemblies. The following account is from 10 Muharram 803/31 August 1400 in the *jamā'at khāna* (assembly hall) of Khwāja Banda Nawāz Gisū Darāz (d. 825/1422) before he moved to the Deccan:

“On Wednesday 10 Muharram 803, at breakfast a large crowd had assembled at the *jamā'at-khāna* of Khwāja Banda Nawāz. The musicians had arrived and had started playing. Some of the Khwāja's companions were listening to the music. The Khwāja said, “Today everyone is observing the 'āshūra rituals. Today *samā'* (*sūfi* music) should be held for the souls of Imāms Hasan and Husayn and people should weep for them. This listening to *samā'* on 'āshūra day in order to arouse ecstasy is a controversial topic for it makes the listeners forget Imāms Hasan and Husayn.” The Khwāja added that on a previous 'āshūra day when he and Mawlānā 'Alā'u'd-Dīn²⁵ were listening to *samā'* in the grounds of Sher Khān's house in Delhi they had soon realised that it should not be heard on that day. Khwāja Banda Nawāz remarked that “in times of distress, *sūfis* listened to *samā'*. ‘In *samā'* the traditions of the *pīrs* (*sūfi* guides) had to be followed strictly. It was a disciple's duty to follow his *pīr's* traditions.”²⁶ This

24 *Latā'if-i Ashrafī*, II, p. 268.

25 Mawlānā 'Alā'u'd-Dīn, who originally belonged to Awadh, was a leading *khalīfa* of Shaykh Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā' (d. 725/1325). An eloquent speaker and an impressive reciter of the Qur'ān, he was allowed to enrol disciples, but found the associated responsibilities too onerous. (*Siyarū'l-awliyā'*, pp. 275-78).

26 *Jawāmi' u'l-kilam*, p. 306.

exhortation tends to indicate that the Khwāja's predecessors, from Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn to Khwāja Nasīru'd-Dīn Chirāgh (d. 757/1365) observed 'āshūra mourning as Khwāja Banda Nawāz would not have dared to introduce an innovation into *sūfi* traditions.

On another occasion, the Khwāja Banda Nawāz told his audience that some tombs of the Ahl-i Bayt were the source of great blessings. These included the tombs of Imāms 'Alī, Husayn, Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn and 'Alī Musī ar-Rizā'. The blind, deaf, dumb and lame who visited them were healed.²⁷ Naturally the eminent Chishtiyya *sūfis*' devotion to the Ahl-i Bayt went a long way to popularizing the mourning ceremonies commemorating the Karbalā tragedy.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, the Mughal princes who embraced Shi'ism, spread the myth that their ancestor Timūr had been a Shi'i and had introduced *ta'ziyas* into India. No literary evidence supports this. After his conquest of Baghdād in 795/1393, Timūr visited Karbalā however and paid his respects to the holy shrine of Imām Husayn. A *farmān* from 'Ālamgīr (Awrangzīb) shows that Timūr brought a piece of the head-scarf belonging to Imām Husayn's mother Fātima, which he had obtained from the grave of Hurr ibn Riyāhī, to India. From the Mughals, this passed into the possession of the Nizāms in the Deccan. Awrangzīb's *farmān* and the relic were preserved by the last Nizām, Mīr 'Usmān 'Alī-Khān, Āsaf Jāh VII (1911-47), in an 'āshūra *khāna* he had built. The relic, 2½ in. × 2½ in., is kept in a strongroom in a steel box with peep-holes of mica. Awrangzīb's *farmān* is also preserved in the strongroom. The translation in the hall says: "This great blessing comprises a piece from the head-covering of Fātima Zahra. Imām Husayn gave it to Hurr ibn Riyāhī²⁸ on the battle-field of Karbalā. Amīr Timūr, Lord of the Happy Conjunction, took it from Hurr's grave with the Imām's permission (through some miraculous inspiration) and the (local) Sayyids' consent. He (Timūr) brought this relic to India. The Sayyids and their descendants, who are responsible for its care, deserve the revenues from Kalawra village for its maintenance. When the Emperor Jahāngīr (now seated in paradise), ascended the throne, he, like his ancestors, was fortunate to be able to pay his respects to it. He enhanced the *madad-i ma'āsh* grant for its keeper.

We (Awrangzīb) obtained *fatwas* from Qāziu'l-Mulk Mullā Ahmad and from the 'ulamā' and *mufītis* in other towns regarding the relic. They wrote that the *Tābūt-i Sakīna*²⁹ was the legacy of the progeny of Moses and

27 *Ibid.*, p. 262.

28 *Isnā 'Asharī Shi'īs in India*, I, p. 45-46.

29 The Arc of the Covenant, mentioned in the Qur'ān, II, 249. According to the commentator, al-Bayzāwī, the arc was the box containing the Books of Moses. It was made of box-wood and was gilded with gold. It was three cubits long and two cubits wide.

Aaron. The Qur'ānic verse "Surely the sign of the Kingdom" refers to this story. The piece of head-scarf is the patrimony of Prophet Muhammad's children and is spiritually superior to the *Tabūt-i Sakīna*. Those who possess this relic should consider it a Divine favour, a source of blessing and an emblem of victory and success. Almighty God's unlimited favours would be associated with the owner of this relic. When we (Awrangzib) took the reins of government we, according to our ancestral custom, went to pay our respects to it and thanked God for this felicity. On that occasion we increased the rank of its keeper by 500. He and his descendants will preserve it and will benefit by the gifts and the *mansab*. The *Bakhshū'l-Mamālik* has been warned against committing the sin of preventing the Sayyid from obtaining the benefits of this grant on the pretext of the *farmān's* renewal."

Timūr's respect for Fātima's relic suggests that he attended mourning assemblies in Muharram, particularly after his conquest of Iraq in 795/1393. During his son Shāhrukh's reign (807-856/1405-47), however, Muharram was celebrated in Hirāt and Khurāsān, although no evidence of Shāhrukh's participation survives. His ambassador, Kamālu'd-Dīn 'Abdu'r-Razzāq (d. 887/1482) the son of a Qāzī, and the Imām in Shāhrukh's camp, reported on his return to Hirāt from a royal mission to the court of Zamorin of Calicut and to the Hindu Rāja of Vijayanagar in 845/1441, that he had seen the moon of 1st Muharram 848 from his boat near Masqat. The boat stayed at sea while the mourning rituals were held.³⁰ The suspension of the journey and the observance of the rites could not have taken place unless the mourning traditions were firmly rooted in Khurāsān.

Bābur does not mention Muharram mourning in his *Tuzuk*. The daily occurrence section of his diary, opens with his fifth expedition to Hindustān. In 935 he mentions the events of 'āshūra (25 September 1528) while proceeding to Gwalior but does not refer to mourning ceremonies.³¹ No account from 3 Muharram 936/7 September 1529 to the date of his death on 6 Jumāda I 937/26 December 1530 is available in the existing copies of the *Tuzuk*. This does not mean, however, that Bābur's retinue from Khurāsān did not hold mourning assemblies.

During the reign of Bābur's son, Humāyūn, the 'āshūra assemblies, known as '*ma'ārik*' (literally battle-fields), were popular. According to Mullā Badā'ūnī, the following verse, composed by the eminent poet, Haydar Tunīā'i, was recited in the 'āshūra assemblies held to commemorate Imām Husayn's martyrdom:

30 Kamālu'd-Dīn 'Abdu'r-Razzāq, *Matla'-i Sa'dayn wa majma'i bahrayn*, Paris, Blochet 469, f. 200a, 203a.

31 *Bābur-nāma*, p. 607.

“The month of Muharram has come and our eyes are constrained to weep,
We let fall tears of blood at the thought of Husayn’s parched lips.”³²

During Akbar’s reign, *’alams* were sent from India to Imām Rizā’s tomb in Mashhad. The Muharram devotees walked on fire, shouting the names of Imāms Hasan and Husayn. A very vivid description has been given by Antony Monserrate, a member of the first three Jesuit missions. The mission left Goa on 17 November 1579 and arrived in Fathpur-Sikri on 28 February 1580. On 15 February, when the party was at Narwar near Gwalior, Muharram started. Monserrate says:

“While the party was at this place (Narwar), about the 15th day of the month of ‘February the Musalman nine-days’ festival’ began. At the same time the Hindus held their *Idaeen* [*holi*] festival. The former is held in honour of Asson and Hossen, grandsons of Muhammad by his daughter Fātima. Their father was Halis [’Alī]. They are said to have been conquered by the Christians in a war which they had undertaken in order to establish and spread their grandfather’s religious system. They were thereupon cruelly tortured by the unbelievers (as the Musalmans call us and were compelled) to walk with bare feet over hot coals. For this reason the Musalmans fast for nine days, only eating pulse; and on certain of these days some of them publicly recite the story of the sufferings of Asson and Hossen from a raised platform, and their words stir the whole assembly to lamentation and tears. On the last day of the festival funeral pyres are erected and burnt one after the other. The people jump over these, and afterwards scatter the glowing ashes with their feet. Meanwhile they shriek ‘Asson Hossen’ with wild and savage cries.”³³

Narwar was, and is, predominantly a Hindu town, with a very insignificant Muslim minority. The number of Shi’is would have been negligible. It would seem therefore that the Sunnis of Narwar celebrated Muharram and had done so for a very long time. It co-existed with Hindu *holi*.

No more details of Muharram celebrations in Akbar’s reign are available. Francisco Pelsaert of Antwerp, a factor with the Dutch East India company, who lived in Agra from 1620 to the end of 1627, gives the following description of the first ten days of Muharram in Agra and its neighbourhood. He says:

32 *Muntakhabū’-tawārikh*, I, p. 481; Ranking, p. 623.

33 J. S. Hoyland and S. H. Banerji (tr.), *The commentary of Father Monserrate*, Oxford, 1922, pp. 21-22.

“A month later comes the commemoration of Hasan and Husain two brothers sons of Ali, who was married to Bibi Fatima, the daughter of Muhammad. From these two, namely Muhammad and Ali, arose after their death a schism in the new faith; for Persians, Usbeks, and Tartars hold by Ali rather than Muhammad, while Turks, Arabs, and Hindustanis, or the whole of this kingdom hold only by Muhammad, and not at all by Ali; and thus there is a great distinction, the sects calling each other *kafirs* or infidels, and hating each other as bitterly as the papists hate our religion. Those who follow Muhammad are called *sunnis*, and those who follow Ali *rawāfiz* [*i.e. shī'as*]. At first, the new-found faith was introduced in a deceitfully attractive form, and men were given remarkable latitude, and a broad ladder by which they could climb to heaven without difficulty, thus offering pleasant allurements for the innocent. When, however, they became powerful, and found their wings strong enough for flight, they adopted forcible methods to spread their creed, and waged war against those who did not accept it; and in a battle against a heathen king Raja Bickhanhaar, Hasan and Husain were killed. In commemoration of this slaughter they make a great noise all night for a period of ten days; the men keep apart from their wives, and fast by day; the women sing lamentations, and make a display of mourning; in the chief streets of the city the men make two coffins, adorn them as richly as they can, and carry them round in the evening with many lights large crowds attending, with great cries of mourning and noise. The chief celebration is on the last night, when it seems from the great mourning as if God had plagued the whole country as in the time of Pharaoh's obstinacy, when all the first-born were slain in one day. The outcry lasts till the first quarter of the day; the coffins are brought to the river, and if two parties meet carrying their biers (it is worst on that day), and one will not give place to the other, then, if they are evenly matched, they may kill each other as if they were enemies at open war, for they run with naked swords like madmen. No Hindus can venture into the streets before midday, for even if they should escape with their life, at the least their arms and legs would be broken to pieces. This continues till at last they have thrown them [the coffins] into the river; then they bathe, return home finely dressed, and each goes to the graves of his deceased parents or friends, which have been newly whitewashed and decorated for the occasion, bringing food and flowers, and, after due mourning, giving the food to the poor. They believe that all good deeds or charities performed on that day on behalf of the dead, will benefit them whether they are in heaven or in hell, a fable which resembles the papist doctrine of purgatory; and the festival may fairly be compared to All Souls Day, when they read the seven psalms in the churches, or pay a penny to have them read, in order that the souls in purgatory may be given

some respite or relief from the prescribed period, or occasionally may even be released and taken to heaven.”³⁴

This description also confirms the fact that in Agra the Indian Sunnis observed Muharram festivals and formed processions of biers or coffins (*tābūts*—a model of the Imāms’ graves at Karbalā), or *ta’ziya* (paper replica, of Imām Husayn’s tomb).

The following depiction of the Muharram celebrations in Lahore in 1045/1635-36, by Muhammad bin Amīr Walī, a traveller from Bukhāra, also shows the Sunnis celebrating Muharram publicly; the Shī’is observing it privately in their homes. He says, “All the princes (*salātīn*), officials and aristocrats prepare two sets of placards, one consisting of beautiful paintings representing the Imāms. The other contains repulsive-looking figures representing Ibn Muljam.³⁵ The first ten days of the Muharram month are divided into two parts. The first five days, representing the enjoyable life of comfort led by the Imāms and their wedding parties, are celebrated in merrymaking. The houses and shops are profusely decorated, and the *qawwāls*, male and female singers and dancers, give exciting and impressive performances. From the sixth to the tenth of Muharram the same party of musicians starts reciting mourning songs and put on black clothes. They form processions displaying their placards and, along with their mourning songs, abuse and condemn the Imāms’ enemies. On the tenth of Muharram all Shī’is and Hindus lock their shops and houses and shut themselves up in their houses like bats. The organizers of the placards then rush to the *nakhkhās* (cattle market), where the holders of the two different sets of placards, joined by the crowds there, come to blows with each other. This leads to considerable killing and destruction of property. The year Mahmūd bin Amīr Walī was in Lahore, fifty Shī’is and twenty-five Hindus were victims of the placard-bearers’ war, and property of about 120,000 rupees was destroyed.³⁶

Gradually the competition amongst the communities in the *tābūt* procession provoked rivalries and fighting between the groups of mourners. In the beginning of the twelfth year of Awrangzīb’s reign (1669), the rioting during the Burhanpur processions gave Awrangzīb the opportunity to ban the *tābūt* processions in all provinces of the Mughal empire. Khāfi Khān says that the people of Ahadipura and Khirhkipura quarters in Burhanpur were old rivals and enemies. The Ahadipura residents were predominant in the annual processions. More than two hundred cavalymen in armour and a large number of match-lockmen accompanied the Ahadipura

34 W. H. Moreland and P. Geyl (tr.) *Jahāngīr’s India*, New Delhi, 1972, reprinted, pp. 74-5.

35 *Isnā’ Asharī Shī’is in India*, I, p. 41.

36 *Bahrū’l asrār fī manāqibu’l-akhyār*, Ethé, 575, ff. 391a-b.

processions. One night the *tābūt* procession from Khirhkipura happened to come face to face with that from Ahadipura. The Khirhkipura group tried to make a detour and thus avoid any confrontations. But the stupid and militant Ahadipura processionists, who were proud of their large numbers, blocked the road. Near the Jāmi' mosque fighting broke out. The large number of spectators assembled there came to the rescue of the Khirhkipurans. Their numbers became so inordinately large that they climbed up the doors and on to the roofs of the shops. Every single earthenware pot in these shops was used as a brickbat. More than fifty men from the Ahadipura procession were killed and about one hundred people were severely wounded. Pearls and other precious objects worth about forty to fifty thousand rupees, which had adorned the Ahadipura *tābūt* and 'alams were destroyed.³⁷ Although the community rivalry and militancy were unfortunate, infinite pains were taken to make the processions impressive."

Awrangzib's prohibitory mandates would not have totally stopped the Muharram processions and rituals. During his long absence in the Deccan from 1092/1681 until his death in 1118/1707, the provincial governors would not have militantly interfered with these long established traditions.

In Delhi, the important Shī'i centre was the Shāh-i Mardān, chosen by Mahābat Khān for his burial.³⁸ By the end of seventeenth century Dargāh Panja Hazrat 'Alī became prominent. Shāh-i Mardān contained an impression in stone of Imām 'Alī's foot while the Panja Sharif possessed an impression in stone of the palm of the Imām's hand. Belittling the importance of the Panja Sharif, Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz says that during Awrangzib's reign some Shī'i noblemen decided to establish a separate Shī'i cemetery. So, as was the case with the Prophet's so-called footprint, the outline of a palm was carved on a stone and people were told that this was the imprint of Imām 'Alī's hand. When Awrangzib was informed of this innovation, he ordered that the house to which the stone was affixed be destroyed. After Awrangzib's death, Shī'i corpses were buried there. Later some ladies from the imperial palace and some noblemen built houses nearby. The area had become a popular Shī'i pilgrimage centre at the time Najaf Khān ruled Delhi.³⁹ Both the Shāh-i Mardān and the Panja Sharif had developed into important centres for Muharram mourning ceremonies when Awrangzib died.

Nawwāb Dargāh Qulī Sālār Jang Mu'tamanu'd-Dawla, who accompanied Nizāmu'l-Mulk Āsaf Jāh I to Delhi in 1150/1737 and arrived there at the end of 1151/February 1740, stayed until 1154/1741-42. His *Risāla-i Sālār-Jang* or *Ābādī-i Dihlī*, also known as *Muraqqa-i Dihlī*, gives a vivid

37 *Muntakhabu'l-lubāb*, II, pp. 213-14.

38 *Supra*, p. 13.

39 *Malfūzāt-i Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz*, p. 108.

account of the religious, social and intellectual life of Delhi. He gives the following description of the Shāh Mardān or Qadamgāh-i Hazrat 'Alī. He says, "It is situated three *kuroh* (about six miles) from the imperial fort. On each Saturday a large number of parties of visitors pay homage to the place for the eternal benefit of their spirit. They adorn the turban of their devotion to the Imām with the flowers of salutation. The earth of the Qadamgāh cures the spiritually and physically sick and the pure water, from the spring of the Imām's clemency, is a source of honour to the needy. A large number of people take vows for the fulfilment of their heart's desire. On 12 Muharram, which is the day for paying homage to Imām Husayn, the mourners, with grief-stricken hearts and tear-filled eyes, assemble at that threshold resembling paradise to observe mourning ceremonies. They perform the ritual homage from which all benefit. The means of conveyance used by high and low make the highways and roads narrow like an ant's eyes. The artisans arrange their shops most artistically and earn large profits from their sales. In the *chawki-khāna*, which is reserved for the devotees' assembly, the reciters of eulogies speak in a loud voice and obtain guarantees of their spiritual deliverance."

Hemistich

"If you wish eternal blessings, obtain
The good fortune of paying homage there."⁴⁰

The author of the '*Imādu's-sa'adat*' says that Nawwāb Bahādur Khwāja Sarā (Jāwīd Khān)⁴¹ erected a building there. On the tenth of Muharram each year, the *ta'ziyas* were buried there. On 20 Ramazān a big mourning assembly took place. The reciters of *marsiya* and *rawza*⁴² and the *zākirs*⁴³ attended and spent the whole night crying.⁴⁴ These facts were mentioned in connection with the burial near Shāh Mardān of Safdar Jang. Perhaps, during Nawwāb Dargāh Qulī Khān's visit, the *ta'ziya* burial was a very insignificant event. It became important a few years later and, until 1857,

40 *Dargāh Qulī Khān, Muraqqa'-i Dihlī*, Delhi, 1982, p. 2.

41 The eunuch Nawwāb Bahādur Jāwīd Khān was the assistant controller of the harem servants during Emperor Muhammad Shāh's reign. After the accession of Emperor Ahmad Shāh (1161-67/1748-54), Jāwīd Khān's intimacy with the Emperor's mother, Udham Bā'ī, resulted in his being made the supreme controller of state affairs. He enjoyed the high *mansab* of seven *hazāri* and received the title 'Nawwāb Bahādur'. All the important positions were conferred by the Emperor at Jāwīd Khān's recommendation. Safdarjang, the *wazīr*, was unable to tolerate Jāwīd Khān's dominance and had him assassinated in early September 1752.

42 *Supra*, pp., 56, 57, 73; *Infra*, 304, 359.

43 Those who deliver lectures in mourning assemblies.

44 *Imādu's-sa'adat*, p. 68.

formed a major part in the ritual. The corpses of many Mughal dignitaries and eminent people were buried there.⁴⁵ After the restoration of peace in Delhi, Shāh-i Mardān again became an important burial ground for Shi'i *ta'ziyas*.

From the early eighteenth century, the Shi'is began to participate in the mourning ceremonies without any inhibition. We have already mentioned that Awrangzib's first *bakhshī*, Rūhu'llāh Khān, observed *taqiyya*⁴⁶ but that his son Ni'matu'llāh Khān, did not. In 1133/1720 when Mir Jumla was appointed governor of 'Azimābād (Patna), Ni'matu'llāh Khān delayed bidding Mir Jumla farewell because of his preoccupation with the mourning rituals in the first ten days of Muharram. When he finally called on Mir Jumla, Muhammad Amin, the Shi'i's arch-enemy, was also present. Ni'matu'llāh explained the reason for his delay and asked pardon. Muhammad Amin sarcastically asked him if someone had died in his house. Ni'matu'llāh replied in the negative, saying he had been mourning the martyrdom of Sayyidu'sh-Shuhadā' (Imām Husayn). Muhammad Amin then observed that Yazid and Husayn were two rival princes and that it was improper to mourn the death of Husayn and ignore the other prince. Ni'matu'llāh replied that he was mourning the martyrdom of his own prince (Imām Husayn) and that Muhammad Amin should celebrate the victory of his prince (Yazid). The dispute assumed threatening proportions but Mir Jumla intervened and pacified them.⁴⁷

Although some puritanical Sunnis were deeply offended by the mourning assemblies, the majority observed them enthusiastically. In a letter dated 1238/1822-23, Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz wrote that, on tenth Muharram, or a day or two earlier, a ceremony marking the martyrdom of Imāms Hasan and Husayn was performed in his *khānqāh* which was attended by four hundred to one thousand people. They recited *durūd*. After the Shāh's own arrival, the greatness of Imām Hasan and Imām Husayn, as related in the works of *hadīs*, was described. The prophecies concerning their martyrdom, the circumstances that led to it and the barbarity of those who martyred them were also recounted. The elegies on their martyrdom which Umm Salama and the companions of the Prophet had heard were described as well. Those dreadful visions, which ibn 'Abbās and the

45 Mīrzā Sangīn Beg, *Sayru'l-manāzil*, New Delhi, 1982. An inscription on a grave near the gateway of Shāh-i Mardān is dated 950/1543. The chronogram reads: *Hashr-i Ma'sūm ba imām-i sūm bād*, 'On the day of resurrection may Ma'sūm be with the third Imām' (Husayn). (p. 130). An inscription on another grave is dated 1078/1667-68 (p. 132). The inscription on the *naqqār-khāna* (drum house) of Shāh-i Mardān is dated 1229/1813-14 (p. 130). It is a later addition to the complex. For other inscriptions see pp. 130-135.

46 *Supra*, pp. 11-13.

47 *Siyaru'l-muta'akhhirīn*, II, pp. 450-51.

Prophet's other companions saw relating to the Prophet's anguish at his grandson's tragic death were also recited. The session concluded with the intoning of the Qur'ān and *fātiha* over whatever food was available. Those who could recite a *salām*⁴⁸ or an elegy melodiously did so. Those present, including Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz, wept.⁴⁹

In a short treatise entitled the *Sirru'sh-Shahādatayn* (The Mystery of Two Martyrdoms), the Shāh wrote that the Prophet Muhammad was the summation of all the attributes enjoyed by individual prophets. He was deprived of the glory and joys of martyrdom as his untimely death would have destroyed Islam's power in the crucial early part of its history and it would have lost its initial thrust. Moreover, had he been secretly martyred, it would have sown confusion in the new faith. Its benefits would have been lost, for the effects of death in tragic and distressing circumstances were far-reaching. In order to have Muhammad's prophethood completed in all respects, God bestowed upon his grandsons the honour of martyrdom; the elder one (Imām Hasan) was martyred secretly through conspiracy hatched by one of his wives. His younger brother, Imām Husayn, was martyred in tragic circumstances in broad daylight. Calling the Umayyad Caliph, Yazid I (60/680-64-683), a scoundrel, a drunkard and a tyrant, Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz justified Husayn's refusal to swear allegiance to the Caliph and traced the history of his departure from Mecca to the time of his martyrdom.⁵⁰

Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz, however, warned his disciples against going to assemblies where untruths or distorted elegies were recited. His prohibitions were designed to discourage Sunnis from attending Shi'i assemblies but the general Sunni response to his exhortations was very poor.

Mirzā Jān-i Jānān Mazhar's *khalīfa* (deputy) Shāh Ghulām 'Ali Naqshband (d. 1240/1824) celebrated the Imāms' anniversaries. In Ramazān, the anniversary of the birth of Imām Hasan, the second Imām, was celebrated. A special rice pudding was prepared and *fātiha* was recited over it. Someone questioned the difference between *imāma* and *wilāya* and their respective importance. The Shāh answered that *wilāya* could be obtained by all *sūfis*, but *imāma* was a spiritual function. All Imāms were *walīs* but all *walīs* could not be *imāms*. God gave *wilāya* to all who achieved nearness to Him, but *imāma* was only conferred on the most perfect one; for example, only the Prophet's first four caliphs and the twelve Imāms were included in the category of *imāms*.⁵¹

During Emperor Muhammad Shāh's reign (1131-61/1719-46), the

48 A poem paying homage to the martyrs of Karbalā.

49 Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz, *Fatāwā-i 'Abdu'l-'Aziz*, I, pp. 110-11.

50 Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz, *Sirru'sh-shahādatayn*, pp. 3-5.

51 Ra'ūf Ahmad Mujaddidī (ed.), *Durru'l-ma'ārif*, n.d., p. 211.

influence of his wife, Begum Sāhiba Mahal, increased the popularity of the Muharram celebrations. After the Emperor's death, Shāh Wali'ullāh took the opportunity to urge his successor, Ahmad Shāh (1161-47/1748-54), to order Shi'is to observe their 'āshūra festival with moderation. He meant that they should not curse the Prophet's companions.⁵² No action seems to have been taken by the new Emperor, however, probably because Jāwid Khān (Nawwāb Bahādur), head of the imperial harem, and friend of both the Emperor and his mother, Udham Bā'i, was deeply devoted to the Dargāh Shāh Mardān.

The *ta'ziya* processions were banned by the feeble-minded 'Ālamgīr II (1167-73/1745-60).⁵³ The invader Ahmad Shāh Durrāni slaughtered a considerable number of Shi'is in Delhi, making Shāh Wali'ullāh's prophecy of the extinction of Shi'is in Delhi come true.⁵⁴ Under Najibu'd-Dawla, who was devoted to Shāh Wali'ullāh, Shi'i processions must have been restricted but, after Najaf Khān's arrival, they were resumed.

The puritanical Sunnis, however, always bitterly condemned *ta'ziyas*. For example, Mīrzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānān, (b. 1110/1699), the most revered Mujaddidiyya-Naqshbandiyya *sūfi* in Delhi, opposed them fiercely. Early in Muharram 1195/December 1780, a *ta'ziya* procession passed by his house. Criticizing this practice, the Mīrzā, as some authorities say, remarked that perpetuating an event which occurred 1,200 years ago was a sinful innovation (*bida't*) and, to show respect to a piece of wood, was lunacy. Delhi's Shi'a community was shocked. On the evening of 7 Muharram 1195/3 January 1781, a militant Īrāni and his two companions went to the Mīrzā's house and shot him with a pistol. The Mīrzā died after three days.⁵⁵

The Mīrzā's disciple, Shāh Ghulām 'Alī Naqshband, who celebrated the birth anniversaries of the Imāms was also violently opposed to *ta'ziyas*. In one of his letters he wrote that distinguished Chishtiyya and Qādiriyya sages did not listen to instrumental music, or make *ta'ziyas* and pictures, and he advised their disciples not to do so either. Another time, he mentioned that the preparation of *ta'ziyas*, listening to elegies, painting portraits of the sages, worshipping the Prophet's footprint in a stone, devotion to music, cock-fighting and other ludicrous amusements and indulgence in yogic practices, were not permitted by the earlier sages and the Prophet's companions.⁵⁶

Until the end of Shāh 'Ālam's reign, the puritanical Sunni ambitions

52 Shāh Wali'ullāh's letter in S. A. A. Rizvi's *Shāh Wali-Allāh and his times*, Canberra, 1980, p. 227.

53 *Tārīkh-i 'Ālamgīr Sānī*, British Museum Ms., ff. 25b-26a.

54 *Malfūzāt-i Shāh 'Abdul-'Azīz*, p. 54.

55 Mīrzā Lutf 'Alī, *Gulshan-i Hind*, Delhi, 1906, p. 217.

56 Ra'ūf Ahmad (ed.), *Makātib-i Sharīfa*, Madras, 1334/1915, p. 159.

to crush the Shi'i processions were unsuccessful. After Hazrat Begum's death in 1187/1773-74 at Qandahār where she was taken by Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, her mother Sāhibā Mahal, the widow of Muhammad Shāh, returned to Delhi. Her arrival revitalised the Muharram rituals both in the Mughal palace and the capital. On 28 October 1793, Shāh 'Ālam told Mīrzā Akbar Shāh that, although in previous years, he, together with twenty princes and 260 men and women from the imperial family, had visited Nawwāb Sāhibā Mahal's palace as part of the ceremonies connected with Muharram, it was no longer appropriate and should be stopped. The Emperor added that until the previous year, the Nawwāb Sāhibā Mahal and Mīrzā Sikandar Shukōh had arranged for five or six *ta'ziyas* to be constructed for the occasion. It was reported that in 1793 about 100 *ta'ziyas* and 50 *mimbars* (pulpits) had been prepared. At that speed, the inmates of the palace would renounce their ancestral faith and embrace Shi'ism. On 24 June 1798, it was reported to the Emperor that Prince Mīrzā Akbar Shāh, thirty-three princes, some begums, princesses and other inmates of the imperial palace, had visited Nawwāb Sāhibā Mahal's palace to pay their respect to the *ta'ziyas*. The Emperor ordered that the party return from her palace before evening so as not to involve her in heavy expenses for entertainment. On 14 May 1801, the Emperor paid Rs. 125 to Mīrzā Akbar Shāh and Rs. 700 to the begums for Muharram expenses. Mourning dresses were also prepared for Muharram.⁵⁷

Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz fiercely opposed *ta'ziya* processions. In a *fatwa* he writes that the construction of *ta'ziya*, *zarīh* and *'alams* is an abominable innovation (*bid'at-i saiyyi'a*) and everyone associated with it is a sinner. Recognition of these models is forbidden, for no object of religious significance exists there. The *ta'ziyas* are only a handful of wooden-pieces which should be destroyed. According to a *hadīs*, ceremonies performed against the *sharī'a* should be stopped. If this is not possible these ceremonies should be orally prohibited. If sermonizing is impossible these ceremonies should be considered evil at heart.⁵⁸

From the end of the 18th century, the impact of the Wahhābi movement re-invigorated puritanism among Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz's disciples. The Wahhābi invasion of the Shi'i holy shrines in Karbalā emboldened the Indian Sunnī purists to attack and destroy the *ta'ziyas*.

A battle royal against the Muharram rituals and *ta'ziyas* was launched by Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd of Rae Bareli I (b. 1202/1786) who, in 1219/1804 had become Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz's disciple. In 1233/1817-18, Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz's son-in-law, Mawlānā 'Abdu'l Hayy, and his nephew, Mawlānā Muhammad Ismā'il, became Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd's disciples.

57 Tek Chand, *Rūznāmcha-i Shāh 'Ālam*, Khudā Bakhsh Library, Patna, f. 277b.

58 *Fatāwā-i Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz*, I, pp. 373.

Many other members of Shāh Waltu'llāh's family accepted him as their *pir*. Sayyid Ahmad, accompanied by Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-Hayy and Mawlānā Ismā'il toured through Ghaziabad, Muzaffarnagar, Saharanpur and Meerut. Mawlānā Ismā'il and Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-Hayy delivered fiery speeches against the Muslim practice of visiting graves and lighting lamps upon them. The popular veneration of *ta'ziyas* was dubbed idolatory. Sayyid Ahmad's party urged their disciples to burn their *ta'ziyas* and the Sayyid himself burnt two belonging to his disciples. The Shī'is decided to retaliate. Law and order were threatened. Consequently the East India Company's District Magistrate and Judge expelled Sayyid Ahmad and his party from Saharanpur. The District Magistrate at Meerut also refused to allow them to stay. The party was forced to return to Delhi and from there, in Jumāda II (1234/April 1819), they set off for Rae Bareilly via Ghaziabad, Hapur, Muradabad and Bareilly (known as Bans Bareilly). In Rampur some Afghans joined Sayyid Ahmad but the Sunnī ruler, Ahmad 'Alī Khān, also expelled the party from Rampur. In Bareilly, the local *qāzis* wrote a *fatwa* condemning Sayyid Ahmad's puritanism and made his life difficult.⁵⁹ In Sha'bān 1234/June 1819, the group reached Rae Bareilly in the Shī'i state of Awadh. This was Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd's home town. Ghāzi'u'd-Dīn Haydar (1814-27) did not interfere with the puritanical reforms and they were free to convert people to their mission. According to the biographies of Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd, during his visit to Rae Bareilly, the Shī'is of Nasirabad decided to recite *tabarra* publicly and advised those Sunnīs, who could not bear to hear it, to move elsewhere for a day or two. The Sunnīs wrote to the Sayyid for help. He arrived with his party and informed the Shī'is that they should adhere to their existing practices in the *ta'ziya* procession and should not attempt any innovations. The Shī'is threatened to stop their procession in protest but, after a full investigation, the local administrator ordered them to refrain from starting any new practices. Muharram passed off peacefully and the Sayyid returned to Rae Bareilly.

On *Chihlum* (20 Safar) the Nasirabad Sunnīs again asked the Sayyid to help. The Shī'is in Nasirabad had prevailed upon Bādshāh Begum, who held Nasirabad in her *jāgīr*, to issue an order to her *'āmil* (administrator) to suppress the Sunnī movement. King Ghāzi'u'd-Dīn Haydar, who was estranged from the Begum, intervened at the request of his vizier, Mu'tamadu'd-Dawla Āghā Mīr and ordered him to ensure that no rioting took place. Mu'tamadu'd-Dawla deputed the Sayyid's disciple, Faqīr Muhammad, to organise a force of 500 to maintain the peace in Nasirabad. Ghufrān Ma'āb, upon whose help the Shī'is had counted,

59 Sayyid 'Alī bin Hasan al-'Askarī (Musharraḥ 'Alī), *Izāhat al-ghayy fī radd-i 'Abdu'l Hayy*, Khudā Bakhsh Library, Patna, Ms., ff. 7b-9b.

also asked them to be peaceful. A *mahzar* (legal document) was drawn up by the Shi'is to the effect that they would not depart from the earlier Muharram practices.⁶⁰ Although the Awadh government was Shi'i, even during their decline they were able to maintain peace and amity between different sects and communities. To the Sayyid's leading disciples their victory over the Nasirabad Shi'is was a prelude to their success in their future *jihād*.

The public recital of *tabarra* was not part of the Muharram rituals. Only the extremist Shi'is insisted on it. In Nasirabad, as the above account shows, *tabarra* had not been recited previously. In Awadh also Sayyid Ahmad Shahid did not militantly attack the *ta'ziyas* and his stay there did not undermine the peace. At the end of Shawwāl 1236/July 1821, the Sayyid left Rae Bareli with a party of 400 disciples on a pilgrimage to Mecca. While they were at Mirzapur, Muharram started; three disciples were fined by the Sayyid for participating in *ta'ziya* ceremonies. In Banaras the party broke several hundred *ta'ziyas* and used the paper and wood to cook their food. *Ta'ziya* platforms and *'alams* were also destroyed. On their way to Patna, the Sayyid's party ruthlessly demolished *ta'ziya* platforms and laid the foundation for mosques in their stead. The *imāmbārhas* were also laid waste. In Patna, the Shi'is are said to have failed to convince the British magistrate that these actions posed a threat to peace. The magistrate accepted the Sunnis' defence that the platforms were voluntarily destroyed by their Sunni owners who had been converted to the Sayyid's puritanical beliefs.⁶¹

The war against *ta'ziyas* and Muharram rituals strained Shi'i-Sunni friendship but it did not undermine either the popularity of the *ta'ziyas* or the Muharram processions. In Delhi itself, the leading Chishtiyya *pir*, Mawlānā Fakhru'd-Dīn (d. Jumāda 1199/May 1783) visited the *imāmbārhas*, presented a rupee as his offering and supplied water and sherbet to the procession participants. Referring to Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz's objection, the Mawlānā replied that his gestures prevented the Shi'is from reciting *tabarra*. He also informed the Shāh that for the same reason he had accepted some Shi'is as his disciples.⁶² In Awadh, the great Qādiriyya *pir*, Shaykh 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Bānṣawi (d. 1136/1724), the patron saint of the *'ulamā'* in Firangi Mahal, outpaced the Shi'is in his devotion to *ta'ziyas*. The Shi'is believed that they were replicas of Imām Husayn's tomb but Shaykh 'Abdu'r-Razzāq believed that the spirits of Imāms Hasan and Husayn actually visited the *ta'ziyas*. The *Malfūzāt-i Razzāqi* says, "Some-

60 *Tārīkh-i Ahmadī*, Tonk Ms., ff. 91b-97b; Mawlawi Sayyid Muhammad 'Alī, *Makhzan-i Ahmadī*, Agra, 1299/1881-82, pp. 47-52.

61 *Makhzan-i Ahmadī*, pp. 68-71; *Tārīkh-i Ahmadī*, II, ff. 114a-155a.

62 *Malfūzāt-i Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz*, pp. 29, 56.

times His Holiness used to go for the *ziyārat* (religious visitation) of the holy *zarih* or *ta'ziyas*. Sometimes on the ninth Muharram he used to go to the Kalyani river. Once His Holiness did not go to the *ziyārat* of the weavers' *ta'ziyas* which was on his way to the Kalyani river. However, in a vision His Holiness found himself near the same *ta'ziya*. Imāms Hasan and Husayn were also sitting there. Seeing His Holiness, the Imāms asked him his reason for not visiting their house. His Holiness, kissing the Imāms' feet, said that he did not dare avoid visiting the Imāms' holy houses. From that day His Holiness used to go for the *ziyārat* of *ta'ziyas* on the first ten days of Muharram. He used to say that the *ta'ziyas* should not be considered merely as the pieces of wood and paper used for their construction. Often the holy spirits of Imāms Hasan and Husayn visited them. His Holiness had made it his life's rule to lead the *ta'ziya* procession and bring it to his house, where he used to stand with folded hands as long as the *ta'ziya* remained. In his old age when His Holiness had become very feeble, he used to stand with the support of his stick and the wall. He used to go as far as the river Kalyani where the *ta'ziyas* were immersed in water. After the end of the ceremony he returned home."⁶³

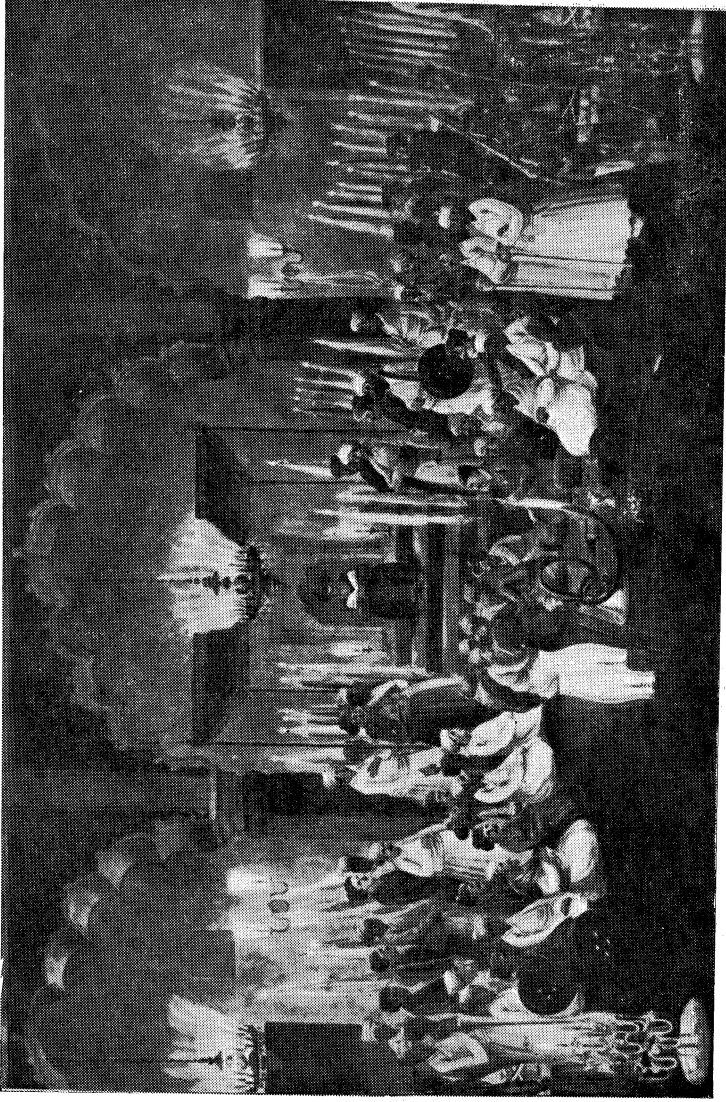
The devotion of Mawlānā Fakhru'd-Dīn and Shaykh 'Abdu'r Razzāq strengthened Sunni observation of *ta'ziyas* and Muharram rituals. From the 18th century onward, the ceremonies were observed by both Sunnis and Shī'is. Puritanical hostility made little change.

Muharram in Awadh

In Awadh, the Shī'i Nawwābs made the Muharram mourning period a state holiday. Fyzabad, near the ancient town of Ayodhya, which the early Awadh rulers had made their capital, became the new centre of Shī'i culture and mourning ceremonies. After the battle of Baksar in 1763, Shujā'u'd-Dawla (1170-88/1756-75) settled permanently at Fyzabad and made his capital a prosperous town. Separate buildings for mourning ceremonies, known as *imāmbārhas* were constructed. When Shujā'u'd-Dawla's army moved to the battle-front the war was suspended for the first ten days of Muharram. Halls of canvas were improvised to hold the mourning assemblies. The soldiers took the bamboo frames of the *ta'ziyas* to the battle-front with them and, as soon as Muharram commenced, they pasted papers on them and paid homage to the Karbalā martyrs.⁶⁴ Before the end of 1184/1775, the fourth ruler, Āsafu'd-Dawla had moved to Lucknow but the mother and widow of Shujā'u'd-Dawla, who lived at Fyzabad, fostered the development of Muharram rituals

63 Muhammad Khān Shāhjahānpūrī, *Malfūzāt-i Razzāqī*, Lucknow, n.d., p. 104.

64 *Imādu's-sa'adat*, pp. 121, 128.



Nawwāb Āsafu'd-Dawla (1775-97), with his dignitaries and attendants, listening to the *marsiya* (elegy) in the hall of the Āsafī Imāmbarāha. India Office, London Add. Or. 2595, by a Murshidābād artist. (Courtesy, the British Library, London)

and Shi'i culture there. Under Āsafu'd-Dawla and his successors Lucknow became the city of *imāmbārhas* although Fyzabad was not neglected. The Shi'i noblemen and dignitaries of Awadh built *imāmbārhas* and introduced Muharram mourning rituals and *ta'ziya* processions into the headquarters of their *jāgirs*.

Two volumes of selected news-bulletins from Āsafu'd-Dawla's (1775-1797) court, entitled *Intikhāb akhbār-i Nawwāb Wazīrū'l-mamālik Bahādur wa intikhāb-i darbār-i mu'alla wa atrāf*, covering Zu'lqā'da 1208/June 1794 to Rabi' II 1210/November 1794, are available in the Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland, London. They indicate that the Āsafiyya, or Barā Imāmbārha, was the centre of the mourning ceremonies organized by the Nawwāb. His visits to the *imāmbārhas* belonging to the begums, the dignitaries at court and the poor citizens, had made the 'āshūra mourning rituals popular with all sections of the society. Preparations began on the twelfth, Zu'lhiġja month and the appearance of the new moon of Muharram was eagerly awaited. The following summary of the account of two years of Muharram ceremonies is worth noting.

28th Zu'lhiġja 1208/27 July 1794. It was reported that Mr. Cherry, the Resident of the East India Company, had arrived to visit the *imāmbārha*. The Nawwāb ordered Rāja Jhā'ū Lāl to go there immediately and let Mr. Cherry inspect all the *imāmbārha* buildings.

30th Zu'lhiġja 1208/29 July 1794. The Nawwāb visited the *imāmbārha*, recited *fātiha*⁶⁵ and inspected the mirrors and chandeliers that had been installed. He then retired to the palace. When Mr. Cherry's second visit to the *imāmbārha* was announced, the Nawwāb ordered (the eunuch) Nawwāb Tahsīn 'Alī Khān to see that Sital Singh's platoon gave the Resident befitting gun salute. The Nawwāb, accompanied by Tahsīn 'Alī Khān, proceeded to the *imāmbārha* to inspect the *ta'ziya* arrangements. Nawwāb Sarfarāzu'd-Dawla Bahādur, Mahārāja Tikait Rā'i, Rāja Bilās Rā'i and Rāja Nirmal Dās also joined them. In the *imāmbārha*, the Nawwāb conversed with Mr. Cherry. The Nawwāb told the eunuch, Tahsīn 'Alī Khān, that the Governor-General, Sir John Shore, had left Calcutta to visit Lucknow. After the 'āshūra, he (the Nawwāb) would himself march out of the city to welcome the Governor-General..... Rāja Bhawāni Mihrā presented gold embroideries for the *ta'ziyas*. The Nawwāb rewarded him with a turban, a *dushāla* (an embroidered wrapper), ear-rings, a waist belt and a four-piece *khil'at* (a robe of honour). Fawjdār Khān crossing the Gomti River arrived and paid his obeisance. The Nawwāb ordered Tahsīn 'Alī Khān to pay five thousand rupees to Fawjdār Khān for the preparation of

65 The first chapter of the Qur'ān, called also the *surāt al-hamd* (Chapter of Praise), is recited as an intercession for the souls of the departed and to seek divine blessings.

ta'ziyas. On 29 Zu'l-hijja the astrologers reported that that day corresponded with the Hindu *du'ij*.⁶⁶ "The new moon would be visible. In the evening strenuous efforts were made to sight the moon. Messengers were sent to nearby villages and towns to inquire if anyone had seen it but on their return they reported that it had not been visible anywhere. The Nawwāb remarked that heavy clouds had obscured it. It would be seen tomorrow. In any case, Zu'l-hijja would end on the 30th day (tomorrow). It was not proper to bring out the 'alams, golden standards and *ta'ziyas*. The *mātam*⁶⁷, listening to *marsiyas* and the *kitāb*⁶⁸ should be postponed. The mourning ceremonies should commence tomorrow.

Yesterday, on the last day of the previous month (Zu'l-hijja), before sunset the Nawwāb awoke from his sleep, took a bath, and dressed in black mourning robes to pay respect to the memory of Imāms Hasan and Husayn. He then took tea. Afterwards the *marsiya* and *kitāb*-reciters were summoned. Important dignitaries were given audience. Twelve *dushālas* for the *marsiya*-reciters and a large sum of money were entrusted to Tahsīn 'Alī Khān as a reward for the *kitāb*-reciters. Then the Nawwāb set off on foot from the palace towards the imāmbārha. Near the Golden bastion he mounted a horse, dismounting again at the imāmbārha gate. Golden 'alams and *panjas*⁶⁹ were ready. The band played a mourning tune and the Nawwāb entered the imāmbārha. Hindus were not allowed inside. The Nawwāb recited *fātiha* on the *ta'ziyas* and circumambulated round them. Orders were given to recite the *kitāb* and *marsiyas*. After the recitations, Tahsīn 'Alī Khān was ordered to give *dushālas* to the *marsiya*-reciters and five hundred rupees to the *kitāb*-reciters. After the second night-watch, Nawwāb Wazīru'l-Mamālik Āsafu'd-Dawla Bahādur entered his palace. The dignitaries went to their own houses. In the palace the Nawwāb summoned the *kitāb*-reciters. They sweetly recited pathetic lines. The Nawwāb deeply appreciated their performance and gave them another five hundred rupees.

In the morning the Nawwāb woke up, took a bath, changed his dress and drank some tea. He sat under the *pipal*⁷⁰ tree in the *sih darā* palace..... (Orders regarding important matters were given to the dignitaries.) Riding on his horse, the Nawwāb visited the imāmbārha of 'Atīqu'llāh barber. After reciting *fātiha*, he respectfully laid five hundred rupees before the *ta'ziya*.

66 The second day of a lunar month according to the Hindu calculations when the new moon of a month is sighted.

67 Observance of mourning by beating breast and head, either by hand or by chains containing knife-blades.

68 Literally 'book' but technically a book comprising the account of the Karbalā tragedy summarized from the *Rawzatul-sh-shuhadā*.

69 Metal crest of the 'alams, see the dust-cover; *Infra*, p. 347.

70 The fig tree holy to Hindus.

The Nawwāb then paid obeisance to the *ta'ziyas* belonging to the beggars and the poor. He reverently placed some money, according to the needs of these people, before each *ta'ziya*. The Nawwāb then returned to his palace. It was reported that Mr. Cherry did not like the noise and beating of drums by the mourners for Imāms Hasan's and Husayn's martyrdom and had retired from the Residency to the neighbouring Bibipūr quarters. He had remarked that during Muharram, the noise of drums drove him mad, and added that Indians had no sense. Like Hindus, most Muslims were absorbed in outward ceremonies. This was why they were so stupid. After Muharram he would return from Bibipūr to Lucknow.

2nd Muharram. After three-quarters of the day (towards evening), the Nawwāb arose from his sleep. He bathed in the palace pool. After changing his clothes, he set off to the *Barādari* belonging to Karam Sāhib. From there he went to the military cantonment where he placed money before each *ta'ziya*. Then he visited the imāmbārha belonging to Ashraf 'Alī Khān and his brothers, where he heard the *kitāb* and *marsiya*-recital. He reverently placed one thousand rupees before the *ta'ziya*. From there he rode to the Panch Mahla and entered the Khwurd Mahal palace where he laid large sums of money in front of the ladies' *ta'ziyas*. He then returned to his own imāmbārha and listened to the recital of the *kitāb* and *marsiyas*. The Nawwāb presented *dushālās* and cash to the performers. He returned to his palace where he again heard the *kitāb* and *marsiya*-recital. He gave Mu'azzam Chela, a black *dushāla*; a companion of Rāja Mihrā received a green *dushāla* and a young well-behaved peon was also given a *dushāla*.

3rd Muharram. (Orders on important papers). The Nawwāb rode to Sutahti and made cash offering to pay respect to the *ta'ziyas* belonging to the poor. He then returned to his palace.

4th to 10th Muharram. (Orders on important papers). The Nawwāb rode to Nawwāb Hasan Rizā's mansion where he gave five *ashrafīs* (gold coins) to honour the *ta'ziya*. He then visited Nawwāb Hasan Rizā' Khān's imāmbārha, reverently placing five hundred rupees in front of the *ta'ziya*. Nawwāb Hasan Rizā' introduced a Hājji who had returned from Karbalā to the Nawwāb Vizier. The Hājji presented relics from Karbalā. The Nawwāb Vizier gave him five thousand rupees. He (rode) to Miyān Tahsīn 'Alī Khān's mansion and recited *durūd*⁷¹ in the imāmbārha there, respectfully placing five hundred rupees before the *ta'ziya*. The *kitāb* was recited at the *minbar*⁷² in front of the *ta'ziya*. The Nawwāb Vizier offered a *dushāla* to the *kitāb*-reciter and performed *mātam* along with his dignitaries and retinue. Later that evening he returned to the palace.

71 Persian, Arabic *as-slāt*; imploring divine mercy for the Prophet and his *Al* (descendants).

72 Pronounced as *mimbar*, a stepped pulpit for reciting *khutba* in mosques or the elegy for the Karbalā martyrs.

There the Nawwāb wept as listened to a *marsiya*-recital.

In the morning the official business was expedited. The (ministers) returned to their respective houses. The Nawwāb Vizier went to Rāja Jhā'ū Lāl's *imāmbārha*, recited *fātiha* and *durūd* and offered five hundred rupees to honour the *ta'ziya*. He then visited Almās 'Alī Khān's mansion. Almās 'Alī Khān offered him fifteen *ashrafis* and two thousand rupees. The Nawwāb Vizier told him that the objective of his visit was to collect all outstanding dues. Almās 'Alī replied that they would be paid by the evening. The Nawwāb Vizier returned to his palace. The *marsiya*-reciters were summoned who recited in a very impressive and pathetic tone. After one watch and two hours, the Nawwāb went to bed.

5th *Muharram*. (Orders on important papers). Crossing the river Gomti, the Nawwāb Vizier visited Fawjdār Khān's mansion where he made an offering of Rs. 1000 to honour the *ta'ziya*. The Khān offered the Nawwāb five thousand rupees. The Nawwāb then went to Mastān Shāh's *ta'ziya* where he offered three hundred rupees to honour it. He made similar reverential offerings to Mudde Khān's *ta'ziya* and that of Qadam Rasūl, where he presented one thousand rupees. Mudde Khān the (chief) elephant driver gave one thousand rupees to the Nawwāb Vizier. The Nawwāb returned to his palace where he listened to the *kitāb* and *marsiya*-recital. He performed *mātām*. Afterwards he visited the palace of Khwurd Mahal in Panch Mahla and ordered the payment of (the salaries) to the begums. Then he paid his respects to Wazīr 'Alī Khān's *ta'ziya*. Reciting *fātiha* and *durūd*, he arrived, with his orderlies, at his own *imāmbārha*. He listened to the *kitāb* and *marsiya*-reciters, performed *mātām* and retired to his palace. News from the Ashrafābād quarters was received saying that two people, who had been reciting *tabarra*, were wounded. The Nawwāb Vizier ordered that guards should be placed around the *ta'ziyas* and those who disturbed the peace should be arrested and brought to him.

6th *Muharram*. The Nawwāb Vizier visited the *Dargāh* of Hazrat 'Abbās, where he offered five hundred rupees. He was informed that yesterday Mīrzā Bahlū had been killed for reciting *tabarra* and three others injured. The Nawwāb sent the Sunnī murderers to prison. Then he visited the *ta'ziya* of Na'im 'Alī Khān and made cash offerings. After making donations to honour other *ta'ziyas*, the Nawwāb Vizier arrived at his own *imāmbārha*. He listened to the *kitāb*, performed *mātām* and retired to his palace.

Rāja Nirmal Rā'ī and Bilās Rā'ī reported that two Hindus were imprisoned after yesterday's rioting at the *Dargāh* Hazrat 'Abbās. They requested their release. Their recommendations were accepted. The Nawwāb Vizier then went to Asya Mau where he made an offering to honour the *ta'ziyas*. He also visited Mahārāja Tikait Rā'ī's *ta'ziya* and donated 400 rupees. The Mahārāja and his dependants gave cash gifts to the Nawwāb Vizier and the Nawwāb listened to a *marsiya* and *kitāb*

recital. Later he returned to his palace.

A Sunnī deputation reported that a Sunnī had been assaulted near Āfrīn 'Alī Khān's mansion. Mīrzā Naqī and Āfrīn 'Alī Khān's companions had been forcing the Sunnī to recite *tabarra*. When he refused they attacked him. The Nawwāb Vizier ordered that Āfrīn 'Alī Khān's companions should be arrested and brought to him. The Nawwāb proceeded to his own palace. Meanwhile, Mr. Cherry and other English gentlemen arrived. They, and the Nawwāb Vizier, listened to the *kitāb* reciters and performed *mātam*. Mīrzā Sulaymān Shukōh also arrived. The Englishmen departed. The Nawwāb Vizier had a private conversation with Sulaymān Shukōh. Afterwards he returned to his palace. The assailants of the Sunnī were brought in chains and were handed over to the custody of Hindū Singh.

The Nawwāb Vizier again left the palace for Wazīr Bāgh and made offerings before the *ta'ziyas*. After resting a little in his palace, the Nawwāb Vizier went to Mīrzā Jumma's mansion. He made an offering of three hundred rupees before the *ta'ziya* and retired to the palace. During the night, the Nawwāb ate nothing and performed *mātam*.

The bulletins of 7th to 9th Muharram are not available.

10th Muharram. The *ta'ziya* processions passed across the Gomti over the new stone bridge. The Nawwāb Vizier himself crossed the river and stayed near Fawjdār Khān's mansion. Orders were given to bury the *ta'ziyas* in the newly built Karbalā. The guards, who had been posted at Mīrzā Sulaymān Shukōh's mansion, arrived and reported that during the previous night Mīrzā Sulaymān Shukōh's companions had recited *tabarra* loudly near the *ta'ziyas* and had cursed the fore-fathers of all who failed to respond after listening to *tabarra* by reciting it themselves. Mīrzā Shukōh's Sunnī guards then armed themselves and attacked the *tabarra*-reciters, who fled. Mīrzā Sulaymān Shukōh was very upset and shut himself in the mansion belonging to his second wife. The Sunnī guards continued firing guns near Mīrzā Sulaymān Shukōh's mansion and were determined to kill any *Rāfiẓī* (Shi'a) who appeared. Next day, Mīrzā Sulaymān ordered his officer, Khānazād Khān, to replace the Sunnī guards with Shi'is. Khānazād Khān accused the Prince of being ignorant of the importance of Sunnī guards, who had no wish to serve him. Were the Prince to insist on their removal, he (Khānazād Khān) would himself resign. The Prince relented and Khānazād Khān persuaded the Sunnī guards to resume their duties at the various mansions.

The Nawwāb offered both mourning garments and two to three hundred rupees as gifts to the Sayyids. One important Sayyid, Mīr Muhammad 'Alī Ghoghā'i was given a mourning suit and one thousand rupees.⁷³

73 *Intikhāb akhbār-i Nawwāb Wazīru'l-Mamālik Bahādur*, Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain, XC, ff. 15a, 25b, 29a-42b.

The daily accounts of the first ten days of Muharram 1210 are not detailed but reports covering the 7th to 9th and 11th to 12th Muharram, missing from the previous year's bulletin, are available. The account of the observance of 'ashūra is summarized below.

29th *Zu'lhijja*. Clouds prevented the sighting of the moon.

1st *Muharram*. 1210/18 *July* 1795. In the evening golden and silver *ta'ziyas* were installed in the Imāmbārha. The Nawwāb Vizier performed *mātam*.

2nd *Muharram*. The Nawwāb Vizier ordered that Madah 'Alī Khān's elephant-driver's feet should be shackled and 25,000 rupees obtained from him. The money should be given to Tahsin 'Alī Khān for distribution at the rate of five rupees for each *ta'ziya* belonging to the poor. Later, the Nawwāb Vizier visited Fawjdār Khān's *ta'ziya*. Then he went to a beggar's *ta'ziya* and offered one hundred rupees. After perusing the news bulletin from the Deccan and Kābul, the Nawwāb Vizier went to his own imāmbārha and paid his respects to the *ta'ziyas*.

3rd *Muharram*. The Nawwāb Vizier ordered Rāja Jhā'ū Lāl to prepare 200 golden waist belts and other articles worth 100,000 rupees to make an offering at the mausoleum of Imām 'Alī in Najaf (Iraq). The Nawwāb Vizier then visited Rāja Jhā'ū Lāl's *ta'ziya* and made an offering of one hundred rupees. The Rāja presented the Nawwāb with five hundred rupees.

4th *Muharram*. Yesterday the Nawwāb Vizier paid a visit to Almās 'Alī Khān's *ta'ziya* and made an offering of one hundred rupees. Almās 'Alī presented five thousand rupees to the Nawwāb Vizier. The Nawwāb Vizier then visited the *ta'ziyas* belonging to the poor and made an offering of five rupees before each one.

5th *Muharram*. Yesterday the Nawwāb Vizier offered one hundred rupees to honour Dīn Muhammad Chawdhri's *ta'ziya* and another one hundred rupees to Wāris 'Alī's *ta'ziya*. Chawdhri Dīn Muhammad presented one thousand rupees to the Nawwāb Vizier. Mr. Cherry and other English officials called on the Nawwāb Vizier. They visited the imāmbārha and saw the *ta'ziyas*.

6th *Muharram*. It was reported that Chela Bindū and three companions had recited *tabarra* near the Akbarī Gate when Ghaws' son and three other Sunnis were present. Shi'i-Sunnī riots broke out and six people were injured. The Nawwāb Vizier imprisoned the three Shi'is found guilty of breaking the peace..... The Nawwāb Vizier made an offering of 500 rupees to honour Rāja Bhawānī Mihrā's *ta'ziya*. The Rāja offered 2,000 rupees as a gift to the Nawwāb.

7th *Muharram*. It was reported that some Shi'is had recited *tabarra* near the house of Muhabbat Khān, the nephew of Hāfiz Rahmat Khān. The Shi'is were taken into custody and brought before the Nawwāb Vizier.

They were flogged. The Nawwāb Vizier added that if they recited *tabarra* again, they would be expelled from the Awadh territories beyond the Ganges river. The Nawwāb Vizier then visited the *Dargāh* of Hazrat 'Abbās and made an offering of five hundred rupees. From there he visited Mahārāja Tikait Rā'ī's mansion and presented 500 rupees to the Mahārāja's *ta'ziya*. The Mahārāja gave five *ashrafis* and 5,000 rupees to the Nawwāb. The Nawwāb Vizier went to Ga'ū Ghāt and placed five hundred rupees before Mir Masayta's *ta'ziya*.

8th *Muharram*. In the evening the Nawwāb Vizier visited his own imāmbārha. The Imām (*sic*) Qāsim's *maynhdī*⁷⁴ arrived from the mansion of Miyān 'Alam 'Alī Khān. The Nawwāb Vizier performed *mātam*, listened to the *kitāb* and returned to the palace. After resting, the Nawwāb Vizier rode to Āghā Bāqir's imāmbārha, made offerings before the *ta'zias* and then returned to his palace.

9th *Muharram*. Roshan, the elephant-driver, and his son were expelled from the city for reciting *tabarra*. Sarfarāz Jang's companions, numbering seven hundred, who had recited *tabarra* near Hāfiz Rahmat Khān's palace, were taken captive. They were sent to Hasan Rizā Khān's mansion for (punishment). The Nawwāb Vizier went to the Qadam Rasūl, made an offering of one hundred rupees in front of the *ta'ziya* and then returned to his palace.

11th *Muharram*. On the night of tenth Muharram when a quarter of the night remained, the Nawwāb Vizier vomitted. The physicians rushed to his bed and gave him some medicine. In the morning (10th Muharram), the Nawwāb got up. The dignitaries paid obeisance. The Nawwāb visited his own imāmbārha and performed *mātam* with his ministers. He then joined the *ta'ziya* procession crossing the Gomti, where he buried the *ta'ziya* and returned to the palace. He rested until one watch of the day was left when he rose and dressed himself in black mourning garments. One thousand rupees were given to Muhammad 'Alī Ghoghā'i. Tahsīn 'Alī Khān was ordered to distribute (mourning) dresses to the princes, Sayyids and their ladies in the palaces. Five thousand rupees were assigned for offerings to the poor in the names of Imāms Hasan and Husayn. After dinner that night the Nawwāb slept.

74 The leaves of the *maynhdī* tree (*lawsonia spinosa* or eastern privet). In India the *maynhdī* is carried from the bridegroom's to the bride's house before the actual wedding. A framework, somewhat in the shape of a boat, with red, green and yellow paper, ornamented with mica and tinsel, is prepared. In it are placed plates of *maynhdī* and candles. This symbolizes the marriage of Qāsim and Imām Husayn's daughter on the night of 10th Muharram. The ceremony is designed to accelerate the expressions of grief and lamentation among the Indian mourners by exhibiting an Indian ritual. The *maynhdī* is taken from one imāmbārha to another or to Karbalā.

12th Muharram. In the morning the Nawwāb Vizier got up. The dignitaries came and made their obeisance. Mr. Cherry called on the Nawwāb. Since it was drizzling, a *pattū* (shawl) was offered to Mr. Cherry and the Nawwāb had a conversation with him.

13th Muharram. Yesterday Tahsīn 'Alī Khān was ordered to prepare a large amount of food for offerings in the names of the Imāms. The accounts for expenditure on *ta'ziyas* and lighting the imāmbārha were presented. The Nawwāb inspected them.⁷⁵

During the reigns of Āsafu'd-Dawla's successors the Muharram ceremonies became more formalised. After 1232/1808, the Tāl Katora Karbalā was made the burial ground for *ta'ziyas* and the number of *ta'ziya* processions increased. The *Dargāh* of Hazrat 'Abbās remained the principal centre of mourning; the *maynhdī* processions added both brilliance and pathos to the ceremonies.

In the reign of Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān (1798-1814), a *marsiya*-reciter, Mīr Ihsān 'Alī, extended the mourning days to 20th Safar, known as *Chihlum* or *arbā'in*. In the first year of Nasīru'd-Dīn Haydar's (1827-1837) accession, Bādshāh Begum issued a proclamation that no festivities should take place until *Chihlum*. The Resident intervened, considering the orders were inconvenient to the general public, and Nasīru'd-Dīn made the mourning period optional.⁷⁶ The public, however, supported their ruler and generally no festivities took place at Lucknow until *Chihlum*. Bādshāh Begum also introduced many frivolous ceremonies to celebrate the Imāms' birthdays but the common people did not keep them and they were discontinued.

The 'Āshūra and *Chihlum* celebrations in Lucknow, however, became part of the life of the people. *The Observations on the Mussulmauns of India* by Mrs. Meer Hasan 'Alī and *The Private Life of an Eastern King* by William Knighton enthusiastically describe the Muharram celebrations in the reigns of Sultans Ghāziu'd-Dīn Haydar and Nasīru'd-Dīn Haydar. Mrs. Meer Hasan 'Alī's narrative is more detailed and better informed but William Knighton's account is also very interesting. From the reign of Ghāziu'd-Dīn Haydar, Shāh Najaf or the royal imāmbārha became the centre of the royal celebrations of Muharram. "The collection of lustres and chandeliers accumulated on these occasions, the glare of the lights, the sparkling of the rich embroidery and gilding, the glittering of the brilliant fringes, cords, and tassels, ornamenting the banners with which the Imāmbārha is hung" reminded William Knighton of the "Arabian Nights' entertainments." He goes on to say, "On the morning of the fifth day of Muharram,

75 *Intikhāb akhbār-i Nawwāb Wazīru'l-Mamālik Bahādur*, XCI, ff. 229b-238b.

76 Muhammad Taqī Ahmad (ed.), *Tārīkh Bādshāh Begam*, New Delhi, reprint 1977, p. 14.

crowds of all ranks and classes of the people might be seen issuing from Lucknow to visit the Durgah [Hazrat 'Abbās], each little party bearing its own banners. . . . The procession from the royal Emambarra was, of course, the most magnificent. Six or eight elephants, with silver trappings, first appeared, the men upon these bearing the banners to be blessed. Then came a sort of chief mourner, bearing a black pole supporting two swords hung from a reversed bow. Then came the king himself, and the male members of his family, with his favourite Moulvies. To these succeeded a charger, called Dhull-dhull. . . .⁷⁷ The banners are borne through the Durgah presented to the sacred crest, and touched, and then taken out again at the opposite door to make room for others. All day long does the ceremony continue. . . .”

According to William Knighton the imāmbārha was filled up “with extraordinary splendour, worthy to receive the expensive and gorgeous Mayndieh;⁷⁸ and when the preparations were complete, the public were admitted to gaze upon the glittering. . . .”

Endeavours were made to give “the funeral of Hossein” . . . on the tenth of Muharram, “as military a character as possible to the display. Banners are exhibited, bands play, match-locks and guns and pistol are fired off, shields are clashed together and no sound is wanting which serves to bring before the minds, eye the mimicry of artillery pageants. . . .”

Behind the procession came “Dhull-dhull” followed by incense bearers with gold and silver censers suspended by means of chains made of the same material. The tomb model or *ta'ziya* was borne next, above which “a canopy of green cloth or velvet embroidered with gold or silver was spread, elevated on poles and carried by several men”. All along the march, as the various processions wound up by different roads over the country guns, pistols, rifles and match-locks were discharged; “whilst the mourning cry ‘Hassan ! Hossein’ was heard at intervals swelling out from the mighty throng. The ordinary ceremony of burial was gone through, on the procession reaching the Karbalā.

According to Knighton’s estimate the reigning Nawwāb spent “upwards of three hundred thousand pounds” on Muharram celebrations.⁷⁹

Mrs. Meer Hassan Ally (Mir Hasan 'Ali) who in 1832 published her *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India* was an English lady married to one Hasan 'Ali whose father had performed “*Hadge* (pilgrimage), three times, at different periods of his eventful Life”. Meer Hasan 'Ali’s detailed observations of the involvement of women in the Muharram rituals are as follows:

77 *Infra*, pp. 322-32.

78 *Infra*, pp. 323-325.

79 William Knighton, *The private life of an Eastern King*, Oxford 1921, pp. 176-191.

“The ladies celebrate the returning season of Mahurrum with as much spirit and zeal, as the confinement, in which they exist, can possibly admit of. There are but few, and those chiefly princesses, who have Emaum-baarahs [Imāmbārhas] at command, within the boundary of the zeenahnah; the largest and best apartment in their establishment is therefore selected for the purpose of an Emaum-baarah, into which none but females are admitted, excepting the husband, father, son, or brother, of the lady; who having, on this occasion, full liberty to invite her female acquaintance, those who are her nearest male relatives even, are not admitted until previous notice is given, in order that the female guests may secrete themselves from the sight of these relatives of their hostess.

“In commemorating this remarkable event in Mussulmaun history, the expressions of grief, manifested by the ladies, are far greater, and appear to me more lasting than with the other sex; indeed, I never could have given credit to the extent of their bewailings, without witnessing, as I have done for many years, the season for tears and profound grief return with the month of Mahurrum. In sorrowing for the martyred Emaums, [Imāms], they seem to forget their private griefs; the bereavement of a beloved object even is almost overlooked in the dutiful remembrance of Hasan and Hosein at this period; and I have had opportunities of observing this triumph of religious feeling in women, who are remarkable for their affectionate attachment to their children, husbands and parents; — they tell me, “We must not indulge selfish sorrows of our own, whilst the Prophet’s family alone have a right to our tears”.

“The religious zeal of these people is evinced, likewise, in a stern, systematic, line of privations, during the period of Mahurrum; no one is obliged, by any law, or command; it is voluntary abstinence, on the part of each individual—they impose it on themselves, out of pure pity and respect for their Emaums’ well-remembered sufferings. Every thing which constitutes comfort, luxury, or even convenience at other times, on these occasions are rigidly laid aside. The pallung and the charpoy (the two descriptions of bedsteads in general use), on which the females love to lounge for some hours in the day and night, are removed from their standings, and, in lieu of this comfort, they take their rest on a common date mat, on the floor. The musnud, and all its cushioned luxuries, give place, on this occasion, to the simply matted floor. The indulgence in choice dainties, at other times so necessary to their happiness, is now foregone, and their meal limited, throughout Mahurrum, to the coarsest food, such as barley bread, rice and peas boiled together (called *ketcherie* [khichrhi]), without even the usual additions to make it palatable *ketcherie*, as *ghae*, salt, pepper, and spices; these ingredients

being considered by the zealous females too indulgent and luxurious for humble mourners during Mahurrum.

“The pawn leaf, another luxury of no small moment to Asiatic tastes, is now banished for the ten days’ mourning. A very poor substitute has been adopted, in the mixture described at the gentlemen’s assembly—it is called goattur. The truth is, their health would suffer from any long disuse of tobacco-leaf, lime, and a bitter gum, which are in general use with the pawn; the latter is of a warm aromatic nature, and imparts a fine flavour to the other ingredients; but, as it is considered a great indulgence to eat pawn, they abstain from it altogether during Mahurrum;—the mixture, they say, is only allowed for health’s sake.

“When visitors call on the Mussulmaun ladies at Mahurrum, the goattur is presented on trays, accompanied by bags, neatly embroidered in silver and gold, of many different shapes and patterns, mostly their own work and invention; they are called buttooah and jhaumdannies.

“The variety of ornaments, which constitute the great delight of all classes of females in India, are entirely laid aside, from the first hour of Mahurrum, until the period for mourning concludes. I never heard of any people so thoroughly attached to ornaments as the females of India are generally. They are indulged in this foible—pardonable it may be, by their husbands and parents. The wealthiness of a family may often be judged by a single glance at the principal lady of the zeenahnah, who seldom omits doing honour to her husband, by a full display of the precious metals, with a great variety of gems or jewels on ordinary occasions.....

“These are all removed from the person, as soon as the moon is seen, when the first day of Mahurrum commences; the hair is unloosed from its usual confinement, and allowed to flow in disorder about the person; the coloured pyjaamahs and deputtahs are removed, with every other article of their usual costume, for a suit that, with them, constitutes mourning—some choose black, others grey, slate, or green, and the widow wears white from the day her husband dies.....

“Many of the rigidly zealous, among the females, mortify themselves by wearing their suit of mourning during the ten days, without changing; the dress is worn next the skin, and, in very warm weather, must be comfortless after the first day—but so it is; and so many are the varieties of self-inflicted privations, at this period, that my letter might be filled with the observations I have made. I cannot, however, omit to mention my old woman-servant (ayah), whose mode of abstinence, in remembrance of Hosein, is rigidly severe; my influence does not prevail in dissuading her, although I fear the consequences to her health will

be seriously felt if she persist in the fulfilment of her self-imposed trial. This poor old creature resolves on not allowing one drop of water, or any liquid, to pass her lips during the ten days' mourning; as she says, "her Emaum, Hosein, and his family, suffered from thirst at Kraabaallah, why should such a creature as she is be indulged with water?" This shows the temper of the people generally;—my ayah is a very ignorant old woman, yet she respects her Emaum's memory."⁸⁰

Further:

"The ladies assemble, in the evening, round the Tazia they have set up, in their purdahed privacy—female friends, slaves, and servants, surrounding the mistress of the house, in solemn gravity.

"The few females, who have been educated, are in great request at this season; they read the *Dhie Mudgelluss*⁸¹, and chant the *Musseeah* (*marsiya*) with good effect. These women, being hired for the purpose, are detained during the ten days; when the Mahurram ceases, they are dismissed to their own homes, loaded with the best gifts the good lady their employer can conveniently spare, commensurate with the services performed. These educated females are chiefly daughters of poor Syaads, who have not been married for the lack of a dowry;— they live devoutly in the service of God, according to their faith. They are sometimes required, in the families of the nobility, to teach the *Khoraun* [Qur'ān] to the young ladies, and, in that capacity, they are called *Oustaardie*, or more familiarly *Artoojee* [Ātoji]."⁸²

Mrs. Mir Hasan 'Alī also describes the rituals in Lucknow for the first ten days of Muharram:

"The first day of Mahurram invariably brings to my recollection, the strongly impressed ideas of 'The Deserted Village'. The profound quiet and solemn stillness of an extensively populated native city, contrasted with the incessant bustle usual at all other times, are too striking to Europeans to pass by unheeded. This cessation of the animated scene, however, is not of long duration; the second day presents to the view vast multitudes of people parading backwards and forwards, on horseback, in palkies, and on foot, through the broad streets and roadways, arrayed in their several mourning garbs, speeding their way to the Emaum-baarahs of the great men, and the houses of friends,

80 Mrs. Meer Hasan 'Alī, *Observations on the Mussulmans of India*, London, 1832, pp. 41-48.

81 *Dah majlis*; a summary of the *Rawzatul-sh-shuhadā'*, in Urdu; *Infra*, pp. 353-354.

82 *Observations on the Mussulmans of India*, pp. 51-52.

to pay the visit of respect (*zeearut*), wherever a Tazia is set up to the remembrance of Hasan and Hosein.

“The word Tazia, signifies grief. The term is applied to a representation of the mausoleum at Kraabaallah, erected by their friends and followers, over the remains of Hasan and Hosein. It is formed of every variety of material, according to the wealth, rank, or preference, of the person exhibiting, from the purest silver down to bamboo and paper, strict attention being always paid to preserve the model of Kraabaallah, in the exact pattern with the original building. Some people have them of ivory, ebony, sandal-wood, cedar, &c., and I have seen some beautifully wrought in silver filigree. The handsomest of the kind, to my taste, is in the possession of his Majesty the King of Oude, composed of green glass, with brass mouldings, manufactured in England (by whom I could not learn). All these expensive Tazias are fixtures, but there are temporary ones required for the out-door ceremony, which, like those available to the poor and middling classes, are composed of bamboo frames, over which is fixed coloured uberuck (*lapis specularum*, or tulk); these are made in the bazaar, of various sizes and qualities, to suit the views of purchasers, from two rupees to two hundred each.

“The more common Tazias are conveyed in the procession on the tenth day, and finally deposited with funeral rites in the public burial-grounds, of which there are several outside the town. These cemeteries are denominated Kraabaallah, and the population of a large city may be presumed on by the number of these dispersed in the suburbs. . .”⁸³

She goes on to say,

“After the Tazia is brought home (as the temporary ones are from the bazaar on the eve of Mahurram, attended by a ceremonious display of persons, music, flags, flambeaux, &c.), there is little to remark of out-door parade beyond the continual activity of the multitude making the sacred visits to their several Emaum-baarahs, until the fifth day, when the banners are conveyed from each of them in solemn procession, to be consecrated at the Durgah [Hazrat 'Abbās]—(literally translated, “The threshold,” or “Entrance, to a sanctified place”).”⁸⁴

Describing the procession she says,

“The order of procession, appointed by each noble proprietor of banners, to be consecrated at the Durgah, forms a grand spectacle.

83 *Ibid.*, pp. 30-32.

84 *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58.

There is no material difference in their countless numbers; the most wealthy and the meanest subject of the province make displays commensurate with their ability, whilst those persons who make the most costly exhibitions enjoy the greatest share of popular favour, as it is considered a proof of their desire to do honour to the memory of Hosein and Hasan, their venerated Emaums.

“A description of one, just passing my house, will give you a general idea of these processions,—it belongs to a rich man of the city;—A guard of soldiers surrounds four elephants, on which several men are seated, on pads or cushions, supporting the banners; the staffs of several are of silver,—the spread hand, and other crests, are formed of the same metal, set with precious stones. Each banner—they all resemble—is in the shape of a long scarf of rich silk, of bright florid colours, embroidered very deep at the ends, which are finished with gold and silver bullion fringes; it is caught together near the middle, and tied with rich gold and silver cords and tassels to the top of the staff, just under the hand or crest. The silks, I observe, are of many different colours, forming an agreeable variety, some blue, purple, green, yellow, &c. Red is not used; being the Soonies' distinguishing colour at Mahurram it is carefully avoided by the zealous Sheahs—the Soonies are violently opposed to the celebration of this festival. After the elephants, a band of music follows, composed of every variety of Native instruments, with drums and fifes; the trumpets strike me as the greatest novelty in their band; some of them are very long, and powerful in their effect.

“Next in the order of procession I observe a man in deep mourning, supporting a black pole, on which two swords are suspended from a bow reversed—the swords unsheathed glittering in the sun. The person who owns the banners, or his deputy, follows next on foot, attended by readers of the Musseeah, and a large party of friends in mourning. The readers select such passages as are particularly applicable to the part Abbas Ali took in the affair at Kraabaallah, which is chanted at intervals, procession pausing for that purpose.

“Then comes Dhull Dhull (Dul Dul or Zu'ljanāh)—the name of Hosein's horse at Kraabaallah;—that selected for the present purpose is a handsome white Arab, caparisoned according to the olden style of Arabia: due care is taken to represent the probable sufferings of both animal and rider, by the bloody horsecloth—the red-stained legs—and the arrows apparently sticking in several parts of his body; on the saddle is fixed a turban in the Arabian style, with the bow and arrows;—the bridle, &c. are of very rich embroidery; the stirrups and mountings of solid silver. The horse and all its attire are given after Mahu-

rum, in charity, to a poor Syaad. Footmen, with the afthaadah [*āftāb-gīr*, parasol] and chowrie—peculiar emblems of royalty in India—attend Dhull Dhull. The friends of the family walk near the horse; then servants of all classes, to fill up the parade, and many foot soldiers, who occasionally fire singly, giving to the whole description a military effect.

“I have seen many other processions on these fifth days of Mahurruṃ; they all partake of one style,—some more splendid than others; and the very poor people parade their banners, with, perhaps, no other accompaniment than a single drum and fife, and the owner supporting his own banner.”⁸⁵

The *maynhdī* is also described:

“The public display on the seventh Mahurruṃ is by torch-light, and called the night of Mayndhie (*maynhdī*), intending to represent the marriage ceremony for Cossum [*Qāsīm*], who, it will be remembered, in the sketch of the events of Kraabaallah, was married to his cousin Sakeena [*Fātima*] Koobraah, the favourite daughter of Hosein, on the morning of the celebrated battle.

“This night presents to the public all the outward and showy parade which marks the Mayndhie procession of a real wedding ceremony, of which I propose speaking further in another place. This display at Mahurruṃ is attended with considerable expense; consequently, the very rich only observe the out-door formalities to be exhibited on this occasion; yet all classes, according to their means, remember the event, and celebrate it at home.

“The Mayndhie procession of one great personage, in Native cities, is directed—by previous arrangement—to the Emaum-baarah of a superior. I was present, on one occasion, when the Mayndhie of the Prime Minister of Oude was sent to the King’s Emaum-baarah, called Shaah Nudghiff [*Shāh Najaf*]<—from the mausoleum of Ali, of which it is an exact representation on a small scale.

“It is situated near the banks of the river Goomtie, some distance from the palace at Lucknow; the entrance to the outer court, or quadrangle, is by a handsome gateway of brickwork plastered and polished, resembling marble. On each side of the gateway, and carried up the two sides, in a line with the building, are distinct apartments, designed for the abode of the distressed and houseless poor; the back of these apartments form a substantial wall or enclosure. The Shaah Nudghiff

85 *Ibid.*, pp. 65-69.

faces the gateway, and appears to be a square building, on a broad base of flights of steps, with a cupola roof; the interior is paved with black and white marble tessellated, the walls and dome neatly ornamented with plaster and gold in relief, the beading, cornices, &c. of gold, to correspond on a stone-colour ground. The cupola and cornices on the outside are richly ornamented with plaster designs, relieved with gold; on the summit of the dome is placed a crown of pure silver, gilt, of an immense size.

“The decorations of the interior, for the season of Mahurram, were on a scale of grandeur not easily to be conveyed by description. The walls were well covered with handsome glasses and mirrors; the splendid chandeliers,—one containing a hundred wax lights,—in every variety, and relieved with coloured lamps—amber, blue, and green,—mellowing the light, and giving a fairy-like effect to the brilliant scene. In the centre of the building stood the green glass Tazia, surrounded by wax lights; on the right of which was placed an immense lion, and on the left, a fish, both formed of the same bright emerald-green glass as the Tazia. The richness and elegance of the banners,—which were numerous and well arranged,—could be equalled only by the costliness of their several mountings.

“In Asiatic buildings niches and recesses prevail in all convenient situations, and here they are appropriated for the reception of the relics of antiquity and curiosities; such as models of Mecca, the tent of Hosein, the gate of Kraabaallah, &c.; these three are made of pure silver, and rest on tables of the same metal. Many curious sabres, of all ages, shields, chain armour of the ancients, lances, &c., arranged with much taste, adorn the interior.

“The pulpit (mhembur) is of silver, and of very handsome workmanship; the whole of the fitting up and arrangements had been made under the eye of his Majesty, and to his good taste may be ascribed all the merit of the well-ordered display for these occasions. He delighted in visiting this place, which he not only designed as a tribute of his respect to the Emaums, but as the future repository for his own remains, when this world should cease to be his place of joy, or anxious care. His intention has been fulfilled—he died in 1827, aged fifty years, much and justly beloved and regretted by all who knew him; his funeral obsequies were impressively grand, according to Mussulmaun custom. This good and amiable King was succeeded by his only son Nusseerood deen Hyder, who had just completed his twenty-second year when he began to reign.

“On the evening of Mayndhie, the crowds of admiring people were

admitted to view their Paidshah's (King's) exhibition; until the distant sounds of musketry announced the approach of the spectacle, when the multitude were desired to quit the Emaum-baarah. Hundreds still lingering, could not be prevailed on to depart, except by the stripes dealt out unsparingly from the whips of the hurkaarahs and peons, appointed to keep order on the occasion. The place cleared, and quiet restored, I had leisure to view the fairy-like palace of splendour, before the bustle of the procession reached the building. I could hardly persuade myself the picture before me was not a dream, instead of a reality.

“I stood at the entrance to watch the approach of the minister's train, through the gateway into the illuminated quadrangle. Spacious as this court-yard is, it was nearly filled with the many people forming the Mayndhie parade. I should imagine there could not be less than three thousand souls engaged in this service, including the matchlock soldiery. Several trays of Mayndhie are brought, with the other requisites for the usual forms of marriage gifts, such as sweetmeats, dried fruits, garlands of sweet jasmine, imitative beds of flowers, composed of uberuck: in some of the flowers, fireworks were concealed, to be let off in the quadrangle. An imitative tomb on a bier, is also paraded, together with the palkie and chundole of silver, which are the covered conveyances for females of the royal family, or such of the nobility as are privileged by grants from the crown; all other females use the covered palkie, mahanah, dhollee, and the rutt. Several bands of music follow, and torches out of number. The elephants, camels, cavalry, &c., are left in the open space, outside the gateway—the gentlemen, dismounting, enter with Dhull Dhull and the trays of Mayndhie.

“I trembled for the probable destruction of the brilliant ornaments in the Emaum-baarah, when I heard the noble animal was to make the circuit round the Tazia. Dhull Dhull, being led in, went up the steps with little difficulty; and to my astonishment, the gentle creature paced the tessellated floor, in very slow time, without once slipping, or seeming concerned at the novelty of his situation; indeed, this docile animal seemed to me the only living thing present that felt no interest in the scene—rendered more attractive and conspicuous by the gentle manners of the pretty Dhull Dhull himself. The circuit being made, he was conducted back into the court-yard, without the slightest accident or confusion occurring during his visit to the Emaum-baarah.

“The model of the tomb of Cossum, the chundole and palkie, the trays of Mayndhie, sweetmeats, &c. were deposited here until the tenth day, when they accompany the King's temporary Tazia cavalcade to Kraa-baallah for interment.

“The ceremonies performed on this night of Mayndhie resemble, in every particular, those of the same rank of persons on the actual solemnization of a wedding, even to the distribution of money amongst the populace who crowd in multitudes on such occasions, though apparently more eager for the prize than the sight.”⁸⁶

The tenth day of the Muharram is described thus:

“The most imposing spectacle in the celebration of Mahurram, is reserved for the last day; and, judging from the activity of all classes, the zealous exertions of the multitude, the deep interest marked on every face, male and female, a mere spectator might well imagine this morning to be of more importance than any other in the Mussulmaun's catalogue of days.

“At the earliest hour of the dawning day, the preparations for the march being complete,—which had occupied the hours usually devoted to sleep,—the streets and roads present a very animated picture. From the bustle and outpouring of the multitude, on this one absorbing engagement, a stranger might be led back in imagination to the flight from Egypt, the object, however, is very different from that of the children of Israel. The order of the day being to commemorate the death of Hosein, a grand military funeral is portrayed in each person's cavalcade, all pressing forward to their chosen Kraabaallah,—the poor man, with his humble Tazia and flags, falling in the rear of the more affluent person's display, as well for protection as for speed. There is so much of similarity in these processions, that the description of one will be sufficient to convey the idea of the whole, as they pass on in succession to the chosen place of burial.

“The consecrated banners take the precedence, in the order of march, carried by men on elephants; then a band of music. Next comes the jillewdhar (sword-bearer), supporting, on a black staff, the bow reversed, with brilliant swords suspended; on each side of him are men bearing black poles, on which are fixed immense long streamers of black unspun silk,—designed to symbolize grief, despair, &c.

“Then follows the horse, caparisoned as on the day of consecrating the banners; it is attended by servants, in the same order as when a prince rides out,—viz. a man with the afthaadah (or sun),—the well-dressed grooms, holding the bridle rein on either side,—a man with the chowrie of peacock's feathers in a silver handle,—chobdhaahs, with long silver and gold staffs,—sota badhaahs, with short staffs resembling

fish, of the same materials,—hurkaarahs (running-footmen, or messengers), bearing small triangular banners with silver handles,—shoebearers, &c.

“The royal chattah (umbrella), of embroidered velvet, is supported over the head of Dhull Dhull. The article in its plain garb, so generally used in Europe, is, in Hindoostaun, an original distinguishing mark of royalty, gracing the King’s throne in lieu of a canopy. In Oude, the chattah cannot be used by the subject when in view of the sovereign; if the King’s dunkah be heard abroad, the people hide their chattahs, and even descend from their carriages, elephants, horses, or palkees, standing with their hands folded, in all humility, to make obeisance to the King,—resuming them only when the royal cortege has moved out of sight. I have known many of the first nobility in the Court of Oude, and English gentlemen in the King’s suite, exposed to the rays of the morning sun, during the hottest season of the year; in these airings, the King alone has the benefit of a chattah, except the Resident happens to be of the party, who being always received as an equal, is privileged to the chattah, the chowrie, and the hookha; indulgences of which those only who have lived in India can possibly estimate the true value.

“But to my subject:—The saddle is adorned with Hosein’s chain armour, gold turban, a richly set sword, with an embroidered belt: some of the family and friends attend respectfully near the horse. Then follow the bearers of incense, in gold and silver censers, suspended to chains, which they wave about, fumigating the air with the refreshing smell of lahbaun,—a sweet-scented resin from the cedar of Lebanon, I imagine, though some suppose it to be the frankincense noticed in Scripture.

“Next in the cavalcade is a chanter or reader of the Musseeah, who selects passages from that well-arranged work suited to the time when Hosein’s person was the mark for Yuzeed’s arrows, and which describe his conduct on the trying occasion; one or two couplets being chanted, the procession advances in slow time, halting every five minutes on the way from the beginning to the end of the march. The reader is attended by the proprietor of the Tazia display, and his many relatives and friends, bare-footed, and without any covering on their heads;—many of these persons throw chaff on their heads, expressive of grief, and whilst the Musseeah is chanted, their boisterous expressions of sorrow are painfully severe to the mere observer of the scene.

“The Tazia then follows, surrounded by banners, and covered with a canopy upheld by silver poles in the hands of the supporters, according

to the general style of conveying their dead at the funerals of the Musulmauns. The canopy is of green, bordered and embroidered with gold. The model of Cossum's tomb follows in succession, which is covered with gold cloth, and has a canopy also supported over it, in the same way, by poles carried by several men. The palkie and chundole of silver and tissue are next seen; the trays of Mayndhie, the flowers of uberuck, and the other paraphernalia of the marriage ceremony, follow in due order. Then the camels and elephants, conveying the tent equipage and luggage of Hosein, form a long train, representing the supposed style of his march from Medina to Kraabaallah.

"The last and most judicious feature in the arrangement is the several elephants with confidential servants, distributing bread and money to the poor, who are thus attracted to the rear in countless numbers, leaving the cavalcade in quiet possession of the space of roadway uncrowded by the multitude. The bread given on these occasions is in great esteem amongst the females, who receive a small portion from the followers on their return from Kraabaallah with veneration, for the Emaum's sake, in whose name it is given. I have often been led to the remembrance of past times by this act of theirs, when the cross-buns of Good-Friday were esteemed by the aged women as possessing virtues beyond the mere substance of the cake.

"The whole line of march is guarded in each procession by burkhandhars (match-lock men), who fire singly, at intervals, on the way. Several bands of music are dispersed in the cavalcade, performing solemn dirge-like airs, peculiar to the style of composition in Hindoostaun, and well-suited to the occasion,—muffled drums and shrill trumpets, imitating the reiteration of "Hasan, Hosein," when Mortem is performed. I remember a fine female elephant, belonging to King Ghauzee ood deen Hyder, which had been so well instructed, as to keep time with the soundings from her proboscis with the occasional Mortems. I cannot say that she clearly pronounced the names of the two sons of Ali, yet the regularity of keeping time with the music and the human voices was of itself sufficient to excite admiration,—the Natives declare that she pronounces the names distinctly. Her name is Hoseinie, the feminine of Hosein."⁸⁷

She goes on to say:

"There are many little observances, not of sufficient importance to make them general to all who keep Mahurram, that need not here be detailed;—but one must not be omitted, as it is a feature in the domes-

87 *Ibid.*, pp. 81-88.

tic observances of Mussulmauns. On the Tazias, when about to be conveyed to Kraabaallah, I discovered small portions of corn, rice, bread, fruits, flowers, cups of water, &c.;—this is in keeping with the Mussulmaun funerals, who invariably convey food to the tomb with their dead. For the same reason, at Mahurrum, camphor and rose-water are always carried with the Tazia to Kraabaallah, although there is not the same occasion for the articles, as will be observed when the burial service is explained.

“I have seen females of rank, with their own hands, placed red and green wax lights in front of the Tazia in their halls, on the night of Mayndhie. I was told, in answer to my inquiry, What was meant by the solemn process I had witnessed?—that these ladies had some petition to make, for which they sought the Emaum’s intercession at the throne of mercy. The red light was for Hosein, who died in battle; the green for Hasan, who died by poison,—which these colours symbolize; and that those females place great dependance on the fulfilment of their desires, who thus present to their Emaums the wax lights on the night of Mayndhie.

“I have remarked that the noblemen and gentlemen generally engaged in the service of celebrating Mahurrum, walk on the tenth morning with their heads bare and their feet uncovered from their homes to the burial ground called Kraabaallah, whatever may be the distance,—perhaps four or five miles,—exposed to the fiery rays of the sun: some persons, who on this occasion are very scrupulous in thus humbling their nature, walk back again in the same manner, after the funeral ceremony has been duly gone through at Kraabaallah. The Magnitude of this undertaking can be only well understood by those who have experienced the state of an atmosphere in the shady rooms of a large house, when the thermometer ranges from eighty-four to eighty-eight, or even ninety degrees; and when, if you venture to the verandah for a few seconds, the flames of heated wind are not only insupportable to Europeans, but frequently produce severe attacks of fever. The luxurious habits of the Eastern great men may be well recollected when counting over the proofs of zeal exhibited in this undertaking, where every selfish consideration for the time is banished. The nobility, (or indeed any one who lays the slightest claim to gentility), never walk from one house to another during their lives, but at this particular season; even in their gardens indulging in whatever luxury they may boast, by being conveyed round in their palkie, or thonjauns—a chair with poles, supported by bearers. On the tenth day, the good Mussulmauns [Shi’is] rigidly fast until after the third watch; not even a drop of water, or the hookha, enters their mouths;—as they believe Hosein’s

sufferings only concluded just before the third watch, they cautiously abstain from indulgences, until that hour has passed.'⁸⁸

The *ta'ziya* processions on the fortieth day after '*āshūra*, called *chihlum* in Lucknow, were also very impressive. From villages and small towns the mourners visited Lucknow to pay homage to the memory of the Karbalā martyrs. As on '*āshūra* day, the arisans and craftsmen organized separate *ta'ziya* processions adorning their *ta'zias* with distinctive features of their work. For example, the sweet sellers covered their bamboo frames with sweets and the humble grass-cutters covered theirs with hay or green grass.

Nawwāb Muhammad 'Alī Shāh (1837-1842), who built the Husaynābād Imāmbārha, founded the *zarih* procession of the first Muharram. The wax *zarih* was installed in the Āsafi Imāmbārha and, from there, was taken in procession through Chawk to his newly built *imāmbārha*. The *zarih* was followed by an impressive band dressed in mourning *māhī-marātīb* (royal emblems), camels and elephants. Sherbet was freely distributed and a large crowd followed the procession.

The stately *ta'ziya* processions founded by the Awadh dignitaries were also very impressive. For example, the procession on *Chihlum* day organized by Shaykh Khudābakhsh, the master of artillery, was particularly majestic. It has been vividly described by Najāt Husayn Khān who travelled from his native Patna to Lucknow specifically to observe the Lucknow *Chihlum*. He saw Shaykh Khudābakhsh's procession from a vantage point in the Dāru'sh-shafā mosque⁸⁹ near Hazratganj. The procession passed through the mosque in the afternoon. It was headed by seven swift she-camels, each covered with a black cloth. Their riders were also clothed in black. Seventeen elephants covered in black, bearing tall flags and '*alams*, followed. The black and red satin pennants and '*alams* were embroidered with the names of Allāh and *Panjatan* (Muhammad, 'Alī, Fātima, Hasan and Husayn) in silver and gold thread. Then came the officials who held gold and silver spears and clubs in their hands. They were followed by countless foot soldiers armed with swords and shields. This part of the procession occupied more than one mile of the road. The band, comprising sets of different instruments, played moving mourning tunes. The *ābdār-khāna*⁹⁰ was behind the band. It was placed on wooden benches and transported by carts. Sherbet in jugs and cups, and covered with ice, was placed on the benches and was served free to the processionists. The spectators watching from their roofs were offered cups tied to long poles.

88 *Ibid.*, pp. 90-93.

89 It does not exist now.

90 A repository for drinking water including sherbet.

Behind the *ābdār-khāna*, the gold and silver *'alams* were followed by two or three *Zu'ljānāhs* and *tābūts*. Arrows pierced the *tābūts*. The coverings of the *zu'ljānāhs* were sprinkled with red colour. Behind them, hundreds of poor people carried their own *ta'ziyas*. At the end was Khudābakhsh's *ta'ziya*. The *ta'ziyas* were surrounded by countless mourners, all bare-headed and bare-footed. Tears rolled down their cheeks and constant crying had reddened their eyes. Their breasts had also become red from continued beating. *Nawhas* and *marsiyas* were recited in moving tones around the *ta'ziyas*. Various ethnic and racial groups such as Ethiopians, Mughals etc. formed separate parties of their own to perform *mātam*. The cries and beating of breasts were so moving as to make even Shimr, who had martyred Imām Husayn, cry. Some actions of the processionists were anti-*shari'a* but, as their objective was to shed tears for the martyrs of Karbalā, there was nothing wrong in them. Several thousand spectators watched the procession. The noblemen, viziers and dignitaries followed the procession in their conveyances.

Najāt Husayn also visited the Tālkatora Karbalā. The groups of mourners with the *ta'ziya* parties, both small and large, assembled there. They performed *mātam* under their *'alams* and buried their *ta'ziyas*.⁹¹

Fyzabad, under the patronage of the Begums, competed with Lucknow in celebrating Muharram and added novelties and splendour to the meetings and processions. Towns such as Mohan, Safipur, Bangarmau, Miyanganj, Mallawan, Kakori, Kursi, Malihabad, Sandila, Sandi, Bilgaram, Gopamau, Biswan, Pihani, Mahmudabad, Rudauli, Suhali, Ja'is, Nasirabad, Jahangirabad, Salimpur, Pirpur, Akbarpur, Gonda, Balrampur and Bahraich became important centres of Muharram ceremonies; thanks to the patronage of the dignitaries of the Nawwābs who governed these towns. Most of these towns were overwhelmingly Sunni, but they also vied with one another in paying tribute to the memory of their Prophet's grandsons. After the British annexed Awadh, the Muslim landowning class, called the *ta'luqdārs*, the *zamindārs*, the Muslim dignitaries of the Hindu *ta'luqdārs* and the beneficiaries from the bequests of the Awadh Nawwābs and Begums, known as *wasiqādārs*, followed their ancestral traditions in celebrating the mourning ceremonies. The *Fasāna-i Āzād* by Ratan Nāth Sarshār (d. 1902) gives an impressive account of the processions, *ta'ziyas*, *marsiya*-reciters and crowds that headed towards Tālkatora. The enormous gathering of mourners within the Karbalā four walls in Tālkatora had made movement from one corner to the other impossible.

By the end of the nineteenth century, however, Sunni efforts in

91 Sayyid Hasan, *Chand tahqīqī maqāle*, Patna, 1976, pp. 7-9, Najāt Husayn's diary in Patna University Library.

Lucknow to assert their economic and numerical superiority sparked off serious clashes between the two communities. Some irresponsible Shi'i groups poured oil on the fire of strife by reciting *tabarra*, which was offensive to Sunnis. In some towns, such as Jawnpur, *tabarra* was recited publicly in predominantly Sunni quarters. Incessant litigation strained Shi'i-Sunni relations. Until 1905, both the Shi'is and Sunnis buried their *ta'zīyas* in the Tālkatora grounds but the Sunnis had turned the celebrations into a carnival; mourning was not their principal concern. Vacant fields, groves and roads around Tālkatora were filled with Sunni shopkeepers trading briskly. Sunni youths organized fencing, sports and acrobatics. The Shi'is felt offended. In 1906, Shi'i protests prompted the British administration to assign Phūlkatora Karbalā, across the Gomti, for the burial of Sunni *ta'zīyas* and the fore-noon was reserved for their processions. The routes of the processions were also separated. The Sunnis took the opportunity to give a predominantly Sunni colour to their procession. The names of the first three caliphs were added to the banners and encomiums praising them were recited by Sunni *nawha* and *marsiya* reciters. The Sunnis began to assert their right to recite these encomiums on the first three caliphs, known as *madh-i sahāba* (the encomiums on the Prophet's companions). The Shi'is retaliated by publicly reciting *tabarra*. In 1908, the Piggott Committee, appointed by the British Government, recommended that the recitation of *madh-i sahāba* on 'āshūra, *Chihlum* and 21st Ramazān should be banned, while the Shi'is should be 'restrained' from reciting *tabarra*. The committee recommended that the Sunnis could obtain a licence to recite *madh-i sahāba* on other days. Both Shi'is and Sunnis brought their political and economic influence to bear upon the government to assert their respective rights, giving the administration an opportunity to widen the gulf of sectarian differences. Leaders from both parties obtained political gains. Nevertheless, the enthusiasm of genuine mourners, who formed the majority in both sects, for the Muharram celebrations, did not wane.

The Popularity of Muharram in Northern India

The account of the war against the *ta'zīyas* in the biographical works of Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd tends to show that *ta'zīya* processions were organized by both Sunnis and Shi'is throughout northern India from 'Delhi to Bengal'. Works by puritanical Sunni 'ulamā', such as Shāh 'Abdu'l 'Azīz and Sanā'-u'llāh Pānīpatī, indicate that no efforts were spared to crush the rising popularity of *ta'zīyas*. The increase in the number of Shi'is from Balūchistān and Sind to Bengal and the devotion of the Chishtiyya *sūfis* and the Tafzīliyas to the *ta'zīyas*, however, frustrated the puritanical Sunni efforts to crush it. The nineteenth century political upheavals in the Panjab and Sind changed the pattern of Muslim aristocracy in these

regions to the benefit of the Shi'is. On the whole the Sikhs did not interfere with Muslim religious festivals. The devotion to *ta'ziyas* could not be destroyed by violence. *Ta'ziya* platforms, *imāmbārhas* and Karbalās were built even in remote villages. There was one central Karbalā for many small villages. This meant that the people from neighbouring villages, with their *ta'ziyas*, congregated initially at an important centre and then, forming one large procession, marched towards the central Karbalā.

In 1840, Nawwāb 'Alī Rizā' Khān bin Hidāyat Khān bin 'Alī Khān Kābuli Qizilbāsh, whose estate in Kābul had been confiscated by the Afghān rulers, moved to Lahore. His loyal services to the British in 1848-49 and in 1857, made him the leading British protege in the Panjab. After his death in 1865, his talented sons, Nawāzish 'Alī Khān, Nāsir 'Alī Khān and Nisār 'Alī Khān, remained loyal to the British. Nawāzish 'Alī Khān, the head of the family, was very influential in the Panjab and founded innumerable villages and bazaars. He also built several mansions and *imāmbārhas* and popularized the '*āshūra* ceremonies.⁹² The *may-nhdī* procession on 7th Muharram terminated at his mansion. Nawwāb Nawāzish 'Alī and his successors spent huge sums of money on the celebration of Muharram and endowed innumerable villages for expenditures on the mourning ceremonies. The Karbalā of Gāme Shāh in Lahore became the burial ground for the *ta'ziyas*. Some members of the Qizilbāsh family settled in Peshāwar where they became leaders of the Muharram celebrations.

The Faqīr brothers ('Azizu'd-Dīn, Nūru'd-Dīn and Ināmu'd-Dīn), the leading dignitaries of Rāja Ranjit Singh, were Sunnis, but some of their descendants married Shi'i girls. Their influence made the Faqīr's house in Anār Kalī (Lahore) a *ta'ziya* centre.

Peshāwar also played an important part in Muharram celebrations. In Multān, the *sūfi* families were devoted to Muharram and organized *ta'ziya* processions. The imposing *imāmbārha* built by the Gardīzī family in Multān attracted enormous crowds. In Uch, Makhdūm Jahāniyān's descendants, who had embraced Shi'ism, celebrated Muharram. The followers of Lāl Shahbāz Qalandar, a descendant of Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq in Sehwan (Sind) enthusiastically popularized the Muharram ceremonies throughout Sind, Balūchistān, the Panjab and the North-West Frontier Province. The Ni'matu'llāhi *sūfis*, Qalandariyyas and Haydarīs, who had moved to new areas in Sind from Balūchistān and the Panjab, added considerable colour and brilliance to the local Muharram celebrations. Consequently, Hyderabad Sind and the Shi'i Khayrpūr state celebrated Muharram with great enthusiasm. The Balūchī *mātam* groups were superb.

From the nineteenth century, the Muharram ceremonies were largely

92 Kanahya Lal, *Tārikh-i Lahore*, Lahore, 1977, pp. 92-94.

adjusted to the Awadh pattern. Kashmir, however, maintained a separate identity. The ceremonies evolved by Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn 'Irāqī and his descendants influenced the Kashmiri celebrations of Muharram and *Chihlum*. Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn 'Irāqī's *khānqāh* at Jadibal in Srinagar is still the centre of the Muharram celebrations. Impressive *tābūt* processions are organized in Badgām. In Ladakh the mosques were and are the centres of these rituals.

Hindu participation in the Muharram celebrations was not confined to Muslim principalities. The Hindus of Rajasthan observed Muharram with great enthusiasm. 'Abdu'l-Latif al-Shustarī, who wrote the *Tuhfatul 'Ālam* at Hyderabad in 1215-16/1800-2, says, "In Jaipur, where there are no Muslims and no *azān* is called, the rich and affluent Hindus have built lofty and elegant *ta'ziya-khānas* (*imāmbārhas*). After sighting the Muharram crescent, they put on mourning dress, abstain from tasty food—and many people fast. Day in and day out they recite *marsiyas* in Hindawī, Hindī and Persian. Everyone gives food to the poor and scented water is distributed in each street and bazaar. The people construct holy *zarihs* of wood or paper and prostrate themselves before them. When 'āshūra day ends, they throw the *zarihs* into a river or bury them in a fixed place known as Karbalā."⁹³

The 18th and early 19th century Bengālī Hindus also celebrated Muharram fervently. Mīrzā Muhammad Hasan Qatil (d. 1233/1817) says that during Muharram not only did Bengālī Hindus keep their head uncovered but cried, like Hindu women, in the arms of their friends.⁹⁴

Muharram in Hyderabad

The impact of Khwāja Banda-Nawāz Gīṣū Darāz made the mourning songs for the martyrs of Karbalā popular in the Chishtiyya *khānqāhs* of Gulbarga and in the Bahmanid Deccan. The Ni'matu'llāhī *khānqāhs* at Bidar and in other Bahmanid towns must have introduced the Iranian model of 'āshūra mourning into the Deccan. Although the Shi'ī migrants from Iran to the Bahmanid Deccan observed *taqiyya*, they had no inhibitions in re-orientating the 'āshūra mourning rituals. Many Bahmanid sultāns and harem inmates were also deeply devoted to the Prophet's family. Consequently, long before the establishment of the Qutb-Shāhī dynasty, the 'āshūra mourning rites were firmly established in the Deccan.

Sultan Qulī Qutbu'l-Mulk-Qutb Shāh (924-950/1518-43), the founder of the Qutb-Shāhī dynasty, constructed a building called the 'Āshūr Khāna for the observation of Muharram mournings in Golkonda. He

93 'Abdu'l-Latif bin 'Alī Tālib Shustarī, *Tuhfatul 'Ālam*, Hyderabad, 1290/1873, pp. 259-60.

94 Muhammad Husayn Qatil, *Haft tamāshā* (Urdu translation by Muhammad).

also seems to have introduced other Muharram rituals. The fourth Qutb-Shāhi ruler, Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh (957-88/1550-80) constructed the *langar* Duwāzdah Imām (the house of free distribution of food in the name of the twelve Imāms). He also established the *'alam na'l sāhib*. Once in Ibrāhīm's reign, between 16 and 17 Rajab, Khwājasarā Yāqūt is said to have had a vision of Imām 'Alī resting on a hill now known as the Kūh-i Mawlā. He rushed to the site and found the impression of Imām 'Alī's palms on the rock where he had seen him sitting. Yāqūt ordered the stone-cutters to cut out the rock and got it fixed to a niche. Sultan Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh himself visited the site and built a mosque there.⁹⁵ Each year on 17 Rajab a large crowd assembles there to commemorate the event. It would seem that before the foundation of Hyderabad by the fifth Qutb-Shāhi ruler, Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh (988-1020/1580-1620), *'āshūra* was already being celebrated at Kūh-i Mawlā.

Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, the founder of Hyderabad, and his prime minister, Mir Muhammad Mu'min⁹⁶ were staunch Shī'is. Two *'āshūr khānas*, one in the palace precincts and the other in the city, known as the Bādshāhi 'Āshūr Khānas, were built in Hyderabad. Mir Muhammad Mu'min's Persian *marsiyas* tend to show that the celebration of Muharram was deemed a source of blessings for both the long life of the sultan and the prosperity of the sultanate. In 1001/1592-93, Sultan Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh constructed the Husayni 'Alam. In Sultan 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh's reign (1035-83/1626-72), the *Langar* (weight) procession came into being and soon formed an integral part of the Muharram ceremonies. Elaborate Muharram rituals were formalised in his reign and are eloquently described in the *Hadīqatū's salātin*. Its author Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad says, "Soon after the appearance of the crescent of Muharram, Sultan 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh abandons his life of luxury. He replaces his royal robes with mourning garments. In the royal palace, in the capital and in other towns in the provinces music is no longer played and the instruments are locked in their covers. The superintendents of the royal kitchens are ordered not to cook meat. The liquor shops are closed. The butchers are not permitted to sell meat and the sale of betel-leaf is banned. No one is allowed to eat meat or betel-leaf. The barbers are forbidden to shave heads in the public baths. Body massage is also prohibited. Both Muslims and non-Muslims obey these orders and observe mourning. Thousands of pairs of black and blue garments and green and black ebony staffs, which mark the observation of mourning, are distributed to all the court favourites, noblemen, viziers, dignitaries, *zākirs*⁹⁷

95 Khwāja Ghulām Husayn Khān, *Gulzār-i Āsafiyya*, Bombay, 1308-1891, pp. 550-53.

96 *Isnā 'Ashari Shī'is in India*, I, pp. 309-311.

97 Reciters or speakers at *majlis*.

and the reciters of the eulogies of the Imāms. Two lofty edifices ('*āshūr-khānas*), one in the royal palace and the other in the bazaar had been constructed. Green and black carpets of broadcloth cover their vast courtyards. Their ceilings are hidden by swathes of blue velvet. Invocations and the names of the twelve Imāms are inlaid with beautifully painted and glazed tiles in both edifices ('*āshūr-khānas*). Both are adorned with fourteen '*alams* in the names of the fourteen impeccable ones. Their exquisite designs in gold and silver have been executed by expert artists and craftsmen. A length of brocade fourteen yards long, on which are woven the verses of the Qur'ān, invocations and poetical verses, is clipped with each '*alam*. The ornamentation and decoration of the '*alams* are superb. On the vast outer walls of each '*āshūr khāna* ten rows of carved recesses face each other. Lamps are placed opposite each other in these recesses. On the first night of Muharram the lamps of the lowest row are lit, on the second night the first two bottom rows are kindled, on the third night the first three rows are lit. In this order an extra row of lamps is ignited each night until, on the tenth Muharram, the lamps of all ten rows are kindled. The total number of lamps exceeds ten thousand.

“Large brass lamp stands, resembling trees with branches, are installed in front of the halls. On each stand, 120 lamps are lit. On each night at the top of the halls and around the pools, white wax candles, as high as a human being, glow softly. The mourners of the martyrs of Karbalā and the Sayyidu'sh-Shuhadā' (Imām Husayn), wearing black, are always present. The sweet-voiced *zākirs* and the musicians recite heart-rending *marsiyas* and grief stricken verses with sorrowful melodies, filling the mourners with tears and lamentation. Eulogies on the impeccable Imāms and the Prophet Muhammad's family are recited in melancholy tones. The assembled mourners burst into tears and loud shrieks of sorrowful ecstasy at the *zākir's* touching recitations.

“In the afternoon the great sultan ('Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh) clad in garments embroidered with the names of the Prophet's descendants, slowly marches on a horse, or in a litter covered with black velvet and satin, specially prepared for '*āshūra*. All the courtiers, noblemen, dignitaries, viziers and court servants, wearing black, accompany him to the house of *alāwa*. The *marsiyas* composed by the Sultan are sung by two melodious singers. Near the door of the *alāwa*, the Sultan dismounts and enters, bare-footed, into the hall of the '*alams*. There the Sultan, with his own hands, places garlands of flowers on the '*alams*. When the sun sets he lights each white camphor candle, in front of the hall. Singers deliver verses praising the impeccable Imāms. When all the candles are lit, an eloquent *khatīb* (preacher) recites *fātiha* and gives a lucid sermon in a loud voice to gain blessings from the souls of the Karbalā martyrs and to

invoke their intercession for the Sultan's prosperity. The proceedings conclude with a prostration in thanksgiving by the Sultan. The Sultan then returns to the royal palace but the noblemen and dignitaries stay on. They listen to sermons on the tragic events at Karbalā and the sufferings and hardships of the Sayyidu'sh-Shuhadā' (Imām Husayn). Blood, instead of tears, rolls down their cheeks. After the mourning rituals, delicious vegetarian food is served. A tray bearing pieces of bread with cloves, sugar candies and sweets is provided in place of betel-leaves. On larger trays, sherbets of sugar candy and refined sugar, mixed with rose water, are distributed to the audience. *Zākirs* and the reciters of eulogies perform again. These assemblies continue until midnight.

The same routine is followed in the *alāwa*⁹⁸ outside the palace which is controlled by the city *kotwāl*. A large number of all classes of town dwellers, businessmen and soldiers assemble there. Black garments are distributed. Food and pieces of bread are served, as in the palace. Until midnight, the *Rawzatu'sh-shuhadā'*, the eulogies on the Imāms and the mourning poems are recited. The rituals of 'āshūra are observed in the suburbs such as Hayātābād, Kulsūmpur, Bālāpūr, and Khayrātābād, in the *langar khāna*⁹⁹, elephant and horse stables and *kārkhānas*¹⁰⁰. All expenses are defrayed by the state.

"On the eve of 6th Muharram, the 'alams of the bazaar *alāwa*, are taken to the vast plain surrounding the Dād Mahal¹⁰¹. Lamps are lit on the roads from the bazaar and around the plain itself. In the bazaar, *tābūt*, decorated with richly embroidered and gilded *gunbads* (canopies)¹⁰² are brought out with 'alams. A large number of candles are lit within and outside the *gunbad*. Huge wooden trees and colossal figures carved in wood, are profusely illuminated. Innumerable *fānūs*¹⁰³ and torches precede the procession. A vast crowd of Arabs, Shi'is and the devotees of the holy Imāms march on both sides of the procession carrying candles. The *zākirs* and the eulogists of the Imāms sing hymns. The procession marches to the extensive plain of Dād Mahal where the lamp and torch bearers encircle the processionists. The 'alams remain in the centre. The noise of the recitations rises to the top of the lofty Dād Mahal. The Sultan, standing on the roof of the Dād Mahal, watches the crowds beating their breast and listens to the cries and shrieks of the mourners for the tragedy at Karbalā. Their lamentations move him to tears. Trays of

98 *Alāwa* (a fire-place in the courtyard to burn the incense) in the Bādshāhi 'Āshūr-Khāna.

99 House for free distribution of food.

100 (Literally workshop), departments to manufacture and procure articles of daily need and luxuries for the king and royal household.

101 House of justice; a prominent mansion in the palace precincts.

102 *Tā'ziyas* are meant.

103 A lantern which revolves by the smoke from the candle within.

bread pieces from the palace are distributed to the mourners. The *kotwāl* recites *fātiha* for the long life and prosperity of the Sultan and the procession returns to the *alāwa* in the same order as before.

“Throughout the remaining *'āshūra* nights the *'alam* processions march from the *alāwas* in the suburbs. Special mention should be made of the procession on the night of 7th Muharram from Hayātābād, named after the Sultan's mother.¹⁰⁴ Thousands of people, including courtiers and noblemen, march under the direction of the commander of the royal forces to the Dād Mahal. The shopkeepers light innumerable lamps. Like the previous night, the Sultan is moved to tears by the excitement and earnestness of the processionists and sends pieces of bread to them. The procession wends its way home after an hour.

“On the morning of seventh Muharram, the Sultan moves to the lofty Nadī Mahal palace where he stands on the balcony. The ambassadors from Iran and India, accredited to the Qutb-Shāhī court, the courtiers, noblemen, viziers, the Sultan's favourites and his officers all clad in black garments, stand in strictly prescribed order. The *'alams* from the royal palace, bazaar, *langar khāna* Hayātābād and the suburbs, are brought from the Duwāzdah Imām (Twelve Imāms) gate into the palace. The common people are also permitted to bring their *'alams* within the palace. The entire population, including non-Muslims, are crowded on the plains of Nadī Mahal like the crowds on resurrection day. The *'alam* processions from the suburbs pass first before the Sultan. The mourners' cries and shrieks echo to the sky. The elegies on the martyrs of Karbalā and the stories of the captivity of the ladies of the Imām's house are recited near the *tābūts* and *gunbads* (*ta'ziyas*). The Sultan weeps, expressing his deep sense of grief at the despair of the mourners and at the thought of the tyranny suffered by the Imām and his companions. His anguish and pain escalate at the helplessness of the martyrs and their ladies. The superintendents of the royal wardrobes are ordered to cover the *'alams* from each *alāwa* with lengths of silk. Purses full of coins are awarded to the attendants of the *'alams*. They return to their own quarters from the palace in the afternoon having received many gifts.

“On the night of 10th Muharram, the Sultan visits the palace *alāwa*. After placing flower garlands around the *'alams* and lighting the candles and lamps, he invites the foreign ambassadors to the mourning assembly. The royal dignitaries, eminent officers and court favourites stand in groups according to their status. All of them put on black garments. They listen to lectures on the sufferings of the Karbalā martyrs and cry out, offering their condolences to the spirits of the Prophet Muhammad and Imām 'Alī.

104 *Isnā 'Asharī Shī'īs in India*, I, p. 328.

“On the ninth night of Muharram the *'alams* in the palace *alāwa* are taken to the extensive plain surrounding the royal court. After garlanding the *'alams* and decorating them, the Sultan distributes white camphor candles with his own hands to the courtiers, his favourites, the important ambassadors, military commanders and officers. He gives the royal sword to the army chief of staff. They in their turn, with members of their retinues, and holding the white camphor candles, lamps and *fānūs* in their hands, march to the plain.

“Wooden statues of elephants, lions and cypress trees, some fourteen to fifteen feet high, are arrayed in front of the court verandahs, facing the plain. Lamps, on wooden stands, glow in the recesses, niches and trees carved in the lofty *chahār-tāq*.¹⁰⁵ The Sultan, with his dignitaries and favourites, accompanies the *'alams* from the wall through which the standards are carried. He stands on one of the lofty *chahār-tāqs* which are aglow with lamps from top to bottom and sights the *'alams*. The crowd comprising all classes, high and low, children and adults, men and women, cannot be estimated. Never has such a vast spectacle been reported in the history of the world. A large number of *'alams* are planted in the plain. The *zākirs* and reciters of the Imām's eulogies form independent groups and, standing around the *'alams*, recite hymns. For two hours the lamps remain lit. Afterwards, the Sultan returns to the palace with the *'alams*. His favourites and dignitaries recite *fātiha* for the Sultan's long life and prosperity. Then they go home.

“In the morning of 10th Muharram, the Sultan leaves his palace accompanied by his dignitaries, noblemen, favourites, viziers and senior servants. All wear black and are bare-footed. They cry. The *zākirs* and singers recount Imāms' sorrowful tales, moving slowly towards the royal *alāwa*. They march some 3,000 steps and enter the mosque near the *'Āshūr-khāna* of the *alāwa*. In the mosque recitations are given in a pathetic voice praising the martyrs of Karbalā and describing the imprisonment, helplessness and humiliation of their families. The entire assembly again bursts into tears. This is followed by the recitation of *fātiha* to gain rewards from the soul of Imām Husayn for showing grief and distress at his martyrdom and that of his family and friends. *Fātiha* for the Sultan, is again recited. The Sultan returns to his palace and repeats *'āshūra namāz* and invocations. Afterwards, he eats a simple meal. Two hundred pairs of clothes are distributed from the royal wardrobe to Sayyid orphans in order to obtain spiritual rewards.

“According to royal orders, the *'alams* are set up in all the forts, palaces, cities and ports in the kingdom. Large sums of money have been budget-

105 A principal room at the top of palaces, open in front and supported by four pillars.

ted for 'āshūra expenses for the entire kingdom. This enables all Muslims to perform the ceremonies without any inconvenience. The Sultan's devotion to these rituals has warded off calamities from his kingdom and it is prosperous. All the Sultan's wishes are fulfilled. Even the 'Hindus obedient to Islam'¹⁰⁶ are free from trouble and calamity. The Hindu females and boys take a bath on 'āshūra day and put on clean clothes. Then they come to the *alāwa* with pitchers of white sugarcandy sherbet on their heads that they distribute to the *alāwa* servants. They bring a large amount of gold and silver offerings in fulfilment of vows made in previous years. Fresh vows are made. All Hindu boys born on 'āshūra day are named Husayn.

"A number of unfortunate Muslims, who are poor, or distressed for other reasons, put padlocks on their lips. In that condition they sit down before the *alāwa* and for several days pray for the automatic opening of the padlocks. In the night of 10th Muharram, to the utter bewilderment of the spectators, the padlocks are miraculously opened. Within a year their wishes are fulfilled."¹⁰⁷

The 'āshūra celebrations described by Mirzā Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad in the *Hadīqatū's-salātīn* were both state and civic functions. They offered employment to a considerable number of court favourites and promoted the economic prosperity of the state. Not only did they stimulate a spirit of peaceful co-existence among the Islamic sects but they promoted friendship between Muslims and non-Muslims.

Awrangzib's conquest of Golkonda came as a rude shock and the glory of the Muharram celebrations faded. Awrangzib issued an order closing all 'āshūr-khānas, with the exception of those where some miracle, caused by an 'alam or relic, was observed. Mirzā Hashmat 'Alī Beg informed the Emperor that in Sultan 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh's reign, one Āghā Muhsin Khurāsānī had brought a holy relic from Syria. According to the royal orders, it was incorporated into an 'alam and set up in Chawk. Later the Sultan had arranged that the holy relic, which belonged to the sick man of Karbalā (Imām Husayn's son Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn), should be placed in the royal *Dārush-Shifā'* (hospital) so that its blessings might cure the sick. Awrangzib assigned the holy relic to Mirzā Hashmat 'Alī Beg's care and issued a *farmān* dated 4 Rajab 1110/6 January 1699 that two *huns* should be paid daily to the Mirzā out of the hospital budget to meet his expenditure on aloe-wood and flowers for the relic.¹⁰⁸

It would seem that Awrangzib generally spared 'āshūr-khānas containing

106 '*Hīnaud mutī'ān-i Islām*', a phrase describing Hindu subjects of Muslim rulers. In the *Akbar-nāma* by Abu'l-Fazl, this phrase was dropped. Later Mughal historians generally followed Abu'l-Fazl.

107 *Hadīqatū's-salātīn*, pp. 49-58.

108 Copy of *farmān* in the *Idāra-i Akbiyāt-i Urdū*, Hyderabad.

holy relics but a large number of them were not allowed to function. Even the Bādshāhi 'Āshūr Khāna was closed.

After Awrangzib's death, the precipitous fall of the Mughal empire, the Mahratta depredations in the Deccan and their penetration into northern India made life miserable. Nizāmu'l-Mulk Āsaf-Jāh (1135-61/1724-40) however, stemmed the tide of Mahratta power in the Deccan and carved out the independent Āsaf-Jāhī dynasty. In the reign of the fourth Āsaf-Jāhī ruler, Mīr Nizām 'Alī Khān Āsaf-Jāh II (1175-1218/1761-1803), the Āsaf-Jāhī kingdom was consolidated and strengthened. The prime minister, Mushīru'l-Mulk A'zamu'l-Umarā' Aristū-Jāh, was an indefatigable warrior and a farsighted administrator, but he was an orthodox Shī'i. When one of Aristū-Jāh's sons died on the battle-field, Āsaf-Jāh II went to Aristū-Jāh's house to offer condolence and urged him to adopt two of his own sons. Aristū-Jāh was reluctant to accept Āsaf-Jāh's offer, for he was a Shī'i and the princes were Sunnis. Āsaf-Jāh gave Aristū-Jāh permission to bring them up as he wished, and under his training, the two princes became staunch Shī'is.

In Āsaf-Jāh II's reign, the Bādshāhi 'Āshūr-Khāna was repaired. An inscription on the western wall gives 1178/1764-65 as the date of renovation. At the main gate an inscription dated 1179/1765-66 is carved. It reads: *Bāb-i Fayz-i Imām-i 'alamyūn* (the Gateway of the bounty of the Imāms of mankind). The vanished glory of the mourning ceremonies was revived. For some years Aristū-Jāh was prime minister and his granddaughter, Jahānparwar Begum, was one of the wives of Āsaf-Jāh III (1218-44/1803-29). Aristū-Jāh's successor, Sayyid Abu'l-Qāsim entitled Mīr 'Ālam Bahādur of Shustar, was also a staunch Shī'i. His influence further increased the ruler's patronage to the Muharram ceremonies.

Nasīru'd-Dawla Farkhunda 'Alī Khān Āsaf-Jāh IV (1244-73/1829-57) was brought up by Jahānparwar Begum, who preferred him to the throne over her own son, Mīr Tafazzul 'Alī Khān. Āsaf-Jāh IV repaired the Qutb-Shāhī tombs, renovated the Chārminār and took a deep interest in the observance of the Muharram ceremonies. On the northern and southern walls of the Bādshāhi 'Āshūr-Khāna an inscription on wooden planks dated 1250/1834-35 tells us of this renovation.

Khwāja Ghulām Husayn Khān, who completed his *Gulzār-i Āsafiyya* in 1266/1844, gives a detailed account of the Muharram celebrations in Hyderabad. This shows that not only were the traditions of Sultan 'Abdu'llāh Qutb-Shāh and his successors revived, but also more innovations paying homage to the tragedy of Karbalā were introduced. He says, "Immediately after the appearance of the Muharram crescent the Husayni 'Alam, Na'l Mubārak and 'Alam Bibī are set up. The garlands for the 'alams are donated by the king to earn long life. After two night-watches, a procession, headed by the elephant bearing the 'alam and

accompanied by military contingents, moves bare-footed towards the Husaynī 'Alam, with thousands of civilians. The people first take a bath, put on green garments and then scent themselves. They carry trays of garlands, pitchers of sherbet and trays of food on their head. They tie the garlands round the Husaynī 'Alam, recite *fātiha* and then return home. Although sometimes scuffles break out among the crowds, the peremptory government orders restrain them from fighting. All the *marsiya* reciters visit the Husaynī 'Alam on that night in order to obtain an appreciative audience. Each one of them recites five *bands*¹⁰⁹ of *marsiya*. In the house of both rich and poor and even outside them, on the streets and in the bazaars, '*alams* and *ta'ziyas* are arranged. Musical bands play mourning tunes both in houses and the '*āshūr-khānas* in order to accelerate sorrow and wailing. Every individual is sunk in grief. Rich men light lamps with costly glass shades in their '*āshūr-khānas*. They light white camphor candles in the courtyards. Red cloths are hung behind the lamps which are lit in such a manner that they show exquisite shapes and designs.

“From the first of Muharram until the tenth, court dignitaries, noblemen and their children wear green and black garments. No delicacies are consumed. Some people only eat food that is cooked without butter or salt. Generally women diet more strictly. A few people hire the reciters to recount the sufferings at Karbalā but others read these stories themselves. Some people give up ornate garments and costly shoes and wear a white loin cloth, others tie scarfs of gold thread embroidery around their waist in order to act as *faqīrs* (beggars). They choose their own colours. Some *faqīrs* wear woollen shawls and adorn themselves with gold and silver ornaments. They divide themselves into two groups. One of them comprising some seven hundred people is commanded by Dīna wrestler. The second comprises miscellaneous sub-groups from all the city quarters. They march under parasols of different colours, wearing the dress prescribed for their group. If a group usurps the official colour of another one, fighting breaks out. The government fines the offender. The colours of each group are registered with the government and each marches with its own members. According to their prescribed rules, they pass through the palace of Mahārāja Bahādur Chandū Lāl. The Mahārāja gives each group 101 rupees and an embroidered green scarf. From there they proceed to the highway leading to Panchmahla. They march reciting eulogies on the Imāms and throw ambergris on the road. At Panchmahla they are paid 125 rupees. Early in morning they arrive at Chārmīnār with the elephant carrying their flags. All groups recite eulogies on the Imāms. When the competition warms up they sit

109 Poems of three-verse strophes.

down on the chairs they have brought with them. They don't leave until the result of the match is declared. The leaders then make peace among the groups. Thousands of men and women on the roads, from the roof of their houses, shops and other buildings, watch the spectacle of the groups of *faqīrs*. Rich people observe this drama from their elephant howdahs.

“The *faqīrs* also carry their daily needs, such as food and the hubble-bubble, with them. Although strict discipline is enforced, each *faqīr* is ready to use pistol, gun, sword, dagger and spear. When they arrive at the bottom of the hill on which the Husaynī 'Alam is planted, they recite *fātiha* and then leave for home. On their return journey they compete in reciting devotional poetry with Mīr Dilāwar 'Alī Luhār, a *mansabdār*, who on that day visits the Husaynī 'Alam in *faqīr's* dress in the company of his disciples. The challenge on behalf of the *faqīrs* is accepted by the disciples of Burhān Sāhib, who is expert in composing eulogies and devotional poetry. Both groups recite in a loud voice to the great enjoyment of the spectators. Each expert leads more than two thousand disciples. The competition lasts until four hours before sunset. Subsequently the *faqīrs* call at noblemen's houses and obtain fixed sums of money. On twelfth Muharram, the noblemen offer gifts, food such as *halīm* and *qūrma* on which *fātiha* has been recited to all those who put on *faqīr's* dress. They also feed other people. Later that day they take a bath and revert to normal dress.

“These ceremonies are the legacy of Sultan 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh's reign. An innovation is 'men acting like lions'. They make a lion's tail on their back by tying a stick around their waist with a chain. Someone holds the chain and the man masquerading lion is taken in bazaars and in 'āshūr-khānas beating drums. The shop-keepers give them presents. These men, pretending to be lions, bite the throat of lambs with their teeth and attack animals in a leonine manner. Such actors number about 200. On 10th Muharram a crowd assembles below the ancient fort. Some people, wearing long conical caps of coloured paper act like lunatics. Others, acting as beggars, tie rattles round their waist and pretend to be messengers. A few people dressed as beggars behave differently and obtain sums of money. Some people, acting as *faqīrs*, go around the city beating drums.

“These exciting fancy dress shows take place from the beginning of Muharram until 10th Muharram. On the tenth, all 'alams, *ta'ziyas* and *burāqs* are carried in procession on the highway through Husaynī 'Alam to the Mūsī river. They follow the flag-decked elephants, bands and drums. Military contingents accompany them. Both Hindus and Muslims don fancy dresses. Khwāja Ghulām Husayn Khān, the author of the *Tārīkh-i Gulzār-i Āsafīyya*, says that people dress themselves like beggars

or lions merely to pay tribute to the memory of the Karbalā martyrs. On no other occasion would anyone act like a *faqīr* or a lion, even to earn a large sum of money. Ghulām Husayn also describes the *langar* (weight ceremony). This ritual dates from the reign of 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh. It is said that at the end of a Zu'lhijja, 'Abdu'llāh was returning home on his elephant to Golkonda fort. The elephant, excited by the flooded Mūsi river, threw his mahout. It wandered uncontrolled through the forest while 'Abdu'llāh remained in his seat. When his mother, Hayāt Bakhshī Begum, was informed of this disaster, she ordered that food and water bottles should be tied to the trees in the jungle so that her son would not starve. Meanwhile, the Muharram crescent had appeared so Hayāt Bakhshī Begum took a vow that if her son returned safely she would tie a *langar* (weight) of gold around his waist and take him, bare-footed, from Golkonda to the Husaynī 'Alam. There she would distribute the gold (from the *langar*) to the poor. Accordingly, when 'Abdu'llāh returned, she ordered that a *langar* of gold weighing forty pounds be manufactured. This was tied to 'Abdu'llāh's waist and he travelled on foot to the Husaynī 'Alam. Subsequently, tying the *langar* became an integral part of Muharram celebrations."

Ghulām Husayn says that in his days rich men tied *langars* of gold and silver round their waist and poor people tied flowers using red thread. Then they visited the Husaynī 'Alam. They also took pitchers of sherbet with them and distributed it and the gold and silver to the mourners there. Rich men placed musical bands and elephants with *'alams* at the head of their processions.

"From 1st to 9th Muharram, *langar* processions from different quarters visit the Husaynī 'Alam. On 5th Muharram, the procession carries the *langar* for the long life and prosperity of the Nizām. The Nizām watches the event from the Panchmahla palace. He stands behind a perforated curtain in order to save the processionists the trouble of paying obeisance to him. The ladies watch from their palaces. An elephant, bearing a gold flag, is preceded by the senior superintendent of the royal messengers leading 400 messengers. The other messenger superintendents, each at the head of 400 subordinates, follow. All march majestically. Then comes a contingent of 100 camel-riders. The elephant from the finance department walks behind the camels. Various contingents consisting of 6,000 soldiers follow. 5,000 young soldiers, dressed in glittering uniforms, march with great pomp and show. They are followed initially by 3,000 Sindī and Sikh soldiers, and then other military contingents. The Nizām's royal elephant, decked with valuable ornaments is next; 400 royal messengers, 500 archers and 150 camel-riders march after him. Contingents of noblemen and commanders, then 1,000 cavalry men, follow the royal group. Next comes the second royal elephant, flying the Nizām's flag,

and a number of soldiers. The European contingents, consisting of 300 soldiers with their artillery, precede the foreign dignitaries and other special groups. They total 40,000 in all. Shamsu'l-Umarā' and his four sons, accompanied by a huge retinue, follow them. Twelve elephants and a military band playing mourning tunes, come next. Some elephants carry ambergris and other types of perfumes. Twenty richly decorated elephants precede the canopy holding the *langar* for the Nizām's long life and prosperity. Then comes a contingent of 2,000 soldiers from eastern India, known as *pūrbīyas*. Behind them a procession, carrying gold and silver 'alams, marches majestically. Some 'alams are sheltered by canopies. Royal servants, carrying gold *langars* on trays, pitchers of sherbet and money for offerings, follow. The Khān-i Sāmān Amīru'd-Dawla, on a green canopied elephant heads a group of elephants marching pompously and beating kettle-drums.

"The procession starts at one and a half watches after sunrise and, travelling throughout the day, passes before the Nizām at about one and a half watches after sunset. When two night watches remain, the procession enters the brightly illuminated 'Āshūr-khāna of Husaynī 'Alam. 200 mace bearers and 200 messengers keep law and order. I'tisāmu'l-Mulk 'Arz Begī gives the news of the procession's success to the Nizām. The number of visitors from distant lands who come to watch the procession cannot be estimated.

"On 6th and 7th Muharram, the processions of the princes' *langar* march to the Husaynī 'Alam. Until 9th Muharram, the entire population, including Hindus and other religious communities, is occupied in watching these *langar* processions. On the morning of 5th Muharram, Shamsu'l-Umarā''s *langar* procession marches independently to the Husaynī 'Alam. Shamsu'l-Umarā' with *langars* of gold and flowers tied round his waist, is mounted on an elephant. A large number of mourners line the roofs, shops and other edifices between Chārmīnar and the Husaynī 'Alam 'Āshūr-khāna in Chawk. On 6th and 7th Muharram, Shamsu'l-Umarā''s procession marches to the Husaynī 'Alam 'Āshūr-khāna. All display much pomp and ceremony.

"On the night before 10th Muharram, the 'alams, *ta'ziyas* and *burāqs* are carried in procession in different quarters of the capital surrounded by innumerable lamps. The procession of *na'l sāhib* is accompanied by thousands of mourners carrying torches and candles. On 10th Muharram, about one watch after sunrise, the procession carrying the 'alam of Imām Husayn's mother, Fātima Zahra, leaves its permanent abode. It enters the town through the Yāqūtpurā gateway. The local children, carrying green and red flags, march at the head. The shop-keepers give them copper coins. Behind them is an elephant carrying green 'alams. Next come the camels and then the animal-keepers with bamboo sticks

in their hand. Behind them walk people carrying 'alams, *ta'ziyas*, *burāqs* and two imitation graves of red paper. *Tābūts* from different quarters join the main procession. Groups of dignitaries, noblemen and their sons, and Hindu and Muslim *mansabdārs* march, bare-footed and bare-headed crying "Husayn, Husayn". Thousands of processionists offer coins and dry fruits to the 'alams. The owners of large houses on the route shower money, and garlands of gold and silver wired flowers to the 'alams. The women watch the spectacle behind the curtains of their mansions.

In the afternoon the procession passes through Chārminār, Chār-Kamān and the building containing Prophet Muhammad's footprint. There Fātima Zahra's 'alam is lowered. This symbolises her petition to God when, on Judgement Day, she will arouse His wrath against the enemies of her innocent son Husayn, his family and companions. The processionists are drowned in oceans of grief, while their frenzied weeping and breast-beating gives the impression that they will die at any moment.

"On *Chihlum* day, the mourners organise a *marsiya* competition. Every Friday night the Husaynī 'Alām is separated from its rod and placed in a boat so that the people can pay their respect. On *Chihlum* day this still happens although it is accompanied by a *marsiya* competition. None of the families of the original organizers of the 'alam processions survives. The expenses are now paid by the state with the exception of a few wealthy nobles who make their own arrangements. Valuable *jāgirs* have been assigned for the maintenance of 'alams, 'Ashūr-khāna and processions. Mahārāja Chandū Lāl, who displayed exceptional devotion to these ceremonies, excelled other state dignitaries in making illuminated displays.¹¹⁰ From 1869, men were forbidden to act like lions and lunatics. Although the *faqir* processions were also prohibited, the enthusiasm shown in celebrating Muharram is undiminished. The seventh Nizām organized the Hyderabad celebrations on a grand scale.

Muharram Celebrations in other Deccan Towns

Until 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II's reign (1657-72) the Bijāpūris had celebrated Muharram rather modestly. The new Shāh made it a state festival. In 1067/1656-57 his mother, Khadija Sultān Shahr Bānū, the daughter of Muhammad Qutb Shāh and sister to 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh, persuaded him to build an 'Ashūr-khāna in Bijapur. It was called the Husaynī Mahal. Nusratī (d. 1075/1685), the Bijāpūri court poet laureate, pays tributes both to the Shāh and his mother for their devotion to the Ahl-i Bayt and their enthusiasm for Muharram celebrations. Nusratī has given an account of the decoration of the streets and highways, the illumina-

110 *Gulzār-i Āsafiyya*, pp. 560-588.

tions, and the antics of the people imitating lions. Under state patronage, Muharram in Bijapur assumed the pattern of that in Hyderabad.¹¹¹

The Qutb-Shāhī rulers popularised Muharram even in Mysore and Madras. After the fall of the Qutb-Shāhī kingdom, the Mughal governors celebrated Muharram there. In 1719, the Shī'i governor of Mysore, Nawwāb 'Abbās Qutb Khān, built an *imāmbārha* at Sara. Under Hyder 'Alī and Tipū Sultān, the Īrānī dignitaries built *imāmbārha* at Srirangapatam and obtained a state grant to cover expenses. Muharram was also vigorously celebrated in Bangalore. The interest displayed by the Nawwābs of Karnatak in Urdu poetry gave an impetus to the observance of Muharram in that region.

Muharram Symbols

The Muharram symbols are designed to arouse memories of the tragedy at Karbalā and promote devotion to the Prophet's family. The earliest known Muharram symbol in India is the '*alam*' (a standard or an ensign). It is intended to remind mourners of the '*alam*' which, on 10th Muharram, Imām Husayn assigned to his half-brother 'Abbās, an invincible warrior and a redoubtable personality. Often 'Abbās had wished to march deep into the enemy ranks and destroy them but the Imām did not approve of annihilating even the nominal followers of his grandfather. Ultimately, 'Abbās was urged to fetch water for the children who lay prostrate for three days without a drop of water. 'Abbās fought gallantly, broke the enemies' ranks and reached the Euphrates. He filled the leather bag given him by Husayn's little daughter Sakīna with water and moved toward the camp without himself drinking a single drop of water. The enemies had closed the ranks and martyred 'Abbās. The '*alam*' instantly reminds mourners of the children's thirst and 'Abbās' self sacrifice filling them with an ecstasy of grief.

The metal crests of the '*alams*' are cast in different patterns. They are generally in the shape of the palm of a hand, whose five fingers represent Prophet Muhammad, 'Alī, Fātima, Hasan and Husayn. In more ornamented crests, the palms are artistically designed and leaves and sword blades, representing fingers are added. Arabesques floral designs and inscriptions, comprising the names of the Prophet, his daughter and the Imāms are carved on the surfaces of the crest. Much of the elaborately decorated crests are inlaid with precious stones. Pierced works on metal sheets are frequently used for '*alam*' crests.

In the Qutb-Shāhī's reign several pilgrims brought relics from Karbalā. They were incorporated into '*alams*' and '*Āshūr-khānas*' were con-

111 Muhyi'u'd-Dīn Qādirī Zor, Bijāpūr kā Shāhī 'Āshūr-khāna, *Sab-ras* (Urdu), March 1938, pp. 14-19.

structed to display them. Consequently several centres for the mourning processions emerged.

The earliest relic was obtained by Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh (957-88/1550-80). It was a piece of iron in the shape of a horse-shoe which was affixed to a helmet to protect the nose. This particular nose-piece is said to have belonged to Imām Husayn's helmet. In the reign of Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh (895-916/1490-1510) it was brought to Bijapur by a pilgrim from Karbalā. Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh acquired it from Bijapur and had a crest-shaped 'Allāh' made out of it. He kept it in Golkonda, but Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh transferred it to Hyderabad and placed it in the royal palace area known as 'Ilāhī Mahal' near Chārkamān.¹¹² Later during the reign of Nizām 'Alī Khān Āsaf Jāh II the 'Āshūr-khāna in the palace was extended. The *Na'l-i Mubārak* procession soon occupied a distinctive position in the Hyderabad Muharram rituals.

From Medina Āqā 'Alī (a pilgrim) brought the sword ascribed to Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq. Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh gave the relic a royal reception. Āqā 'Alī constructed an 'alam and affixed the sword to it. This was known as the 'Husaynī 'Alam'. The Sultan built an 'Āshūr-khāna for the 'alam, offering royal insignia and land grants for its maintenance.

During Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh's reign a pilgrim brought two other relics from Karbalā: (a) a piece from 'Abbās' armour and (2) the head of Qāsim's spear. He claimed that Imām Husayn had appeared to him in a vision and had told him where the relics were buried. The pilgrim made them into 'alam crests. The 'alam containing the piece of 'Abbās' armour was named the 'Alam-i Abu'l-Fazli'l 'Abbās' and the other, incorporating the tip of Qāsim's spear, the 'Hazrat Qāsim's 'Alam'.

The Bibī Kā 'Alam (Fātima Zahra's 'Alam) is also an important Hyderabad relic. It is made from a piece of the wooden plank on which 'Alī is said to have bathed his wife Fātima prior to her burial. Initially the wood was cut into a *tughra*¹¹³ reading Allāh, Muhammad and 'Alī. Then it was set in a gold-plated 'alam. It was housed in an 'Āshūr-khāna outside the Dabīrpur quarter. Later, Āsaf Jāh VII renovated the building.

During 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh's reign, Hājjī Āghā Muhsin Khurāsāni brought from Damascus the iron collar which Yazīd's army had put around Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn's neck. The Sultan transformed it into an 'alam crest and affixed it to the Dāru'sh-Shifā' vestibule so that its power might cure the patients. Awrangzīb re-confirmed the grant for its maintenance. In 1357/1938-39, Āsaf Jāh VII built an 'Āshūr-khāna

112 *Gulzār-i Āsafīyya*, p. 16.

113 A sort of script used for the imperial titles appearing on imperial edicts.

for this 'alam, consisting of two rooms, to the south of the Dāru'sh-Shifā'. This complex is now one of the leading Muharram centres in Hyderabad. The 'alam is known as the 'alam-i sar-tawq mubārak'.¹¹⁴

Alāwa

The 'alāwa' or 'fire-place', which is a pit dug in the 'Ashūr-khāna courtyard, is an integral part of the Deccan Muharram. Sometimes the alāwa is enclosed by a wall. The pits are dug annually in the same spot and measure about one to eight metres in diameter. On the first ten nights of Muharram, a fire is kindled in the alāwas and incense is burnt. 'Alams from the 'Ashūr-khāna are taken around the alāwa. The fire reminds the mourners of the one the Imām ordered his companions to burn around the moat surrounding his camp, in order to prevent a surprise attack.

Tābūts, ta'ziyas and zarihs

Pelsaert calls the tābūts 'coffins or biers'. Symbolically, they represent the biers of Imām Husayn and his family, whose corpses were trampled by their enemies' horses after their martyrdom. Zarihs symbolise Imām Husayn's mausoleum but they are a permanent fixture in the imāmbārhas. Ta'ziyas also represent Imām Husayn's tomb but they are made annually from paper and other stuffs and are buried in places designated 'Karbalā' on the afternoon of 'āshūra. Ta'ziyas are also designed to remind the mourners of the indignities perpetrated on the Imām's corpse. Zarihs represent Imām Husayn's tomb itself which the Indians cannot visit personally because they live too far away from Karbalā.

Burāq and Zu'l-janāh

Burāq is a representation of the beast on which the Prophet is believed to have ridden when he made his ascension to the Divine proximity on the occasion of his famous night journey. According to Ibn Hishām, the Prophet described the burāq as a winged animal, white in colour, and, in size, intermediate between a mule and an ass. Ibn Sa'd makes Gabriel address burāq as a female. In the earliest available painting in the Jāmi'-u't-tawārikh by Rashīdu'd-Dīn, dated 714/1314,

"it is rather a centaur type that is followed, for the upper part of the body has two arms, as well as the usual four legs of an animal; in other respects also it presents features that are unusual, for Burāq holds in her hands a book, presumably a copy of the Qur'ān, and her tail is

114 Rāhat A'zmi, Hyderabad ke muqaddas tabarrukāt, Sadā'i-Jā'fari (Urdu), Hyderabad, 1978, pp. 37-47.

upturned and ends in the upper part of a human body—the breast, head, and two arms, carrying in the right hand a long sword and in the left a round shield; the long thick masses of hair, curled up at the end, which hang down below each cheek, are similar to those of Burāq herself, and the crown on the head of each is of the same kind, and exactly resembles in shape and ornamentation with that worn by kings in several illustrations in Berūnī's *al-Āthār al-Bāqiyah* (Edinburgh University Library, no. 161); but the artistic origin of this strange caudal appendage is obscure."¹¹⁵

Arnold goes on to say:

“During the decline in Muhammadan painting in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the representation of Burāq tended to become vulgarized, and her appearance was certainly not improved by the addition of an ill-shaped, heavy crown, such as that worn by the later Shāhs of Persia, or by the substitution of an upstanding peacock's tail for that of an ordinary mule.

The common occurrence of pictures of Muhammad upon Burāq affords a remarkable example of the persistence of an earlier artistic convention and of its intrusion into a religion of a later date. By theory, and in accordance with orthodox theological teaching, no such representation should have appeared in the art of Islam at all, but like many other survivals it refused to be killed, and insisted on finding for itself a place in the art of a religion which ought never to have admitted it, but was not strong enough to keep out an artistic tradition of such great antiquity. Even to the present day, crude pictures of Burāq, without her rider, are popular in Egyptian villages, and flimsy representations of this strange beast are often carried in the Muharram processions in India.”¹¹⁶

The statues of *burāq* made for the Muharram processions were of the type described in the last para, by Arnold. These statues are more common in the Sunnī Muharram processions than in the Shī'ī ones.

Shī'ī processions generally include *zu'l-janāh* or *duldul*. *Zu'l-janāh* means ‘winged’ and was the name given to the horse that Imām Husayn rode on 10th Muharram. When the Imām was martyred, only Zu'l-janāh was left to convey the tragic news to the ladies' camp. A horse is specially bred for this event and is never ridden. It is decorated in the manner described previously by Mrs. Meer Hasan 'Alī¹¹⁷ and is included in the Muharram processions to deepen the anguish and pain of the mourners.

115 T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, New York, 1965, reprint, p. 119.

116 *Ibid.*, pp. 121-122.

117 *Supra*, pp. 322-23, 327, 331.

'Āshūr-Khānas, 'Azā Khānas, Husayniyas and Imāmbārhas

In the Deccan the rooms set aside in houses or halls, built for *'alams*, *zarīhs*, *tābūts* and *ta'ziyas*, are known as *'Āshūr-khānas*. The mourning assemblies (*majlis*, plural *majālis*) are held there and the processions of *'alams* and *tābūts* or *ta'ziyas* start from there. The early Qutb Shāhī rulers built their *'Āshūr-khānas* in Golkonda fort; the Bādshāhī *'Āshūr-khāna* in Hyderabad was completed in 1005/1596. Separate *'Āshūr-khānas* were built for each important *'alam* brought by pilgrims from Iraq and Arabia to Hyderabad. They were named after the respective *'alams*. The halls of the *'Āshūr-khānds* are surrounded by vestibules and rooms. They have imposing gateways and permanent *alāwas*. *Naqqār-khānas* (drum houses) were sometimes added to *'Āshūr-khānas*. The Bādshāhī *'Āshūr-khāna* is an example.

The counterpart of the *'Āshūr-khānas* in northern India are the *'azā-khānas*, *Husayniyas* or *Imāmbārhas*. They are also known as *ta'ziya-khānas* (house of *ta'ziyas*, or mourning houses). In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Shī'ī dignitaries, who performed their mourning ceremonies in secret, built *ta'ziya-khānas* in their mansions.¹¹⁸ In 1224/1809, Ahmad bin Muhammad Bihbihānī saw an imposing *ta'ziya-khāna*, known as the Husaynī Dālān, at Jahāngīr-Nagar (Dacca). He was told that it was 150 years old. It was built by Mīr Murād Bāshī—possibly during Shāh Shujā's governorship. Bihbihānī mentions that it was well-managed.¹¹⁹ It would seem that Muharram was celebrated while Mīr Jumla and Shā'ista Khān were governors and, under Murshid Qulī Khān and his successor, the *ta'ziya-khāna*, known as Husaynī Dālān, became the centre for the Muharram ceremonies in Bengal.

The second known *Imāmbārha* in Bengal was built by Āghā Muhammad Mutahhar in the flourishing commercial port of Hughlī.¹²⁰ The Āghā had left Iran for Hughlī towards the end of Awrangzib's reign. The *Imāmbārha* seems to have been constructed in the early eighteenth century and quickly became the centre of Muharram ceremonies. *Imāmbārhas* were then built in Murshidabad, Fyzabad and Delhi. From Āsafū'd-Dawla's reign, *Imāmbārhas* mushroomed in Lucknow, Awadh and other towns in the region. They were known as *Husayniyas*, *'azā-khānas* and

118 For example even in Muhammad Shāh's reign, Fazl 'Alī Fazlī's father, Nawwāb Ashraf 'Alī Khān, secretly performed Muharram rituals and attended assemblies within the palace; Fazl 'Alī Fazlī, *Karbal Kathā*, edited by Mālikrām and Mukhtārū'd-Dīn Ahmad, Patna 1965, p. 37.

119 *Supra*, p. 123.

120 *Tabaqāt-i Muhsiniyya, Collection of papers relating to the Hooghly Imāmbārha 1815-1910*, Calcutta, 1914, Summary of Persian Extracts, Copy of Hājī Muhammad Muhsin's will, dated 1213/1798, mentions the edifice as *Imām-Bārhi*. In the inscription on the wall facing the river, *Imām-Bārhi* is mentioned.

ta'ziya-khānas but the popular name was *Imāmbārha*. In Bengali 'bārhi' means 'a mansion'. In Bengal the mansion for the Imām's mourning ceremonies was naturally known as the '*Imām-Bārhi*'. In other towns *bārhi* changed into '*bārha*'. In their zeal for Persianization, the Pākistānis have changed *bārhi* into '*bārgāh*' (a king's court or palace).

The free distribution of water, sherbet and food to the poor and needy in the *Imāmbārhas* and processions helps to provide relief to a neglected section of the community but it also reminds people of the hunger and thirst by Imām Husayn, his young children and his fellow martyrs.

Elegies and Sermons during the Mourning Assemblies

Marsiyas, or elegies, are the favourite form of expressing sorrow among the poetry-loving Arabs. In *qasidas* (odes) they extol the virtues of the living, in *marsiyas*, they pay tribute to the dead. Fātima's elegies on the Prophet's death refer bitterly to her own miseries. The *marsiyas* on Imām Husayn by his sisters give first-hand information on the tragedy at Karbalā. Imām Husayn's martyrdom was described by many contemporary poets and prose writers. The latter are known as *maqātil*¹²¹ and were read out in the Muharram assemblies. Books, known as '*shahādat-nāma*' (accounts of martyrdom) and '*jang-nāma*' (accounts of battles) were written, on the basis of the *maqātil* and historical works, to read there as well. Some prose accounts are profusely interspersed with verses.

When Kamālu'd-Dīn Husayn bin 'Alī Wā'iz Kāshifī wrote his *Rawzatū'sh-shuhadā'* (*The Garden of the Martyrs*), all other works went out of circulation. Even the mourning assemblies themselves came to be called as '*Rawzas*'. Kāshifī belonged to the predominantly Shi'i region of Sabzwār in Khurāsān. He was educated in Sabzwār, Nishāpūr and Mashhad. He then moved to Hirāt where he lived for some twenty years until his death. He became friendly with the *sūfi* and poet, Nūru'd-Dīn 'Abdu'r-Rahmān Jāmi (d. 898/1491), and married one of his sisters. Sultan Husayn Bayqarā's prime minister, Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī, also became Kāshifī's friend and both he and the Sultan were his patrons.

Kāshifī was an expert in all branches of astronomy, a successful author of exegeses on the Qur'ān, a scholar of political science and ethics and an eloquent orator. In Hirāt he regularly delivered sermons in several seminaries and mosques. He planned to write an extensive Persian exegesis on the Qur'ān and dedicated it to Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī. He called it *Jawāhiru't-tafsīr li-tuhfatu'l-amīr* but was able to complete only the first three chapters and 84 verses in the fourth chapter. Daunted by the size of his task, he gave up and, instead, composed a concise exegesis on the Qur'ān between 897/1491-92 and 899/1493-94. This was also dedicated to Mīr 'Alī Shīr

121 *Isnā 'Ashari Shi'is in India*, I, pp. 156-57.

Nawā'ī and called *Muawāhib-i 'āliya*. It is also known as the *Tafsīr-i Husaynī* and is one of the most popular Persian exegesis of the Qur'ān. Manuscript copies are available in almost all libraries of Persian and Arabic manuscripts. Turkish, Urdu and Pushtu translations were also made and published.¹²² Kāshifī's *Anwār-i Suhaylī* is a Persian translation of Ibn al-Muqaffa's (d. 139/756) Arabic version of the famous Sanskrit *Kalīla wa Dimna*. In 900/1495 Kāshifī wrote an ethico-political manual entitled *Akhlāq-i Muhsinī*. The titles of some thirty-five of his books are known and some are available in various libraries.

In about 908/1502-3, two years before his death, Kāshifī wrote the *Rawzatūsh-shuhadā'* at the request of the illustrious prince and Sayyid, Murshidu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dīn 'Abdu'llāh, called Sayyid Mīrzā. The prince was the son of Salāhu'd-Dīn Mūsa and a royal princess whose father, Sultan Bayqarā, was uterine brother to the reigning monarch, Sultan Husayn Bayqarā. The *Rawzatūsh-shuhadā'* is divided into the following ten chapters: (1) Trials and tribulations of some of the Prophets, (2) Persecution of Prophet Muhammad by the Qurayshites and the martyrdom of the Prophet's uncle Hamza and Ja'far bin Abī Tālib, (3) Death of the Prophet Muhammad, (4) Life of Fātima Zahra, (5) Life of Imām 'Alī, (6) Life of Imām Hasan, (7) Life of Imām Husayn, (8) Martyrdom of Imām Husayn's envoy to Kūfa, Muslim bin 'Aqīl, and the martyrdom of his sons, (9) Imām Husayn's encounter with his enemies at Karbalā, the martyrdom of his companions and children, (10) The persecution of the Imām's family after his martyrdom, punishment of the Imām's murderers. The *khātima* (conclusion) comprises a succinct genealogical account of the descendants of Imāms Hasan and Husayn, with short notices on the Imāms.

The earliest known manuscript copy, dated 925/1519, is in the Āya Sūfiya Library, Istanbūl. Other early copies are in the Āya Sūfiya, the Fatih Library, Istanbūl and the Nūr-i 'Usmāniya Library, Istanbūl. This shows the popularity of the work in the orthodox Sunnī Ottoman empire. Muhammad bin Sulaymān Fuzūlī (d. 963/1556), the famous Turkish classical author, translated the *Rawzatūsh-shuhadā'* into Turkish and called it *Hadiqatū's-su'adā'*.¹²³ The Bektāshīs made the recitation of the *Hadiqatū's-su'adā'* integral to their mourning assemblies, thereby increasing its popularity through the Turkish-speaking region.

Although Kāshifī came from the predominantly Shī'i area of Sabzwār, in Hirāt he seems to have professed Sunnī beliefs. According to 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī, Kāshifī was devoid of the *rifz* and false faith of the people

122 Storey, I, pp. 12-13.

123 Storey, I, pp. 212-13.

of Sabzwār, although he was accused of Shi'ism.¹²⁴ Kāshifi's son, Fakhru'd-Dīn 'Alī bin Husayn al-Wā'iz Kāshifi (d. 939/1532-33), the author of the *Rashhāt-i, 'aynu'l-hayāt*, says that his father was a Naqshbandiyya and a Sunni. The people of Sabzwār grew suspicious of Husayn Kāshifi's sectarian beliefs and, when he visited them from Hirāt, decided to test his faith. Accordingly an old man attended his 'sermon in the Jāmi' mosque carrying a big stick. In the course of his sermon, Kāshifi stated that Gabriel visited the Prophet Muhammad 12,000 times. The old man interjected, "How many times did Gabriel visit 'Alī?" Kāshifi realised that if he were to say that Gabriel appeared to 'Alī, he would be lying. Were he to say that Gabriel never visited 'Alī, the Sabzwāris devoted to 'Alī would accuse him of Sunni-ism and the old man might break his head. Kāshifi's grounding in Shi'ism came to his rescue, according to Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustarī. He replied that Gabriel paid 24,000 visits to 'Alī. The old man asked Kāshifi whether he was trying to please him or he could prove his statement. Kāshifi assured him that his assessment was based on the Prophet's assertion, "I am the city of knowledge and 'Alī is its gateway. Gabriel entered the city of knowledge through the gateway 12,000 times and left by the gateway 12,000 times. Consequently the total number of Gabriel's visits to 'Alī were 24,000."¹²⁵ No one could dispute his answer.

Uncertainty surrounded Kāshifi's religious views and he enjoyed deep respect from the Sunni 'ulamā' who glossed over his pro-Shi'i interpretations of Qur'ānic verses. His account of the tragedy of Karbalā in the *Rawzatū sh-shuhadā'* are also acceptable to both Sunnis and Shi'is.

Fuzūli, the Turkish translator of the *Rawzatū sh-shuhadā'*, was born in Iraq in Āq-Qoyunlū's reign. He was an Isnā 'Ashari Shi'i. When Shāh Ismā'il Safawī seized Baghdād in 914/1508, Fuzūli dedicated a *masnawī* to him. The Safawid governor of Iraq also patronised Fuzūli. After the Ottoman Sultan Sulaymān's conquest of Iraq in 941/1534, Fuzūli wrote *qasīdas* praising Sulaymān and his leading dignitaries. Nevertheless, he remained a Shi'i.¹²⁶

In 974/1567, 996/1588, 1040/1630-31, 1058/1649, 1100/1688-89, 1118/1706 various scholars compiled abridged versions of the *Rawzatū sh-shuhadā'* to recite in the mourning assemblies at different times in the first ten days of Muharram. Some of these versions are known as *Dah Majlis*.

There are three different translations of the *Rawzatū sh-shuhadā'* into Deccani poetry. The first, in 1092/1681-82, was written by Sewā of Gulbarga. Later, in about 1130/1717-18, Wali of Vellore produced

124 Introduction to *Karbal Kathā*, p. 6.

125 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 50.

126 E. I.², II, pp. 937-39.

another version as did Sayyid Ahmad 'Alī in 1182/1769-70. Two translations into Deccani prose were produced: Hasan Beg's *Wasīlatu'n-najāt* and eight years later, Sayyid Mir Walī Khān's *Riyāzu't-tāhirīn* or *Hādīsāt-i Karbalā*.

It was also translated into Urdu. In 1206/1791-92, Sayyid 'Alī Wāsītī Bilgarāmi produced the *Dah majlis* while Sayyid Haydar Bakhsh Haydari Dihlawī (d. 1238/1822-23) wrote the *Gulshan-i shahīdān*. In 1227/1812-13 Haydari wrote an abridged version named the *Gul-i Maghfīrat*. Several other translations were also made of the *Rawzatu'sh-shuhadā'*. Some 18th century translations are abridged versions of the book. They are known as *Dah majlis* (Ten assemblies), *Yāzdah majlis* (eleven assemblies) and *Duwāzdah majlis* (Twelve assemblies).

A watershed in these Urdu translations of the *Rawzatu'sh-shuhadā'* is the *Karbal Kathā* by Fazal 'Alī, who used the *nom-de-plume* 'Fazlī'. He composed the first version in 1145/1732-33 at the age of twenty-two and revised it in 1161/1748-49. In his preface, he says that his father, Nawwāb Ashraf 'Alī Khān, ordered him to recite from the abridged Persian edition of the *Rawzatu'sh-shuhadā'* at the mourning assemblies held secretly in his palace. The ladies who were present were unable, however, to follow the Persian idioms. Their difficulty stimulated him to translate the book into lucid and idiomatic Hindi (Urdu). The original work pays tribute to the Emperor Muhammad Shāh and the revised version praises his son, Emperor Ahmad Shāh.¹²⁷

Poems on the Tragedy of Karbalā in Telugu, Sindi and Bengali

Under the Qutb-Shāhi dynasty, the Telugu poets also wrote poetry mourning the tragedy of Karbalā. Hārūn Khān Sherwānī says,

“The stories connected with Muharram, the month of the martyrdom of the Prophet's grandson, Imām Husain, became a part of the Hindu folk-lore and were rendered into Telugu verse. There were, no doubt, variations from the historical version, which was moulded according to the likely appeal the story would make to the populace in the city, the tiller in the country-side and the pot-maker in the village, but that only enhanced the local value of the songs. It is interesting to note that there are different kinds of the Telugu songs connected with the Muharram festival, such as *Jangnāma-i Panjtan-i Pāk* and *Marthiyas*, meaning respectively, the story connected with the War, the Five Sacred Personalities and the Dirges. ‘Most of these songs are sung not only during Muharram but throughout the years by Telugu folks’, and vary from locality to locality.”

127 *Karbal Kathā*, pp. 8-22.

The translation of a Telugu song from Rayalsima might be quoted here with advantage:

“Salutation to Thee, Salutation to God, Salutation to Almighty!
 In the City of the Sky there is a beautiful Fort;
 Inside the Fort there is a Palace made of glass;
 Inside the Palace of glass there are high seats;
 There are whisks and beautiful thrones;
 Who are on those two thrones?
 These are Hasan and Husain, two brothers,
 Kings in Court, Lords on the Throne,
 Monarchs ruling over the Seven Isles.”

Here is another:

“Two sons were born to Bibi Fatima;
 They were Hasan and Husain, the two brothers.
 Hasan was the elder and Husain was the younger.
 A battle rose in the Sky which they fought out,
 A battle rose in the farthest lands which they fought daringly.”

Of course the sequence is anachronistic, unhistorical and fanciful, but that only shows how the story was twisted to suit the popular taste. The dirges are all Telugued and even the marriage of Hazrat Qāsim is placed in the Andhra atmosphere, and sacred rice is said to have been thrown on the bridegroom as is the custom in orthodox Hindu marriages today. A trinket is worn on the forehead, a thread is tied to the wrist and garlands are placed round his neck.¹²⁸

The Bengali poets wrote elegies on the tragedy of Karbalā in their own language. Sayyid Sultan, who lived in the Chakra-Shala *pargana* in Chittagong, planned an extensive book entitled *Nabi Bangsha*, covering the history from Adam's time to his own. He was unable, however, to proceed further than the story of the Prophet Muhammad. *Nabi Bangsha* was composed in 1586-87. At Sayyid Sultan's request, his disciple, Muhammad Khān, composed (*Maqṭal*) *Husayn* in 1646. This book is divided into eleven chapters, some of which, as *Qiyāmat-nāma*, and *Dajjāl-nāma*, were circulated as independent books. The *Maqṭal Husayn* is the prototype of all Bengali poems on the Karbalā tragedy. The work was also published. An extension of this book, the *Muhammad Hanīfer Larā'i*, comprises a legendary account of the war between Imām Husayn's half-brother, Muhammad Hanafiyya, and Yazīd. Many other Bengali poets,

128 *History of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty*, pp. 528-30.

such as 'Abu'l-Halīm, also composed epics on this theme. *Sakīner Bilāp* by an anonymous poet describes Fātima Kubrā's lamentations on her husband Qāsim's martyrdom. Fātima's name is wrongly replaced by Sakīna. *Zaynab Bilāp*, by another anonymous writer, recounts Zaynab's lamentations for her brother Imām Husayn. *Shahīd Karbalā* by Ja'far discusses incidents at the battle of Karbalā. *Sarūper Larā'i* by 'Alī Ahmad depicts how Sarūp, son of Yazīd took Imām Husayn's side in the conflict and died fighting his own father. Historically the story is fantastic; it only shows the popular hatred for Yazīd. Muhammad Sultan's *Zahar Mukhra* deals with the poisoning of Imām Hasan by his wife.¹²⁹

The *khānqāh* of Lāl Shahbāz Qalandar popularized devotional songs on 'Alī in Sindi. Shāh 'Abdu'l-Latif (d. 1165/1752) composed heartbreaking elegies on martyrs of Karbalā. Other Sindi poets also wrote touching elegies but only 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Sachal Sarmast (d. 1826) could match the elegance of Shāh 'Abdu'l-Latif.

Deccani and Urdu Marsiyas (Elegies)

Initially Persian *marsiya*s in the Deccan were composed by Mir Muhammad Mu'min¹³⁰ but, before long, the Deccani poems relegated them to the background. The earliest known *marsiya* in the Deccani dialect was composed by Burhānu'd-Dīn Jānam, the son of the famous Bījāpūrī *sūfi* of the Qādiriyya-Chishtiyya order, Shāh Mīrān Shamsu'l-'ushshāq (d. 970/1562-63). Burhānu'd-Dīn Jānam was born twenty years before his father's death in c. 950/1543-44, and died in 1007/1598-99. Both father and son were outstanding *sūfi* writers of prose and poetry and composed *sūfi* treatises and poems in Persian and Urdu. Jānam's *marsiya* depicts the pouring out of Divine love through heart-felt sorrow for Imām Husayn's martyrdom.¹³¹

Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II's (988-1037/1580-1627) court-poet, Nūri, wrote *marsiya*s in the Deccani dialect. The ruler, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II (1068-83/1657-72), who was himself a poet as well as a patron of the art, composed many *marsiya*s. Eminent poets such as Nusrati, Qādir and Hāshimī flourished at his court. Mīrzā wrote nothing but *marsiya*s which are believed to have been Divinely inspired. In them he vividly describes the heroic battles fought by the Karbalā martyrs.¹³²

129 Syed Sajjād Husain, *A descriptive catalogue of Bengali manuscripts* in Munshī 'Abdu'l Karīm's collections, Dacca, 1960, pp. 221-233, 265-66, 344-75, 132, 287, 462, 381, 461, 551.

130 Ethé, no. 1530.

131 Husaynī Shāhid, *Sayyid Shāh Amīnu'd-Dīn 'Alī A'la*, Hyderabad, 1973, pp. 68-101; Rashīd Mūsawī, *Dakīn Men marsiya aur 'azādārī*, Hyderabad, 1970, pp. 62-70.

132 Nasīru'd-Dīn Hāshimī, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh 'Shāhī' ke marsiya, *Sab-ras*, March, 1939, pp. 101-2; *Dakīn men marsiya aur 'azādārī*, pp. 70-77.

Wajhi, the author of *Qutb-i Mushtari* and *Sab-ras*, started his career under Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh (957-88/1550-80). He seems to have laid the foundations for composing *marsiyas* in Deccani at Golkonda and was the second great poet from there. This art was perfected in the Deccan, however, by Muhammad Quli Qutb Shāh. Ghawwāsi, the author of the *Sayfū'l-mulūk wa Badī'ū'l-jamāl* and *Tūti-nāma* was also an eminent *marsiya*-poet. During the reign of the last Qutb Shāhi ruler, Abu'l-Hasan, many leading *marsiya* writers appeared including the Sultan's spiritual guide, Shāh Rājū Sayyid Yūsuf Husaynī, who also wrote in Urdu. Kāzim 'Alī and Shāh Quli Khān of Golkonda were the leading royal poets. Sayyid Shujā'u'd-Dīn Nūrī left his native land of Gujarat to move to Abu'l-Hasan's court where he achieved considerable fame.¹³³

After Golkonda's fall, the poets such as Sayyid Shāh Hasan Zawqī and Sayyid Ashraf composed *marsiyas* at the Mughal centre of political power in Awrangabad. Among the noblemen in the court of Nizāmu'l-Mulk Āsaf Jāh I, Mutaminu'd-Dawla Sālār Jang Dargāh Quli Khān wrote Urdu *marsiyas*. Nawāzish 'Alī Khān Shaydā, the manager of the 'Āshūr khāna, composed a *masnawī* called the *Rawzatu'l-athār* on the tragedy of Karbalā and patronized the poets who wrote *marsiyas*. Himmat 'Alī Khān Himmat, who stayed at the court of both Aristū-Jāh and Chandū Lāl, wrote *marsiyas* in the form of *musaddas*.¹³⁴ Other well-known poets included Kāzim 'Alī Khān Kāzim of Mahārāja Chandū Lāl's court and 'Abbās 'Alī Khān Ihsān from Mīr 'Ālam's court.

The *marsiyas* by Shāh Quli Khān Shāhī of Golkonda aroused interest in the Urdu forms in Delhi and other Indian towns and helped promote the art in Northern India.¹³⁵ The *marsiyas* by Shāhī's contemporary, Mīr 'Abdu'l-Qādir of Hyderabad, also made a deep impact on the north Indian poets.

One of the earliest known *marsiya* poets of eighteenth century Delhi was Mīr Muhammad Qā'im. He considered himself the Delhi counterpart of the Deccani Qādir. Mustafā Khān Dihlawī Yakrang, a dignitary at Muhammad Shāh's court, was another eminent poet. The great Urdu poet of the early eighteenth century, Zahīru'd-Dīn, known as Shāh Hātim (d. 1781), and Mīr Sa'ādat 'Alī Sa'ādat of Amroha both composed *marsiyas* but these have not survived. Mīr Asadu'llāh Yār Khān, alias Majnūn of Akbarabad (Agra), adopted 'Insān' as his *nom de plume*. He moved from Akbarabad to Delhi where his wit and humour soon made him Muhammad Shāh's favourite. His *marsiyas* are not extant.¹³⁶

133 *Dakīn men marsiya awr 'azādārī*, pp. 65-70.

134 Verses consisting of six lines, hexameter.

135 Shaykh Muhammad Qiyāmu'd-Dīn Qā'im, *Makhzan-i nikāt*, Hyderabad, 1929, p. 6; Mīr Hasan, *Tazkirā-i shu'arā-i Urdu*, Hyderabad, 1940, p. 74.

136 Sifārish Husayn Rizvī, *Urdu marsiya*, Delhi, 1965, pp. 209-20.

Dargāh Qulī Khān considered *marsiyas* composed by some Delhi poets as superb. His description of both those who composed and those who recited *marsiyas* refers to assembly halls for the mourning ceremonies. He calls them by the Deccani name 'Āshūrkhāna' as well as the popular North-Indian title of 'azā-khāna'. Of the *marsiya* poets, Dargāh Qulī Khān judged Mīr Lutf 'Alī Khān to be the Muhtasham Kāshī¹³⁷ of his own age. Although Mīr Lutf 'Alī was rather fat and ugly, he succeeded in injecting deep pathos into his verses. He became the manager of Jāwid Khān's 'Āshūrkhāna and liberally entertained the visitors and *ta'ziyadārs* (mourners).

The three brothers, Miskīn, Hazīn and Ghamgīn, were also leading *marsiya* poets and were famous throughout Delhi. Their sorrowful expressions were masterly and people presented them with liberal gifts thus providing them with a satisfactory livelihood. Their manuscripts, reflecting their devotion to the holy martyrs were in great demand and expensive. Their only worry was how to make their elegies more effective. The *Rawzatū'sh-shuhadā'* and *Waqā'i Muqbil*¹³⁸ did not drown the mourners in sorrow to the same extent as the *marsiyas* by Miskīn, Hazīn and Ghamgīn.

Mīr 'Abdu'llāh recited Nadīm's and Hazīn's *marsiyas* in such a distressing melody that loud cries rose automatically from his audience and "heaven's ears were filled with their wailing". The audience cried loudly before he had completed the hemistich. Even the expert musicians admitted that his *marsiya* recitals were unequalled.

In the Muharram month, Mīr 'Abdu'llāh was in great demand. He attended different *ta'ziya-khānas* in turn and sang his sorrowful melodies. People vied with each other in reaching these assemblies early in order to claim a good seat. Big crowds gathered. People gained eternal blessings by listening to the poignant poetry. A party of pretty boys who could be found in his house even after 'āshūra always accompanied him. Most of them sought his company to learn the secrets of reciting *marsiyas*. Even *qawwāls*¹³⁹ and musicians flocked round him. Mīr 'Abdu'llāh's perfection was unique. His complacency annoyed some and they criticised him but his competence was unquestionable.

137 Muhtasham of Kāshān (d. 996/1588) wrote erotic verses in his youth but Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī's growing interest in religion prompted him to divert his talents to writing poetry on the virtues of the Imāms. Muhtasham composed his celebrated *Haft Band*, or poem of seven verse strophes, in praise of the Imāms. In its fullest form it comprises twelve strophes, each consisting of seven verses, and each concluding with an additional verse in a different rhyme, thus comprising in all ninety-six verses. E. G. Bowne, *A literary history of Persia*, IV, Cambridge, 1959, reprint, pp. 172-73.

138 A work on the martyrs of Karbalā.

139 Singers of a type of religious poetry.

Another famous *marsiya* reciter was Shaykh Sultān. He belonged to the eastern districts of India but he had gained mastery over the pronunciation of eloquent orators of Delhi. He recited *marsiyas* very stylishly; his voice was sensitive and his melodies very subtle. Although he had never studied music, his very simplicity was artistic and his uncomplicated tunes were ravishing. His recital and the audience's response seemed to complement each other. Wherever he recited his *marsiyas*, the people were so overcome with grief that they became mourning personified.

Mīr Abū Turāb and Mīrzā Ibrāhīm were also gifted *marsiya* reciters. Another singer, Mīr Darwīsh Husayn elicited praise even from the proud Mīr 'Abdu'llāh who placed him second only to himself. Jāni, who was a barber by trade, was an impressive *marsiya* reciter and an expert musician. As a boy he had been very pretty and one of his lovers was a very rich man. Jāni had earned about a lakh of rupees but he squandered it on extravagances. He attended many music and dance parties and lived prodigally.

Muhammad Nadīm was expert in selecting nerve-raking phrases and melancholy metaphors for his poetry. He frequently included verses written by others in his own stanzas in an unusual manner, particularly those of Wahshī.¹⁴⁰

In 1803 one of Mīr 'Abdu'llāh Miskīn's poems was printed in Nāgrī characters. Gilchrist quotes Miskīn's verses in his *Hindustāni Grammar*, published in 1796; Garcin de Tassy translated some of them into French. Another poet Khalīfa Muhammad 'Alī Ghīsi, adopted 'Sikandar' as his *nom de plume*. He came from the Panjab but settled in Delhi. According to Mīr Hasan Dihlawī, although Sikandar was not highly educated, his *marsiyas* were free from linguistic pitfalls. Later refinements of *marsiyas* did not undermine Sikandar's popularity and his verses were never forgotten.¹⁴¹

There were many popular *marsiya* poets in the second half of the eighteenth century. They included Mīr Sayyid Muhammad Taqī, alias Mīr Ghāsi, Qiyāmu'd-Dīn Qā'im Chāndpūrī, Mīrzā 'Alī Qulī Khān Nadīm Dihlawī, Banda 'Alī Khān Lakhnawī, Mīr Amānī Dihlawī, Mīrzā Zuhūr 'Alī Khalīq Dihlawī, Shāh Nūru'l-Haqq Tapān 'Azīmābādī, Shāh Muhammad Abū'l Hasan Fard 'Azīmābādī, Qalandar Bakhsh Jur'at Dihlawī, Shaykh Ghulām Hamadānī Mushafī, Ghulām 'Alī Rāsikh 'Azīmābādī, Ahmad Beg Qizilbāsh Dihlawī, Sādiq 'Alī Shāh Haydarī Farrukhābādī, Khwāja Ihsānu'llāh Bayān Dihlawī, Mīrzā Muhammad Ismā'il alias Mīrzā Jān Tapīsh Dihlawī, Shāh Zahūru'l-Haqq 'Azīmābādī, Qāsim Lakhnawī, Ghulām Ghaws Khān Ihsān, Mazhar,

140 *Muraqqa'-Dihli*, p. 80.

141 *Tazkira-i shu'arā-i Urdu*, p. 122.

Mushtāq, Shāni 'Azīmābādī, Mahzūn 'Azīmābādī, Mawlawī Jawād 'Alī 'Azīmābādī and Zāhik. These poets, some of whom were Sunnis, refined the language and style and catered to the growing need for *marsiyas* throughout India.

The leading poets of the second half of the eighteenth century were Dard, Sawdā, Mīr Taqī and Mīr Hasan. Sawdā brought his poetic mastery and perfection of form to bear on his compositions and revolutionized the taste of *marsiya* listeners. Mīr injected the pathos and sweetness of his *ghazals* into his *marsiyas*.

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the efforts of Mīrzā Panāh 'Alī Beg Afsurda Fyzābādī, Haydar Bakhsh Haydar Dihlawī, Ihsān Lakhnawī, Anwar Dihlawī and Dhannū Lal Dilgīr Lakhnawī to improve upon Sawdā's and Mīr's *marsiyas* were unsuccessful. Only Mīr Muzaffar Husayn Zamīr Lakhnawī and Mīr Mustahsan Khalīq were destined to outshine their contemporaries and predecessors.

Mīr Muzaffar Husayn Zamīr (d. 1272/1855) was Mushaffī's disciple. He learnt versification in order to write *marsiyas* and *salāms*.¹⁴² Before long Mīr Zamīr endowed his *marsiyas* with continuity of theme, touching emotional expressions and dramatic dialogues. Zamīr's verses vividly depict the physical features and military talents of the heroes of Karbalā. In depicting individual battles, Zamīr introduced elements of epic poetry into Urdu. The long introductions to his *marsiyas* describe various natural scenes with picturesque similes and metaphors. Formerly, *marsiyas* had been recited in musical tones called *soz* but Mīr Zamīr used a popular rhythm called *tahtu'l-lafz*. Gradually *marsiyas* in *tahtu'l-lafz* replaced the *Rawzatul-sh-Shuhadā'* and *Dah Majlis*.

Mīr Zamīr's rival was Mīr Hasan's talented son, Mīr Mustahsan Khalīq (d. 1804). He had inherited his father's capacity to vividly versify subtle emotions and made his mark on the basis of this linguistic artistry. The characteristics of *marsiyas* invented by Mīr Zamīr were perfected by Mīr Khalīq's son, Mīr Babar 'Alī Anīs (1802-1874), and Mīr Zamīr's gifted disciple, Mīrzā Salāmat 'Alī Dabīr (1803-1875). Mīr Anīs and Mīrzā Dabīr saw the decline and fall of the Awadh government but both endowed Urdu poetry with dynamism and eloquence. Both vividly portrayed miscellaneous episodes in the Karbalā tragedy. Both were precursors of the modern Urdu poetry of the twentieth century.

Mīr Anīs drew heavily upon his ancestral tradition of *masnawī* composition. His similes and metaphors elegantly describe scenes of dawn and sun-set, the darkness of night, the verdure of plants, the bloom of flowers and the singing of birds. Some of these resemble similar scenes from the fifteenth and sixteenth century *masnawīs* in Awadhi. Anīs transported the

142 A kind of ode paying tribute to the Ahl-i Bayt and the martyrs of Karbalā.

Awadh landscape to the desert of Karbalā to the great admiration of his audience. His vigorous depiction of battles, swordsmanship and spear-throwing are similar to verses in *Shāhnāma* by Firdawsī but his intuitive perception of the emotions of his heroes made his *marsiyas* unique. His eloquent phrases, similes and metaphors are superb. Dabīr's choice of words, similes and metaphors was scholarly, dignified and majestic. His quotations from Qur'ānic verses and *hadīs* are profound and help to make his *marsiyas* learned, but they are hardly lucid.

During the life-time of Anīs and Dabīr, their admirers were divided into two irreconcilable groups. After they had both died, these differences hardened, although Anīs and Dabīr had always respected each other. Anīs died in December 1874. Dabīr, who expired in March 1875, foresaw a vacuum in *marsiya* composition and paid tribute to his rival in a beautifully composed chronogram.

The sons, grandsons and disciples of Anīs and Dabīr also became famous poets. Their legacy was strengthened by subsequent generations of disciples but these *marsiyas* are stereotyped. *Marsiyas* composed by Anīs and Dabīr and their disciples were recited in *tahṭū'l-lafz*, in remote villages and towns. In recent decades the decline of Urdu poetry and the mushrooming of professional preachers, known as *zākirs*, has relegated *tahṭū'l-lafz*-reciters to the background. Modern *marsiya* poets, who are not conversant with medieval war-techniques, have given predominance to philosophical, ethical and revolutionary themes in their verses. The *soz* reciters still, however, use the *marsiyas* by Anīs, Dabīr and their disciples. The *nawhas*, written by modern poets, are recited in both the mourning assemblies and in the processions by those who perform *mātam* (beating their breast), whether by hand or with chains.

The Shi'is and Modernism

Modernism in the context of Islam (both Sunni-ism and Shi'ism) is very difficult to define. Muslim liberal traditions reject any deflections from the Qur'ān and *sunna* and cannot endorse the following expectations in the West:

“A Westernized, philosophically inclined elite can observe Quranic prohibitions in the breach, drinking alcohol, failing to observe Ramadan, indulging in unlicensed sex and disregarding those aspects of Islamic law and practice that it finds uncongenial without necessarily rejecting the higher religious truths enshrined in the divine text; but in so acting it is always vulnerable to the charge that it is failing in its duty of ‘enjoining the good and forbidding the evil’.”¹

Investigations into the laws of physical causation are not discouraged by Islam. The nineteenth century Western colonial domination and Western scientific discoveries evoked two types of Muslim responses. Some of the Western educated Muslim elite were bewildered and identified modernism with the violation of Islamic religious and social ethics but those who had received an adequate religious training retained their Islamic identity. The Shi'is were not overcome with panic. A number of leading scholars believed that modern discoveries strengthened rather than weakened the truths in the Qur'ān, the *sunna* of the Prophets and Imāms.

As early as the seventeenth century, Shi'i scholars had studied Western philosophy and science and had analysed the new Western discoveries in the light of Islamic sciences. For example, Dānishmand Khān had forestalled many Western scholars in making a comparative study of European and Islamic discoveries. Another Shi'i scholar, Ghulām Husayn Tabātabā'i, the author of the *Siyaru'l-muta'akhhirīn*, realistically reminded both the British and Indians of the value of promoting better under-

1 Malise Ruthven, *Islam in the world*, Middlesex, 1984, p. 308.

standing of each other's political and social institutions. Two Shi'is 'Allāma Tafazzul Husayn² and Mirzā Abū Tālib Isfahāni, nicknamed Landani³ (of London) learned English and other European languages and acquired an understanding of British intellectual traditions. Abū Tālib, who visited London in 1798-1803, was not enchanted by British institutions but examined it dispassionately and objectively.⁴ Both Tafazzul Husayn and Abū Tālib were far ahead of their time and could not have achieved their potential at the Awadh court. Nevertheless, during Āsafu'd-Dawla's reign, some books were translated from English into Persian, including Newton's *Principia*. English-Persian dictionaries were also compiled. Subsequently, Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān built an observatory while Ghāzu'd-Dīn Haydar established a scientific laboratory at Lucknow. English influence increased rapidly in Awadh from Nasiru'd-Dīn Haydar's reign.

Although Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz had declared that 'Allāma Tafazzul Husayn was a *mulhid-i kāmīl*⁵ (totally irreligious) many keen Sunnī students studied under him. In Delhi, 'Allāma Tafazzul Husayn's works were popularized by (Sir) Sayyid Ahmad Khān's maternal grandfather, Khwāja Farīdu'd-Dīn. The Khwāja's ancestors belonged to a Kashmirī *sūfi* family which had moved to Delhi. Farīdu'd-Dīn was born there in 1161/1748. He received his early education in Delhi but was unable to satisfy his passion for higher mathematics in his hometown. He moved to Lucknow where he studied under 'Allāma Tafazzul Husayn for two to three years. After his return to Delhi he got married in 1193/1779. In 1212/1790, he again visited Lucknow where he met General Claude Martin (1835-1900) and other European scholars. He also acquired new varieties of compasses, which were known to Arab mathematicians but were not available in Delhi. Before leaving Lucknow he wrote a mathematical treatise entitled the *Fawā'id al-afkār, fi i-māl-al-firjār*.⁶ He then moved to Calcutta, where, on the recommendations of some English friends, he was made Superintendent of the Calcutta Madrasa.

In about 1803, the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, sent Farīdu'd-Dīn on a diplomatic mission to the court of Fath 'Alī Shāh Qājār of Iran. After his return to India he was sent to Burma on a diplomatic mission by the East India Company. Subsequently he served as the revenue collector (*tahsildār*) for the East India Company in newly-conquered Bundelkhand. Around 1231/1815-16, he again visited Calcutta where he produced a treatise, the *Tuhfa-i Nu'māniyya*, on astrolabes. The

2 *Siyaru'l-muta'akhhirīn*, II, pp. 528-29.

3 *Supra*, pp. 176, 227, 230, 233.

4 *Supra*, pp. 229, 233, 281.

5 *Fatāwa-i 'Azīzī*, p. 117.

6 Delhi, 1846, Pānīpatī, Muhammad Ismā'il, *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, XVI, pp. 97-206.

Mughal emperor, Akbar II (1806-37), invited him to become his prime minister and he accepted. In 1815, he returned to Delhi where he curtailed many items of unnecessary expenditure. He removed the copper ceiling of the *Diwān-i 'Āmm* (hall of public audience from the Delhi fort and had it converted into copper coins. The gold and brass that had adorned it were sold. The Delhi citizens were appalled. They complained that Nādir Shāh had robbed the *Diwān-i Khāss* (hall of Private audience) of its silver ceiling and now Khwāja Farīd had deprived the *Diwān-i 'Āmm* of its copper one. The Khwāja resigned and went to Calcutta. In 1235/1819-20, the Emperor re-appointed Farīdu'd-Dīn as prime minister but three years later he resigned. After his resignation, the Sikh ruler, Mahārāja Ranjit Singh, invited him to become his prime minister in Lahore but he refused. Farīdu'd-Dīn died on 14 Muharram 1244/27 July 1818. The East India Company's Resident, Sir David Ochterlony, who had been friendly with the Khwāja, called with his Deputy to offer his condolences to Farīdu'd-Dīn's family. Most of the Khwāja's tracts on astronomy and the astrolabe were destroyed in 1857. Sayyid Ahmad Khān was able to salvage only one tract on the astrolabe and two on compasses, which he gave to the M. A. O. College Aligarh library.⁷

The Khwāja loved to teach gifted students. (Sir) Sayyid Ahmad mentions Mawlawī Karāmat 'Alī⁸, Khwāja Muhammad Nāsir Jān⁹, Haktm Rustam 'Alī Khān¹⁰ and Rajab 'Alī, called Aristū-Jāh, who was a Shi'i. We have already mentioned Aristū-Jāh in previous pages.¹¹ The Khwāja's youngest son, Nawwāb Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn, continuing the family tradition, was an expert in astronomy and had collected a museum of astronomical appliances. He was also a patron of music.¹² (Sir) Sayyid Ahmad was proud of the fact that mathematics was his family science.

Calcutta

Some Shi'i scholars from Awadh and Jawnpur played an important role in the intellectual life of nineteenth century Calcutta. The most notable were Mawlawī Karām Husayn Bilgarāmi and his sons and grandsons and Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī of Jawnpur.

Karām Husayn learned English after completing the Arabic and Per-

7 Agra 1896, *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid* XVI, pp. 634-95.

8 Mawlawī Karāmat 'Alī was a scholar of Islam and a good calligraphist. From Delhi he moved to Hyderabad where he obtained a high position.

9 Khwāja Muhammad Nāsir Jān was the successor to Khwāja Muhammad Nasir. The latter was Khwāja Mīr Dard's daughter's son.

10 He was a physician at Bahādur Shāh Zafar's court. He was also the editor of Bahādur Shāh's journal, *Sirājul-akhbār*.

11 *Supra*, pp. 103-105.

12 *Sīrat-i Farīdiyya*, p. 767-80.

sian education befitting an 'ālim. He was deeply respected by the court of Nawwābs of Awadh and corresponded regularly with the Sultānu'l-'Ulamā'.¹³ In 1832, Nasiru'd-Dīn Haydar accredited him as an ambassador to the Governor-General of the East India Company. He settled down in Calcutta and became professor of Arabic at the Calcutta Madrasa. He edited a number of Arabic works published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal; the most important is the edition of the *Sahīfa Kāmila*, comprising the invocations of the fourth Imām, Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn. He also translated the East India Company's law book from English into Persian and wrote an introduction to the Persian lexicographical work, the *Burhān-i Qāti'*. His house was a rendezvous for the Calcutta intellectuals. Visitors from various parts of India also called on him, including the poet Ghālib.¹⁴ He died at Calcutta in 1257/1841 and was buried there.¹⁵

His sons, Sayyid Zaynu'd-Dīn Husayn and Sayyid A'zamu'd-Dīn Husayn, were educated at Calcutta and rose to high positions in the government of the East India Company. William Bentinck, the last Governor-General of Bengal (1828-33) and the first Governor-General of India (1833-35), took A'zamu'd-Dīn on his staff. During the freedom struggle of 1857, he helped the East India Company. Later on he was appointed the political agent in Sind. He was nominated as a member of the Bengal Legislative Council. His elder brother, Sayyid Zaynu'd-Dīn, who was a distinguished scholar of Arabic and Persian, studied English at Calcutta and was selected for the Bengal provincial service.

Of Zaynu'd-Dīn's five sons, 'Imādu'l-Mulk Sayyid Husayn Bilgarāmī, Major Sayyid Hasan Bilgarāmī and Sayyid 'Alī Bilgarāmī were eminent linguistics scholars and leaders of modern Muslim India. We shall soon discuss their achievements.

While 'Allāma Tafazzul Husayn specialized mainly in mathematics and science, Karāmat 'Alī, in the second half of the nineteenth century, interpreted Islam in the Shī'i traditions of rationalism and philosophy. Karāmat 'Alī was born in Jawnpur and received his early education from Sayyid Zākīr 'Alī of Jawnpur¹⁶ who, in turn, was a disciple of Mawlānā Sayyid Muhammad 'Askari.¹⁷ At the age of eighteen, Karāmat 'Alī left home in quest of knowledge. He spent two years at Lucknow and ten years in Iran. He travelled widely in Iran and Turkistān, accompanied Arthur Conolly on his journey to India through Afghānistān and saved his life in that country. On Conolly's recommendation he was appointed the Representative of the Indian government at the court of Dost

13 Āghā Mahdī, *Tārīkh-i Sultānu'l-'Ulamā'*, Karachi, 1967, p. 224.

14 'Abdu'r-Ra'ūf 'Urūj, *Bazm-i Ghālib*, Karachi, 1969, p. 323.

15 *Matla'-i anwār*, pp. 416-17.

16 *Takmila-i Nujūmu's-samā'*, II, p. 26; *Nuzhatu'l-khawātīr*, VIII, p. 170.

17 *Supra*, p. 116; *Takmila*, II, p. 17; *Nuzhat*, VI, p. 332.

Muhammad Khān (the Sirdar, afterwards, Amīr, 1234/1819-1280/1863) at Kābul where he was much esteemed. On his return he reported to the Indian government on the Russian and French intrigues at Kābul, and advised them to reach a definite understanding with the Sirdar, who was then anxious to ally himself with England. Two years after his return from Kābul, he was appointed *mutwallī* (administrator) of the Hooghly *Imāmbārha*, where he remained till his death in 1876. His admirer, Justice Amir 'Alī, says, "Whatever knowledge of Moslem philosophy I happen to possess, I owe to that truly great man. Every Sunday morning Moulvi Obaidullah, the Persian Professor and I, breakfasted with the Syed and scarcely ever left before 1 o'clock. We ranged over the whole region of Oriental history and philosophy. The Syed (Karāmat 'Alī) had studied ancient Hindu philosophy and loved to draw comparisons between it and the Arabian schools of thought."¹⁸ 'Azīz Ahmad, a modern Pākistānī scholar, has confused the Shi'i Karāmat 'Alī (the Sayyid) with Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī Jawnpūri, disciple of Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz and Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd of Rae Bareli and a leader of the puritanical Tayyuni movement of Bengal.¹⁹ The Sunnī Karāmat 'Alī arrived in Calcutta from Jawnpur in 1250/1835 and remained in Bengal for a period of eighteen years, visiting districts in east Bengal such as Dacca, Farīdpur and Bāqirganj.²⁰

Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī wrote a treatise on rhetoric and a comparative study of Arabic and Persian languages, but his *magnum opus* was the *Risāla fi Ma'ākhaz al-'ulūm*. Before Amir 'Alī left for England at the end of 1868, he translated the Mawlānā's *Ma'ākhaz al-'ulūm* into English. 'Azīz Ahmad says, "Though written in the post-Mutiny phase in 1865 (it) reflects a mental approach he had developed long before the political and cultural watershed of 1857, which divides modern from medieval Islam in India."²¹ According to Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī, "The whole Koran is full of passages containing information on physical and mathematical sciences. If we would but spend a little reflection over it we should find wondrous meanings in every word it contains. The Koran has most satisfactorily confuted all the systems of ancient philosophy; it plucked up from the root the physical sciences as prevalent among the ancients. What a strange coincidence exists between the Koran and the philosophy of modern Europe."²²

Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī criticizes Luther for ignoring Islam's contri-

18 K. K. 'Azīz (ed.), *Ameer 'Alī*, Lahore, 1968, p. 543.

19 'Azīz Ahmad, *Islamic modernism in India and Pakistan*, London, 1970 (2nd impression), p. 21.

20 Khān, M. A., *History of the Farā'idī movement in Bengal*, Karachi, 1965, pp. 89-115.

21 *Islamic modernism in India and Pakistan*, pp. 21-22.

22 'Ubaydī and Amīr 'Alī (tr.), *Ma'ākhaz al-'ulūm*, Calcutta, 1867, pp. 25, 29, 42.

bution to iconoclasm and its influence on Leo the Isaurian. He adds, "The Divine creator is the original source and fountainhead of all science and knowledge; that the prophets, especially the Last, together with the Imāms, were the channels through which He revealed all knowledge to His creatures; and that the scientific discoveries of modern Europe have mainly resulted from, and coincide in principle, with the declarations of the Koran and Hadeeses."²³

Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī was aware of the translations of French works into Arabic under the Ottoman Sultan Mahmūd II (1223-55/1808-39), and the Egyptian, Muhammad 'Alī Pāsha (1220-64/1805-48). He believed that scientific knowledge could be acquired through Arabic, Persian and Urdu. Karāmat 'Alī's admirers included 'Ubaydu'llāh al-'Ubaydī, the Persian Professor at Hooghly College, as well as Amīr 'Alī. In 1866, 'Ubaydu'llāh al-'Ubaydī published an essay written in response to the question raised by Sir Charles Edward Trevelyan, a supporter of Lord Macauley's movement for English education in India, on the reciprocal influence of Muhammadan-European learning. In it he pleaded that there was no reason for Muslims to be scared of the confrontation between contemporary empirical science and Islamic religious beliefs. Western sciences, based on experiment and demonstration, could not undermine Islam, founded on the bedrock of Divine unity as it was. According to him the discoveries of Copernicus and Galileo had strengthened the tenets of Divine unity and Islam and posed no threat to their religion.²⁴ What filled Sir Sayyid Ahmad with panic and led him to make far-fetched interpretations of Islam, was trivial to Karāmat 'Alī, 'Ubaydī and Amīr 'Alī.

Shi'ī Responses to Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān's Intellectual Movements

In 1857-58, most of the dispossessed royal families and the Hindu and Muslim landed aristocracy of Delhi, North-West Provinces, Central Provinces and Rajasthan rebelled against the East India Company in an attempt to regain their lost power. Soon the leadership of the revolt slipped from their hands, however, into those of the artisans, farmers, religious mendicants, priests, civil servants and their supporters. The concerted action cut across all barriers of caste and creed and of linguistic and religious prejudices and the British, despite strenuous efforts, failed to provoke any communal hatred. In many places the entire population rose in a body to overthrow the foreign rulers.

The failure of the 1857 uprising was accompanied by the liquidation

23 *Ibid*, pp. 69-71.

24 *Risāla-i n'āmī*, Calcutta, 1866.

of the rebellious landed aristocracy. They were supplanted by those who had remained loyal to the British. Though both Hindus and Muslims had taken an active part in the revolt, opinion in England, among the Christian missionaries and the Anglo-Indian press in Calcutta characterised it as a 'Mohammedan rebellion'. Hindus and Muslims themselves tried to shift the responsibility for the uprising on their respective opponents.

It was, however, (Sir) Sayyid Ahmad Khān who gave both Muslims and Hindus a farsighted lead. It is therefore essential to outline his life and career in order to explain the Shi'i response to his intellectual movements and to his notion of modernism.

Sayyid Ahmad Khān was born at Delhi on 17 October 1817. His ancestors had held high positions under the eighteenth and nineteenth century Mughal emperors. His father and grandfather had been famous intellectuals in their own days. Their influence aroused Sayyid Ahmad's interest in three different intellectual cross-currents:

1. The puritanical Sunni revivalist movement of Mujaddid Alf-i Sāni, Shāh Waliu'llāh, Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, Shāh Ghulām 'Alī Naqshband, Shāh Muhammad Ismā'il and Sayyid Ahmad Shahid of Rae Bareli;
2. The mathematical and scientific cross-current generated by 'Allāma Tafazzul Husayn's disciple, Khwāja Faridu'd-Dīn;
3. The intellectual ferment at the Delhi College of which Master Rām Chandra, who had become a Christian in 1852, was a pioneer.

Sayyid Ahmad studied religion under the famous Naqshbandiyyas of Delhi and moved in the company of the intellectuals from Delhi College whose interest in modern sciences had given birth to what C. F. Andrews calls the 'Delhi renaissance'.

In 1837, Sayyid Ahmad left his studies to accept a junior position in the British judiciary but he continued his intellectual pursuits. Until 1857 he preached the puritanical revivalism of the Mujaddid and his followers, while the world-view of Faridu'd-Dīn remained latent in his thoughts. After 1857-58, the Muslim political and economic decline brought about a reversal of his earlier stance and made him a champion of the reconciliation of Islamic beliefs with modern discoveries. His cry for Muslim-Christian friendship was a by-product of British domination of India. The Shi'i intellectual response to the Sayyid's leadership was based on their own rational and intellectual traditions but they co-operated with him in his enlightened activities.

In 1840 Sayyid Ahmad compiled a chronological chart of the Indian rulers in Persian and published it under the title *Jām-i Jam*.²⁵ He sum-

25 *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, Agra, 1840, pp. 14-74.

marised the East India Company's Civil Code in a book called the *Intikhābū'l-akhwayn* and published it in the joint names of himself and his brother. The book was designed to help candidates pass the examination for 'munsif' (a junior judicial position). At the end of 1841, he was himself appointed a *munsif* at Mainpuri. From 1842 to 1846, Sayyid Ahmad served at Agra and Fathpur-Sikri.

At Agra, lectures on modern science and technology were held under the auspices of the Agra College. Mawlawis and pandits took a keen interest in them. Sayyid Ahmad participated enthusiastically in the College's extra-mural activities and, in 1844, he was invited to act as a co-examiner of Arabic. Among his friends were the Rev. James John Moor and Captain George Williams Hamilton, who had aroused a ferment in Agra intellectual circles. At the end of 1841, the militant Christian missionary, Carl Gottlieb Pfander (1803-65) arrived in Agra. The controversy over the corruption of the scriptures became a house-hold cause among Muslim intellectuals.

Sayyid Ahmad compiled three treatises. The *Jilā'u'l-qulūb bi zikri'l-mahbūb*²⁶ (1843), dealing with the life of the Prophet Muhammad, excluded most of the unauthenticated material that the preachers recited on the Prophet's birthday. In 1843, Sayyid Ahmad translated Avicenna's Persian work on *Jarr-i saqil* (the science of mechanics)²⁷ into Urdu with the help of his teacher Muhammad Nūru'l-Hasan. The *Tuhfa-i Hasan* (1844) is an Urdu translation of the tenth and twelfth chapters of Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz's *Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya*; again Nūru'l-Hasan assisted him.

From February 1846 to 1854, Sayyid Ahmad served in Delhi, except for two short assignments elsewhere. At Delhi he completed his studies of *hadīs*, *fiqh* and *tafsīr*. Some of his teachers belonged to Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz's school. In 1847 he published his brilliant archaeological history of the Delhi monuments under the title, *Āsāru's-sanādīd*. Its appendix, *Tazkira-i ahl-i Dihlī*, comprises an account of the Sunnī intellectuals in Delhi. The *Āsāru's-sanādīd* was translated into French by Garcin de Tassy and this introduced his work to European scholars. In 1864 the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain made him an honorary member.²⁸

From 1846 to 1855, Sayyid Ahmad wrote the *Qawāl-i matīn dar abtāl-i harkat-i zamīn* (1848), *Kalīmātu'l-Haqq* (1849), *Risāla rāh-i sunnat dar radd-i bid'at* (1850), *Silsilatū'l-mulūk* (1852), *Namīqah dar bayān-i mas'alah-i tasawwur-i Shaykh* (1852), the *Tarjamah-i dībācha-i Kīmīyā-i Sa'adat* (1853) and the first edition of the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*.

The *Abtāl* in Ptolemaic tradition refutes the Copernican theory of the

26 Delhi, 1259/1843, *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, pp. 3-35.

27 Agra, 1844, *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, pp. 75-96.

28 *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, pp. 783-863.

revolution of the earth around the sun.²⁹ The *Kalimātū'l-Haqq* frowns on the contemporary *pīri-murīdī* (spiritual guide and disciple relationship) system and discredits the miraculous achievements of *pīrs*. It emphasizes that the *sharī'a* is the true guide and the Prophet Muhammad is the only *pīr* whose traditions Muslims should follow. It also rejects all innovations or those practices which did not exist during the Prophet's time, both in the worldly and spiritual dimensions.³⁰ Like other orthodox Sunni authors, Sayyid Ahmad reiterates that 'Alī willingly made *bay'a* (swore allegiance to) with 'Usmān, pledging himself to obey the *sunna* of Allāh, the Prophet and those of the first two caliphs.³¹ Possibly Sayyid Ahmad was not unāware of the fact that 'Alī had categorically told 'Abdu'r-Rahmān bin 'Awf that he would not follow Abū Bakr and 'Umar's *sunna*³² although he knew it would mean his own supersession. Addressing the Muslims, the *Rāh-i Sunnat* claims, "*bid'at* has been so deeply rooted in our times that people flee away from the name of *sunna*. If one refers to *sunna*, one is condemned as a Wahnābi or Mu'tazilī. Those who are sunk in *bid'at* are known as *walīs* (God's proteges)". The *Rāh-i Sunnat*³³ divides *bid'at* into three important categories. The third category details *bid'ats* associated with *sūfi* practices. It also criticizes the fixation of 9th Muharram for the recitation of *fātiha* on Imām Husayn and the fixation of *bārāwafāt* for the *mawlūd* (celebration of the Prophet's birthday). Along with the *sūfi samā'* gatherings, the *Rāh-i Sunnat* criticizes the recitation of *marsiya, kitāb*³⁴ and devotions to the *ta'ziyas* and *'alams*.³⁵ Obviously the target of Sayyid Ahmad's attack are those non-Wahnābīs (Sunnīs) who celebrated Muharram with great enthusiasm. The book also discusses *bid'at-i hasna* (good innovations) and *bid'at-i saiyyi'at* (sinful innovations). Sayyid Ahmad also lists practices which, in his opinion, were not to be regarded as *bid'at*. *Taghlīd* (the blind following of the four *mujtahids* or founders of the schools of jurisprudence), he argues, is not *bid'at*. The differences among the four *mujtahids* emanated from the differences between the Prophet's companions or among the *qiyās* (analogical deductions) of the *imāms* or *mujtahids*. Obedience to any of them is *sunna* and not *bid'at*. Ja'fariyya law is not mentioned at all.

In a review of this treatise in 1879, Sayyid Ahmad wrote that it was based on Mawlawī Muhammad Ismā'il's *Izāhu'l-Haqq* and was written

29 Delhi, 1848, *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, pp. 487-500.

30 Delhi, 1849, *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, V, pp. 267-90.

31 *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, V, p. 281; *Infra*, pp. 399-400. There 'Alī's dissatisfaction is mentioned.

32 *Isnā 'Asharī Shi'is in India*, I, pp. 33-34.

33 *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, V, pp. 354-428.

34 *Supra*, p. 310.

35 *Supra*, pp. 321, 326, 327, 337.

as a reaction to a discussion at one of Mawlānā Sadru'd-Din Āzarda's³⁶ meetings, when the Mawlānā had sarcastically asked his opinion on eating mangoes, which were not known in the Prophet's time. Sayyid Ahmad asserted forcefully that he could not comment on those people who did not eat mangoes but, if one refrained because the Prophet had not eaten them, angels would kiss one's feet.³⁷ Reviewing his position in 1879, Sayyid Ahmad observed that his opinion about matters relating to the *bid'ats* in belief and worship had not changed but the *bid'ats* regarding social behaviour and etiquette, which he had included in religion, were invalid.³⁸

Sayyid Ahmad's *Namāqah* follows more the lines set by Khwāja Mir Dard than those of Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd of Rae Bareli. Sayyid Ahmad regularly attended the monthly meetings of Khwāja Mir Dard and was impressed by his belief in the transmission of the *pir's* spiritual power to disciples. Sayyid Ahmad contends that the *tasawwur-i Shaykh* (the practice of visualising the image of one's spiritual guide in one's heart) links the seeker with his spiritual guide and purifies his soul. This absolution is a Divine gift and without *tasawwur-i Shaykh*, the road to God and the Prophet would not be found.³⁹

The first and third volumes of the *Ā'in-i Akbari* were published in 1855, but the printed portions of the second part were destroyed in the Freedom Struggle of 1857-58 and Sayyid Ahmad had to re-edit them. At his request, the famous poet, Ghālib, wrote a review of the work in poetry. Congratulating Sayyid Ahmad on his efforts, Ghālib commented that nevertheless Akbar's regulations had become out-of-date. It was imperative therefore to learn the British regulations as they had a tremendous impact on the progress of science and technology.⁴⁰ It is remarkable that, until 1857, when Sayyid Ahmad Khān was involved with Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz and Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd's Sunnī revivalism, Ghālib to the Sayyid's utter disappointment pointed out the path of progress to him.

In 1855, Sayyid Ahmad was transferred to Bijnor. There he compiled a history of the district from the *farmāns* (royal edicts) in the local records office. When the Freedom Struggle of 1857 broke out in Bijnor, Sayyid Ahmad risked his life to save some Europeans. In April 1858 the Sayyid was transferred to Muradabad on promotion and was granted a life-pension of Rs. 200. He wrote a book on the Freedom Struggle in Bijnor

36 Mufti Sadru'd-Din Āzarda was Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz's disciple but he was strongly opposed to Shāh Ismā'il Shahīd's puritanism. Rizvi, *Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz*, pp. 517-19.

37 *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, V, pp. 397-428.

38 *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, V, p. 429.

39 *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, XV, 182-87.

40 Khwāja Altāf Husayn Hālī, *Hayāt-i Jāwīd*, Agra, 1903, II, p. 9.

calling it the *Tārīkh-i Sarkashī-i Zīlā' Bijnor* (The History of Rebellion in Bijnor). When the Freedom Movement was suppressed in Delhi in 1857, however, his family was also persecuted. He saw ruin and despair all around him and the only remedy he could find was to arouse loyalty to the British among his co-religionists. He wrote another treatise entitled, *Asbāb-i baghāwat-i Hind* (Causes of the Indian rebellion). In it he claimed that there was no evidence to support the view that the rebellion was premeditated. He goes on to say, "Nor is there the slightest reason for thinking that the rebels in Hindustan received any aid from Russia or from Persia. The Hindustanees have no conception of the views of Russia and it is not probable that they would league themselves with her. Nor can I think that they would ever be likely to receive any help from Persia. As between Roman Catholics and Protestants, so between the Mussulman of Persia and of Hindustan, cordial co-operation is impossible. To me it seems just as credible that night and day should be merged in one as that these men should ever act in concert. Surely, if such were the case, it is very strange that during the Russian and Persian wars, Hindustan should have remained completely tranquil. Nor, on the other hand, it is less strange that while Hindustan was in flames, there should have been in those countries no visible stir whatever. The notion of an understanding existing between these countries must be set aside as preposterous."⁴¹

According to Sayyid Ahmad, innumerable factors alienated the Indians from the British. The reckless preaching of the missionaries against Hinduism and Islam was believed to have been sponsored by the government. New administrative regulations, laws relating to revenue settlement and collection were haphazardly implemented and no attempts were made to explain their advantages to the people concerned. Another reason was that the Hindu and Muslim sepoys, who were the backbone of the army, had forgotten their traditional hostility as they lived in the same barracks. Naturally they combined into one body against the government. In other words, the divide and rule policy of the imperialists had misfired.

In 1857, Sayyid Ahmad established a school at Muradabad. He felt that the *Asbāb-i baghāwat-i Hind* was not sufficient to allay British suspicion of Muslims. He therefore wrote two books, firstly to reassure the British of Muslim loyalty and, secondly, to strengthen Muslim loyalty to the British. The first work, *The Loyal Mohammedans of India*, stated that the rebellion had in reality been engineered by Hindus (Rāmādīn and Mātādīn) and that many distinguished Muslims had gone out of their way to save European lives.

41 G. F. I. Graham, *The life and works of Syed Ahmad Khan*, Edinburgh, 1885, pp. 33-34.

He claimed that the Muslims who had raised the standards of rebellion were vagabonds and rascals. *Jihād* was not their true motive, for, according to Muslim religious principles, rebellion was unlawful against a government that guaranteed peace and prosperity. This is a reiteration of Sunnī political theory with a vengeance!

Sayyid Ahmad then decided to publish an account of Muslim services to the British. He invited loyal Muslim leaders to pay for the story of their services to be included in a book, *The Loyal Mohammedans of India*. The list opened in 1860 but closed in 1861 for lack of subscribers. In his introduction, Sayyid Ahmad repeated that the real mischief-mongers were the Hindus (Rāmādīn and Mātādīn), although the Muslims were forced to pay the penalty. He affirmed that the Christians had also received Divine scriptures, in which they truly believed. Consequently both Christians and Muslims were brothers. Muslims should shed their blood whenever Christian blood was shed. Those who violated this principle were untrue to salt. He told the Muslims that the newspaper reports defaming them should not dishearten them. Sayyid Ahmad then described his own life story and those of the subscribers.⁴² No Shī'i is included in the biographical notes. Perhaps they did not care to subscribe.

The Christian-Muslim brotherhood front of Sayyid Ahmad found its full projection in *Tabyīnū'l-kalām*, his commentary on the Bible. The work was planned by him to refute the arguments of the Christian missionaries before the outbreak of the Freedom Struggle.⁴³ He had compiled some notes prior to the uprising, but the post-1857-58 persecution of the Muslims prompted him to reconcile the Bible with the Qur'ān and *hadīths*. Hostility among the orthodox Muslims, however, prevented the completion of the project and only three parts were published.

Sayyid Ahmad believed that the Muslim hatred of the English could be traced to their ignorance of the truths of Christianity and the Bible. To Muslims, Christian religious literature was a compendium of false and incredible anecdotes. Their misgivings were strengthened by the short-sighted reasoning of the missionaries. Sayyid Ahmad says that despite the Christian scholars' efforts to re-establish the original and correct text of the Bible, 'there remain passages in the text that do not correspond with the original texts, the inspired writers produced because, as the copyists were not preserved by God from falling into error, likewise those who amended the text were not protected from error'. He asserts that, but for a few passages which have not yet been reconciled with the original texts and others that are still obscure (*mushabbih*),⁴⁴ the Old and

42 *Maqālāt-i Sīr Sayyid*, VII, pp. 36-194.

43 *Hayāt-i Jāwīd* I, pp. 86-91.

44 *Tabyīnū'l-kalām*, Ghazipur, 1862 and 1865, I, pp. 149-50.

New Testaments in their present form comprise revelations (*wahy*) that 'had descended upon Jesus Christ from God for the guidance of the people'.⁴⁵ The apostles are only *tābi'in*, or those who obeyed Christ's commands. He differentiates, however, between Qur'ānic and pre-Qur'ānic *wahy*. The Qur'ānic *wahy* comprises the words of God alone, the pre-Qur'ānic *wahy* represents the true sense revealed to the Prophets and not the actual words.⁴⁶ Sayyid Ahmad goes on to say all true prophets propagated Divine unity and the Christian scriptures did not endorse their belief in the incarnation and the Trinity. Taking Colenso to task for casting doubt on the historical character of Biblical stories such as 'the Deluge', Sayyid Ahmad examines the story critically but concludes that it could be deemed an historically and scientifically correct version of an event that had occurred.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, Sayyid Ahmad calls for a critical study of both the Bible and the Qur'ān.

The Muslims did not agree with Sayyid Ahmad's interpretation and believed that he tended to fight the Muslims on behalf of the missionaries. The work did not, however, undermine Christian-Muslim polemics.

Early in 1863, after his transfer from Muradabad to Ghazipur, Sayyid Ahmad published a pamphlet outlining a scheme to translate English books on art and science into 'such languages' as were in common use among the people. The scheme was inspired by the Vernacular Translation Society, which the Delhi College had established in 1845. One of the Delhi directors was the famous orientalist, Dr. Aloys Sprenger (1813-93). In October 1863, Sayyid Ahmad visited Calcutta to elicit the support of 'Abdu'l-Latif, the Muslim leader of Bengal, who had founded the Mohammedan Literary Society. In a lecture to the Society, Sayyid Ahmad stated that Muslims were perfect in Greek sciences but their young men were ignorant of modern science. This was because the books were in English. Young Muslims were not indifferent to English for religious reasons, neither did they ignore it because modern astronomy contradicted Qur'ānic formulations. The main reason was that Muslim *shurafā'* (respectable people) taught their children Arabic in order to train them in religious principles. Indeed, Arabic was most important and must not be forsaken but boys should also study modern science. If an association were formed to translate the books on modern science into Arabic and Persian, they would easily learn the new principles. English was, however, indispensable for maintaining contact with their rulers. From the lowest profession, viz. service, to the highest, viz. trade, a knowledge of English was imperative. In short the teaching of English

45 *Ibid.*, I. p. 30

46 *Ibid.*, I, pp. 14, 19.

47 *Ibid.*, II, pp. 330, 342.

and the dissemination of the modern sciences through translation should be delayed no longer.⁴⁸

The most enthusiastic response came from Mawlānā Sirāj Husayn, son of the great Shī'i *mujtahid*, Mufti Muhammad Qulī Kintūri. On 11 April 1864, he wrote a letter to Sayyid Ahmad giving useful suggestions for the promotion of translations from European languages into Arabic, Persian and Urdu. Sayyid Ahmad tabled the letter, with a missive from 'Abdu'l-Latif of Calcutta and his own comments, at the Society's meeting on 2 June 1864. The following summary of the Mawlānā's letter gives his own advanced views on scientific education and translation.

The Mawlānā wrote that he was pleased to receive the Society's pamphlet setting out its aims and objectives and thanked God for Sayyid Ahmad's interest in the cause that was so dear to himself. Outlining his own interest in the scheme, the Mawlānā commented that after completing his formal religious education he wished to study mathematics. He compiled a treatise on Algebra but his studies of the Urdu translation of Bridge's *Algebra* stimulated him to learn English. In a short time he was proficient enough to read books on mathematics and physics in English. He bought a considerable number of books from Calcutta and England and translated some of them into Persian and Urdu. He was interested in obtaining a teaching position in a town where he could teach science through translation. While he was a Deputy Collector in Orai, he applied for the position of a teacher at the Lucknow school but was unsuccessful. As one of his own countrymen (Sayyid Ahmad) had embarked upon the same objective, he thanked God that during his (the Mawlānā's) own lifetime, a kind-hearted person (Sayyid Ahmad) had been born of whom he could be proud. He (the Mawlānā) was pleased that his collaboration was sought. He enclosed a *hundawī* (banker's note) for twenty-four rupees with the letter and promised to persuade his friends to join the Society for he believed that its membership earned merit from God. He added that since a considerable number of distinguished scholars had joined the Society he had ventured to make certain suggestions on the basis of his own experience, although this amounted to teaching philosophy to Luqman⁴⁹:

1. Works of logic and metaphysics by Hamilton,⁵⁰ mathematics by De Morgan and Peacock⁵¹ should be translated from English into Arabic or else experts in the philosophy of Mullā Sadrā and Mir Zāhid

48 Graham, *Syed Ahmad Khan*, pp. 77-81.

49 Name of a certain wise man, said by some to have been a son of Job's sister or aunt.

50 Sir William Hamilton, Bart., *Lecture on metaphysics and logic*.

51 George Peacock translated Lacroix's *Differential and Integral calculus* in 1816 and published his *Algebra* in 1830.

would not be impressed;

2. Works on chemistry, or natural philosophy, physics or mechanical knowledge, political economy and agricultural chemistry should be translated for the promotion of a good general knowledge. Both religious and worldly benefits would be gained from their study. The Egyptian rulers had sent gifted French-speaking scholars to Europe. They had translated some French books into Arabic. A letter dated 1846 from Mr. Taylor (the Principal) of Delhi College, showed that the Egyptian rulers had given some of the medical books already translated into Arabic from French to the government of India. The Nizām of Hyderabad's ministers had some books on physics translated into an eastern language. If these could be acquired, many of the difficulties in translating scientific books into Urdu would be eliminated;
3. An academy should be established at Ghazipur or elsewhere and a laboratory equipped with the instruments for carrying out experiments on physical and chemical phenomena should be attached to it;
4. Historical works should not be translated as a large number of them had already been published by local authors;
5. Urdu should be preferred to Persian for translation as the interest in learning Persian had been declining;
6. The collaboration of scholars versed in studying science in Arabic should be sought as the European scholars had derived much of their knowledge from Greek writings on physics and mathematics. This would facilitate the correct interpretation of technical terms and subtle scientific theories.

Mawlāwī 'Abdu'l-Latif of Calcutta, in his letter dated 28 January 1864, agreed with Mawlānā Sirāj Husayn who emphasized the need for making the 'ulamā' realise that higher learning was not the monopoly of Arabic and that translations from English would foster the development of scientific thought. Sayyid Ahmad also supported Mawlānā Sirāj Husayn's letter. He stated that he was aware of the fact that since more profound works by English scholars were not available to academics proficient in Arabic, they had no respect for English intellectual traditions. He added that he was in full agreement with the Mawlānā's suggestion that the Society should develop an adequate library. The main obstacle was the collection of funds. He agreed that the Society should start a scientific school and hoped this would soon be implemented. Sayyid Ahmad also endorsed the Mawlānā's preference for Urdu but claimed that Indians were in great need of historical studies by European scholars.⁵²

52 *Ru'dād Scientific Society Aligarh*, 6 June 1864, Urdu, English version in Shāh Muhammad, *The Aligarh movement*, Meerut, 1978, I. pp. 40-42.

Sirāj Husayn had realized that modern science, based on experiment, had made obsolete both the analogical and hypothetical deductions of Greek philosophy and the natural sciences on which the 'ulamā' based their religious and philosophical reasoning. He and 'Abdu'l-Latif considered it essential to convince the 'ulamā' of the worth of European science; Sayyid Ahmad also considered the suggestion important.

At the Society's meeting on 15 September 1864, Sayyid Ahmad reported that Mawlānā Sirāj Husayn had translated a treatise on *Arithmetic* by Augustus De Morgan into Urdu and another elementary treatise on *Conic Sections*, published at Cambridge in 1826, into Persian, and that he had sent the manuscripts to the Society. The Chairman, W. J. Bramly, supported their publication and the resolution was carried unanimously.⁵³

In August 1865, Mawlānā Sirāj Husayn died. It is remarkable that while his brother, Mawlānā Hāmid Husayn, was engaged in writing monumental Shī'i-Sunnī polemical works such as the *Muntahū'l-kalām* and the *'Abaqātū'l-anwār*, Sirāj Husayn admired Sayyid Ahmad's efforts to promote scientific education and collaborated with him. Sirāj Husayn was not disturbed by the publication of Sayyid Ahmad's *Tabyīnu'l-kalām* although some Shī'i 'ulamā' wrote rejoinders against it. Sayyid Ahmad's Sunnī friends who held high positions in government were also deeply upset, however, and a paper war broke out between the Sunnīs and the Sayyid.

In April 1864, Sayyid Ahmad was transferred from Ghazipur to Aligarh. The Scientific Society moved with him. The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Province donated a plot of land for a permanent home for the Society in Aligarh and laid the foundation stone of the building in 1864. The Aligarh Institute of the Scientific Society was born in February 1866. The interest of the English civilians in this venture helped in the collection of funds. As suggested by Mawlānā Sirāj Husayn, Sayyid Ahmad now intended to acquire the scientific apparatus required for experiments.

On 30 March 1866, the first number of the Society's journal called the '*Akhbār Scientific Society*' or '*Institute Gazette*' was published. The right-hand column was devoted to Urdu and the left to English. Below the heading was printed the motto of the journal in both languages:

'Liberty of the Press is a prominent duty of the Government and a natural right of the subject.'

From 4 January 1867 the motto was modified:

'To permit the liberty of the press is the part of wise Governments, to preserve it is the part of a free people.'

53 *The Aligarh movement*, I, p. 64.

The journal discussed Indian problems and suggested solutions for improvements. Along with the Scientific Society and the '*Institute Gazette*', Sayyid Ahmad founded the British Indian Association of North-West Provinces in 1866. Before its establishment, Sayyid Ahmad delivered a speech at the Aligarh Institute on 10 May 1866 (the day when the 1857 revolution broke out). He said, "Yes, my friends, the great God above, He who is equally the God of the Jew, the Hindu, the Christian, and the Mohammedan, placed the British over the people of India—gave them rational laws (and no religious laws revealed to us by God can be at variance with rational laws), gave you, up to the year 1858, the Government of the East India Company."⁵⁴ Praising the British Parliament he concluded, "From all that I have just said, gentlemen, I wish to advocate the formation, on your part, of an association for the North-Western Provinces, which will, through the head association to be established in London, as detailed in the article reprinted from the '*Englishman*' in number V of the Institute Paper, give the people of the North-Western Provinces an opportunity of making known their wants to Parliament."⁵⁵

A new class of Muslims had emerged in the wake of the post-1857-58 British administrative re-organizations that was dependent upon them for its economic and social privileges. This class, including their dependents, and those who had obtained petty positions in the British administration, were deemed superior to the Muslim artisans, craftsmen, shop-keepers, farmers and labourers. They were known as the '*ashraf*' (respectable people). The thirteenth century conquerors of India were also divided into hierarchies in India, mirroring the Hindu castes such as Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra. The only difference was that the Hindu caste and class system did not permit change while the Muslim class divisions were remarkably mobile on the basis of wealth and position. Even an '*alim*' of Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz's fame believed that the Arab society of the Prophet's days was also ridden by class distinctions.⁵⁶

In the government of the North-West Provinces and Awadh, out of the 54,130 Indian officials holding positions, 35,302 (65.22%) were Hindus and 18,828 (34.78%) Muslims, as against 86.75% Hindus and 13.25% Muslims, in the general population.⁵⁷ Between 1858 and 1882, the Muslims outnumbered Hindus in prestigious positions, such as deputy collectors and *tahsildars*.⁵⁸ The percentage of Shi'is in these positions is not known

54 *Ibid.*, I, p. 232.

55 *Ibid.*, I, p. 234.

56 Rizvi, *Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz*, pp. 174-79.

57 Correspondence on the subject of the Mohammedan Community, Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, p. 286.

58 *Ibid.*, p. 389.

but in view of their high proportion in comparison with the Sunnis in the *ashraf* class, they probably held a reasonable number of both senior and junior posts. The main reason was the administration's use of Urdu which had replaced Persian in many Provinces of northern India.

Urdu is essentially a dialect of Western Hindi spoken in the neighbourhood of Delhi and Meerut. The assimilation of Arabic and Persian words into Western Hindi by the Muslims in medieval times changed it into Urdu. Naturally, it was the *lingua franca* of the Delhi region and, like the Muslims, the Hindus associated with the administration mastered it fairly easily.

The movement in favour of Vernacular Education was strongly opposed by the Bengālīs. They raised the question as to what was really meant by 'Vernacular'. With Sayyid Ahmad, it amounted to the introduction of Urdu. His Hindu associates belonged to Western N.W.P., where Urdu was spoken by Hindus and Muslims alike. Sayyid Ahmad did not appreciate the sentiments of the Hindus of Eastern N.W.P. and Bihar. He failed to realize that the English educated Hindu middle class, that was rapidly emerging in that part of the country, was radically different from the Hindu and Muslim landed nobility of medieval days. The emphasis on Vernacular education on the part of the government synchronized with a movement for the introduction of Hindi, written in Devanāgarī characters, as the official language of the courts. In 1867 Hindi written in Kaithī characters, similar to Devanāgarī, was approved by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal as an official vernacular of Bihar. This change gave considerable encouragement to the protagonists of Hindi in Eastern N.W.P.

In August 1867, Sayyid Ahmad was transferred from Aligarh on promotion as a judge of the small-cause court at Banaras in the eastern N.W.P. There he came into headlong conflict with the protagonists of Hindi. An association in defence of Hindi was formed with the zealous Bābū Sarwadā Prasād Sandal as its secretary. In a letter dated 8 November 1868, Sayyid Ahmad wrote to the Bābū: "the statement that Hindi, written in Devanāgarī script, is the common language of the North-West Province tends to confuse two different issues. Language and script are two different things. I believe that the courts of North-West Provinces should use the common language of this province which you call Hindi and I call Urdu. It is useless to discuss whether it should be written in Devanāgarī, Persian or Roman scripts. Only the courts can decide that. If someone convinces me by debate that it is more useful to replace the Persian script with Devanāgarī, I would have no objection to its introduction."⁵⁹

59 Pānīpatī, Shaykh Muhammad Ismā'īl, *Maktūbāt-i Sir Sayyid*, Lahore, 1976, I, pp. 258-59.

In a second letter dated 14 November 1868 Sayyid Ahmad wrote to the Bābū, "I don't find any reason to differ with your views that Hindi means the language of Hindustan. I differ only on the meaning of Urdu. It is wrong to say that Urdu is over-burdened with Persian words. There are not many Persian words in commonly spoken Urdu. They abound only in the Urdu of Persian scholars as the Sanskritists favour Sanskrit words in their *bhākha* dialect. The Urdu *Dīwān* by Mīr Dārd and the *Bāgh wa bahār* by Mīr Amman bear me out. I do not insist but I believe that neither Devanāgarī nor the Roman script would suit court work. These matters need a trial but some sound reasons suggest to me that my views will prove correct. I have no reason to oppose the introduction of the Devanāgarī script in the courts if it were feasible. I believe it is not."⁶⁰

Both Sunnīs and Shī'is opposed the use of the Devanāgarī script in the courts. Hindu leaders, particularly Rāja Shiva Prasād (1803-95), of Banaras, who was an Urdu poet and had written fourteen books in that language, became an ardent protagonist of Hindi. Kempson, the Director of Public Instruction, claimed that Hindus opposed Urdu on principle and supported the Rāja. Bābū Navin Chandra Roy, a Brahma Samāj missionary, disseminated the Hindi message of eastern N.W.P. to the Panjab. The language controversy became a tool in the Hindu hands to oust the Muslims from government positions.

Sayyid Ahmad was deeply disappointed. In one of his conversations with the Commissioner of Banaras, Sayyid Ahmad is reported to have observed that his hopes of Hindu and Muslim unity had been shattered.⁶¹ He took no steps, however, to give the Devanāgarī script a trial either in the courts or in the Scientific Society translations. In a letter dated 29 April 1870, he wrote from London to his friend Mahdī 'Alī (Mohsinu'l-Mulk), "I was very upset to learn that under Bābū Shiva Prasād's leadership, the Hindus are determined to destroy Urdu and Persian scripts, the living Muslim symbols. The Bābū has urged the Hindu members of the Society to suggest that both the journal and translations be produced in Hindi. This movement will destroy Hindu-Muslim unity. Muslims will never agree to the introduction of Hindi. The Hindus will not agree to Urdu. Consequently the movement will create division among Hindus and Muslims. I am not disturbed at this. I believe that if the Muslims work independently they will gain and the Hindus will lose. I am concerned with only two things. Firstly I am instinctively inclined to improve the conditions of all Indians without any religious distinctions. Secondly the Muslims are too deeply sunk in their misfortunes

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 260-62.

⁶¹ *Hayāt-i Jāwīd*, I, p. 112.

and false pride to be conscious of their current profit and loss. As compared with the Hindus they are more spiteful and malevolent and are often exceedingly poor."⁶² Shi'is supported the Sayyid's Urdu movement.

During his stay in Banaras, Sayyid Ahmad decided to visit England to obtain first-hand knowledge of progress there. When his orthodox Sunnī rivals were informed of his decision they jumped to the conclusion that he wished to embrace the purest form of Christianity. In September 1866 Sayyid Ahmad wrote an article justifying, on the basis of Qur'ānic verses, the legality of Muslims eating with Christians, provided neither pork nor liquor was served. In 1868, he wrote a treatise entitled *Ahkām-i ta'ām Ahl-i Kitāb*, in which he drew profusely upon Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz's *fatwas* permitting this social intercourse with certain qualifications. Sayyid Ahmad claimed that modern Christians were also included in the *Ahl-i Kitāb* (religious communities who had received Divine scriptures). The majority of modern Christians, who were Protestants, were better than the Roman Catholics who worshipped statues of Christ. Unitarian Christians who were monotheists believed that Christ was a prophet. The [Sunnī] jurists had declared that animals slaughtered by those Christians who believed in the trinity were still lawful.⁶³ Sayyid Ahmad also quoted the Qur'ānic exegesis, *hadīs* works and the *Fatāwa-i 'Ālamgiriyya* in his defence. Finally he observed that while the more cautious Muslims might avoid eating meat served by Christians but there was no reason to abstain from other foods. As an example he says that Shi'is refrained from eating fish without scales. When they visited Sunnī friends they ate fish provided their friends certified that the fish served had scales before it was cooked. Muslims could follow this custom when dining with Christians.⁶⁴

In 1868 Sayyid Ahmad's son, Sayyid Mahmūd, was awarded a scholarship by the North-West Provinces Government to study in England. Sayyid Ahmad, who had earlier hesitated to go to England because of his poor knowledge of the language, decided to accompany him. A Delhi student, Khudādād Beg, who had also secured a government scholarship, Sayyid Ahmad's elder son, Sayyid Hāmid, and Sayyid Ahmad's servant, Chhajjū, set off for England with Sayyid Mahmūd. In his travelogue, entitled the *Musāfirān-i Landan* (Travellers to London), he wrote that the butchers and cooks on the ship were English. Quadrupeds, such as lambs and goats, were killed by piercing the carotid artery, for the English considered shedding too much blood unlawful. Chicken and other fowls, which resembled marine animals, had their neck wrung. Since fish and locusts were not slaughtered by blood-letting by the Muslims either,

62 *Maktūbāt-i Sir Sayyid*, I, p. 264.

63 *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, I, pp. 311-12.

64 *Ibid.*, I, p. 137.

the orthodox could eat them without scruples.⁶⁵

After arriving in London, in a letter dated 4 June 1869, Sayyid Ahmad wrote to Mahdī 'Alī commenting that he had not found his journey too difficult. It was not necessary for a Muslim to violate his faith. Shi'is, who considered polytheists as *najis* (unclean), could live in London but it was difficult and required some planning. Meat slaughtered by Muslims was available in London.⁶⁶ Sayyid Ahmad's enemies were not satisfied, however, and (when he heard their accusations), he ridiculed them in his letters. The question of animal shortening in European biscuits and pastry which made them illegal was never raised.

His note, comparing Indians with the English was published in the Aligarh *Institute Gazette* on 15 October 1869 and filled the Indians with rage. He wrote, 'The natives of India, high and low, merchants and petty shop-keepers, educated and illiterate, when contrasted with the English in education, manners and uprightness, are as like them as a dirty animal.'⁶⁷

The rich collections of the India Office Library aroused in him the desire to refute *The Life of Muhammad*, published by William Muir in 1850 at the instigation of Pfander. Drawing upon the Qur'ān, Sunni *ahādīs* and Arabic biographical literature, Muir stated categorically that "every verse in the Coran is the genuine and unaltered composition of Mahomet himself." Muir's work describes the Qur'ān as the "pretended inspiration of Mohammad" and rejects the Muslim belief that it is a Divine revelation. *Ahādīs* are denounced as unreliable, biased and the author concludes that "tradition cannot in general be received with too much caution, or exposed to too rigorous a criticism; and that no important statement should be received as securely proved by tradition only, unless there be some further ground of probability, analogy, or collateral evidence in its favour."

Sayyid Ahmad did not write an alternative correct biography of the Prophet Muhammad but refuted Muir's principal objections in the following twelve lectures:

1. On the Historical Geography of Arabia;
2. On the Manners and Customs of the Pre-Islamic Arabians;
3. On the Various Religions of the Pre-Islamic Arabs;
4. On the Question whether Islam has been Beneficial or Injurious to Human Society in General and to the Mosaic and Christian Dispensations;
5. On the Mohammedan Theological Literature;

65 *Musāfirān-i Landan* (London), Lahore, 1961, p. 74; *Maktūbāt-i Sīr Sayyid* to Mohsinu'l-Mulk, pp. 520-24.

66 *Maktūbāt-i Sīr Sayyid*, I, p. 415.

67 *Institute Gazette*, 19 November, 1869.

6. On the Mohammedan Traditions;
7. On the Holy Koran;
8. On the History of the Holy Mecca;
9. On the Pedigree of Mohammed;
10. On the Prophecies respecting Mohammad as contained in both the Old and New Testament;
11. On the Shakki-Sadar (*Shaqg-Sadar*) and Meraġ (*Mi'rāġ*);
12. On the Birth and Childhood of Mohammed."⁶⁸

Sayyid Ahmad had called his exoneration of Islam, the *Mawā'iz-i Ahmadiyya fi asrār-i millat-i Ahmadiyya* but it was eventually entitled the *Khutabāt-i Ahmadiyya* or Essays on the life of Muhammad. Sayyid Ahmad considers Muir's statements on the authenticity of Qur'ānic texts better informed than those of other Christian scholars but reiterates firmly the Islamic belief that the Qur'ānic revelations embody the actual words of God and that nothing "had been lost, destroyed or become obsolete". What the Christian authors fail to understand is that "the Qur'ān is the actual speech of God, Whose every word had been written down". He thinks that he had succeeded in proving that the Qur'ān "is as systematically arranged, and is as harmonious as regards the sense, as any book can possibly be".⁶⁹ He reminds Muir that "there is probably no other work in the world which has remained so pure a text after twelve centuries."⁷⁰

Sayyid Ahmad does not dispute the need to examine *ahādīs* critically but takes Muir to task for his prejudices and want of objectivity. The traditions were collected honestly, with pious motives and were apolitical. Sayyid Ahmad is not satisfied himself with the traditional *ahādīs* test of *isnād* (chain of authorities) criteria but calls for the examination of the content of each *hadīs* in the light of religious teachings derived from the Qur'ān.⁷¹ Sayyid Ahmad examines the *ahādīs* mentioned in connection with the Qur'ānic verses relating to the *shaqq-sadar* (splitting open of the Prophet Muhammad's chest) and *mi'rāġ* (night journey) and concludes that they had very "little, if any, connection with the fundamental religion of Mohammed. Were any one to deny the occurrence of the former, either bodily or in a dream, and to assert that there occurred nothing of the sort, but that all these traditions which insist upon either the material or imaginary occurrence of such events, are, without any exception, absolutely false, manifestly spurious, apocryphal, and forged, still he would not forfeit, by such assertion, an iota of his faith, or fail, in the least

68 *Essays on the life of Muhammad*, Lahore, 1968, reprinted, p. XVI.

69 *Ibid.*, p. 281.

70 *Ibid.*, p. 283.

71 *Maqālāt-i Śīr Sayyid*, I. pp. 53-59.

degree, in the practice of his religion, but would still remain a true and orthodox Moslem".⁷²

The most important essay is the fourth one which Sayyid Ahmad divides into the following sections:

- I. On the Advantages derived by Human Society in general from Islam;
- II. Refutation of the Opinion that Islam has been Injurious to Human Society;
- III. Benefits and Advantages that Judaism and Christianity derived from Islam;
- IV. Advantages derived from Islam by Christianity particularly.

Sayyid Ahmad produced more essays and treatises on these topics, as did his friend the Shi'i Chirāgh 'Alī, writing in English. Shibli Nu'mānī (1857-1914), a professor at the M.A.O. College, wrote the *Sīratu'r-Nabī* in Urdu to present an authentic biography of the Prophet refuting the prejudices of the Western orientalists. The Shi'i Mawlānā, Awlād Haydar Fawq Bilgarāmi, published the *Uswatu'r-Rasūl* rebutting what he believed to be Shibli's Sunni prejudices and also sternly took the Western orientalists to task for writing distorted versions of the Prophet's biographies on Sunni evidences.

Shortly after his arrival in London, Sayyid Ahmad was reassured that "The cause of England's civilization is that all the arts and sciences are in the language of the country. Although in some parts of England the dialects are such as to make it difficult to understand their English, still, on the whole, English in England corresponds to the Urdu of the North-West Provinces and Behar, which every one understands. Those who are really bent on improving and bettering India must remember that the only way of compassing this is by having the whole of the arts and sciences translated into their own language. I should like to have this written in gigantic letters on the Himalayas, for the remembrance of future generations. If they be not translated, India can never be civilised. This is truth, this is the truth, this is the truth!"⁷³ He also published a pamphlet entitled "Strictures upon the present educational system in India" criticising the government for trying to educate Indians in a foreign tongue. Rāja Shiva Prasād was quick to refute the Sayyid and published "Strictures Upon the Strictures of Sayyid Ahmad Khān Bahādūr", adding to the Sayyid's growing despair of leading both the Hindus and Muslims.

⁷² *Essays on the life of Muhammad*, p. 371.

⁷³ Sayyid Ahmad's letter dated 15 October, 1869 to the Secretary of the Scientific Society, Aligarh, in the *Institute Gazette*; Graham, *Syed Ahmad Khan*, pp. 192-93.

The mounting friendship between the Khedive of Egypt and the Sultan of Turkey with England and the increasing interest of Egyptians and Turks in British liberal institutions, kindled in Sayyid Ahmad hopes of liberating the Indian Muslims from "the fatal shroud of complacent self-esteem", which was "wrapped around the Mohammedan community". His principal opponents were his old Sunnī friends who like him, held high government posts. Sayyid Ahmad proceeded cautiously. In May 1870 he urged his friend, Maḥdī 'Alī, to found an Association for Muslim reform but asked that his own name should not figure in it. Before leaving London, Sayyid Ahmad had decided to publish a monthly journal entitled the *Tahzībū'l-Akhlāq* (*The Mohammedan Social Reformer*) and purchased enough paper for a year's printing.⁷⁴ He advocated that Islam, reason and nature were not mutually exclusive and that Muslims could progress only by forsaking *taqlid* (unquestioning obedience).⁷⁵ Sayyid Ahmad hoped that, like the *Spectator* and the *Tattler*, published by Addison and Steele, his *Tahzībū'l-Akhlāq* would promote rationalism and an intellectual awakening among the Indian Muslims.⁷⁶

During his sojourn in London, Sayyid Ahmad noticed the popularity of residential public schools which trained boys from middle-class families to administer the colonies. Most public schools were not interested in applied sciences but emphasized the study of Greek and Latin to make the young men pompous. Sayyid Ahmad was deeply impressed by Oxford and Cambridge universities. He decided to found a college in India on

74 *Maktūbāt-i Sir Sayyid*, pp. 471-73.

75 *Ibid.*, p. 475. In the *Tahzībū'l-Akhlāq*, 10 Muharram 1289/22 March 1872, Sayyid Ahmad wrote that Shī'ī Imāmiyyas have correctly made a rule that in each age there should be a *mujtahid*. No age should be devoid of a *mujtahid*, but their ruling that when a *muftī* died his *fatwa* died also, was incorrect. Later the Sunnīs had made an absolutely incorrect rule to the effect that *ijtihād* had ended. None could rise to the status of a *mujtahid* any more. The Sunnīs were divided in pointing out the list of the *mujtahids*; according to some it was Zayd and to others, Amar. Some (Sunnī) works say that the presence of the *mujtahid* at all times was imperative. The *Intibāh fī salasīl awliyā' Allāh* by Shāh Walīū'llāh tends to show that it was essential that a *mujtahid* be always present. The Sunnī belief in the closing of *ijtihād* has caused great harm to their religious and worldly affairs. (Sunnīs) should realise the fact that the needs of changing circumstances and times could not be served without a living *mujtahid*. Consequently a contemporary *mujtahid* was indispensable for Sunnīs. Sayyid Ahmad's Sunnī opponents, however, accused him of harbouring ambitions to become a *mujtahid*. During his lifetime Sayyid Ahmad never called himself a *mujtahid* but after his death, Mawlānā Muḥammad Imāmu'd-Dīn Gujarātī and Mawlawī Ahmad Bābā, the editors of the collection of Sayyid Ahmad's articles, bestowed the titles of *mujtahid* and *mujaddid* upon him. *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, I, pp. 290-92. 'Atiq Siddīqī in his Urdu book on Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān wrote a chapter entitled *Ek us—ek mujaddid* (A reformer—a *mujaddid*) *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān*, Delhi 1977, p. 101.

76 *Tahzībū'l-akhlāq*, III, 1; *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, XIII, pp. 702-708.

the pattern of the Cambridge system for the *ashraf* boys, the Muslim counterpart of the English middle-class in his mind. He believed that the *ashraf* were not interested in sending their boys to the state schools where they learned the three Rs in a heterogeneous cultural atmosphere with boys from the lower classes. The *ashraf* tradition and a rational Islam could thrive only in a residential system of public schools like the English.⁷⁷ He envisaged that in the same way as Oxford and Cambridge students attended Church, Muslim youths would attend congregational prayers and would develop into Anglicised gentlemen acting as a bulwark to the British raj. He believed that at least Rs. 1,000,000 were required to set up such a school.

In October 1870, Sayyid Ahmad returned to India and resumed his duties at Banaras. In December 1870 he set up a Committee for the Better Diffusion and Advancement of Learning among Mohammedans of India. On 1 Shawwāl 1287/24 December 1870, the first issue of the *Tahzībū'l-Akhlāq* was published. It was designed "to induce the Muslims to adopt the first-rate civilization in order that they could also be called respectable and civilized". The Sayyid had been disturbed at the views of an English historian who claimed the Indian Muslims were the meanest creatures of the Prophet Muhammad's *umma* and that their religion was an amalgam of the Qur'ān and Hindu idol worship.⁷⁸

The *Tahzībū'l-Akhlāq* strove to awaken the Indian Muslims from their stupor and sought to acquaint them with the challenges of modern sciences. In the *Tahzībū'l-Akhlāq* of 1 Zu'l-hijja 1288/22 February 1871, he defined modern sciences (*'ulūm-i jadīda*) as follows:

1. Sciences that had not been invented in the days of the classic Greek and Muslim scholars, such as geology and electricity;
2. Sciences that were known to classical Greek and Muslim scholars but whose founding principles had become out-of-date and had been replaced by modern theories. Consequently modern astronomy and chemistry resembled the ancient arts in name only.
3. Sciences that were known to the classical Greek and the Muslim scientists and whose theories have not changed but whose scope had been expanded so much that they appear different: for example, the mechanics known as *jarr-i saqil*.

Sayyid said that modern science in his journal might mean one or all of the above. He pleaded that both the *'ulamā'* and early Christian scholars had tried to prevent the dissemination of science but their efforts had failed. He was convinced that pure Islam (*thet* Islam) was strong enough to confront science. Consequently his objective was to preach and spread

77 *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, XII, pp. 186-88.

78 *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, VII, pp. 211-12.

the Islam and to kindle the light of science in the heart of his co-religionists.⁷⁹

The Sunni 'ulamā' vehemently opposed Sayyid Ahmad's reforms but the greatest threat to his movement came from his former Sunni friends who, enjoyed the respect of both the Muslims and the government. One of them, Sayyid Imdād 'Alī, a deputy collector, had also helped to protect the British in 1857 and, until 1862, had been a fast friend of Sayyid Ahmad,⁸⁰ but the *Tabyīnu'l-kalām* turned him into an implacable enemy. In 1869 when Sayyid Ahmad received the title 'C.S.I.' (Companion of the Star of India), in England, Imdād 'Alī was awarded it in India. Imdād 'Alī published the *Shihāb-i Saqib* and the *Fā'idu'l-Islam*. He launched a journal called the *Nūru'l-Āfāq* in refutation of the *Tahzību'l-Akhlāq*. Prior to this he had published the *Nūru'l-Anwār* in Kānpur as well. The *Strachey Gazette*, the *Lawh-i Mahfūz*, and the *Najmu'l-Akhhār* were produced in Muradabad, the *Mao Memorial Gazette* in Delhi and the *Risāla-i Ishā'at al-Sunnat* in the Panjab. All were designed to rebut Sayyid Ahmad's writings. When 'Alī Bakhsh went on a pilgrimage and returned as a Hājjī (one who has performed pilgrimage) he brought *fatwas* from the 'ulamā' in Mecca and Medina condemning Sayyid Ahmad as an infidel. The Indian Sunni 'ulamā' had already issued such *fatwas*. The objections of Ghulām Hasnayn Kintūri were constructive but Sayyid Ahmad ignored the pressing need of technical education.

The Sayyid huffed and puffed against his enemies. But it was at the fag end of his life that he thought of sending boys to Bombay to obtain training in trade and commerce. The establishment of the residential college for Muslims was an uphill task. A committee had been set up in December 1870 and had invited scholars to write an essay on the reason for the low proportion of Muslims in government schools and colleges; Muslim indifference to the local primary schools; the reason for the decline of ancient learning among Muslims, and the reason Muslims failed to study modern sciences.⁸¹ Prizes for the first three essays were also announced. The statistics published in the *Institute Gazette* in March 1867, however, showed that in proportion to their percentage of the population of N.W.P., Muslims were well represented in the government service. Sayyid Ahmad's report on the low proportion of Muslim boys in government schools was refuted by the Director of Public Instruction, whose official statistics cut the ground from under the feet of the Muslim leaders.

The essays showed, however, that Muslim objection to government schools could be classified under these headings:

79 *Tahzību'l-akhlāq*, III, pp. 194-203.

80 *Maktūbāt-i Sir Sayyid*, pp. 64-66.

81 *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, XVI, pp. 698-700.

1. The absence of religious education;
2. The effect of English education in producing disbelief in the Muslim religion;
3. Corruption of morals, politeness and courtesy;
4. Government schools' teaching staff, comprising Hindus and Christians, paid no attention to Muslim boys;
5. Superfluous subjects were taught in government schools, while English as a medium of instruction for science subjects was ignored. Oriental languages and anti-Islamic literature were in the curriculum;
6. The higher classes of Muslims, who were dissipated, did not send their children to school but provided private tuition for their boys. The middle-classes were indolent and indifferent to education. Most Muslims preferred a military career to an academic one.⁸²

In April 1872, the Committee for the Better Diffusion and Advancement of Learning converted itself into the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College Fund Committee which was replaced by the College Trustees in 1889. It set up a series of sub-committees all over India to raise funds. The Viceroy and the Governor-General took a deep interest in the scheme and promised to grant financial assistance. Sir Sālār Jang the prime minister of Hyderabad also offered to help and promised to send boys from the Hyderabad aristocracy to the school. Even Bābū Shiva Prasād promised to pay one thousand rupees as subscription if the school were established at Allahabad. The Committee rejected the Bābū's conditional subscription but decided to accept subscriptions from non-Muslims for worldly education.⁸³ In March 1873, a list of subscribers was published. It comprised the names of the Indian aristocracy, including Sunnis, Shi'is and Hindus. Rs. 75,139 were collected.

The Indian Government took a deep interest in the establishment of Mohammedan College. In 1888 some sectarian disputes prompted the Shi'i Rāja Amīr Hasan Khān of Mahmudabad (in Sitapur, near Lucknow) to withdraw his annual grant. Sayyid Ahmad's leading supporters at Hyderabad came to the rescue however, and raised funds there to make up the loss. The *Aligarh Institute Gazette* gave the credit for this to Nawwāb Wiqāru'l-Mulk Mushtāq Husayn but, on 30 August 1889, he wrote to Sayyid Ahmad in order to straighten the records. His letter states:

“It was Mawlawī Sayyid Husayn Sāhib Bilgarāmi Nawwāb 'Imādu'd-Dawla Bahādur who initiated the movement to collect contributions. The credit goes to the Nawwāb for mobilising support for the College. It is a matter of great satisfaction that although Rāja Sāhib withdrew

82 Graham, *Syed Ahmad Khan*, pp. 247-48.

83 *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, XVI, pp. 736-40; *Institute Gazette*, 20 May 1875.

his grant on sectarian grounds, compensation was made by another Shi'i, i.e. Nawwāb 'Imādu'd-Dawla Bahādur. I may add that of his six main supporters, four are Shi'is and only two are Sunnis. Of the two Sunnis, Mohsinu'l-Mulk belongs to a renowned Shi'i family. Although at present he is a Sunni, his blood is Shi'a. I come from a mixed Sunni-Shi'i family. Only those who know me consider me a Sunni but from my name I appear to be a Shi'a. The four other supporters of 'Imādu'd-Dawla are:

- a) Mawlawī Sayyid 'Alī Sāhib Bilgarāmī;
- b) Mawlawī Mahdī Hasan Sāhib, Nawwāb Fath-Nawāz Jang Bahādur;
- c) Mawlawī Sayyid Iqbāl 'Alī Sāhib Bahādur;
- d) Mawlawī Chirāgh 'Alī Sāhib, Nawwāb A'zamyār Jang Bahādur.⁸⁴

All of these people belonged to the North-Western Provinces. Their continued support ensured the flow of funds both from Hyderabad state and their original province. Sayyid Ahmad's religious views and Mahdī 'Alī's conversion to Sunni-ism, however, had aroused hostility in the Lucknow Shi'i leaders. Ghulām Hasnāyn wrote rejoinders but no Shi'i movement against the College was launched. Sayyid Ahmad's theory in the *Asbāb-i Baghāwat-i Hind* that Shi'is could never co-operate with Sunnis was the backwash of his earlier training in the ideologies of Mujaddid, Shāh Waliu'llah, Shāh 'Abdu'l 'Aziz and Sayyid Ahmad Shāhid. Possibly he did not expect to secure such solid Shi'i backing for the College. Until then he had under-estimated their preparedness to make sacrifices for Islam. Sayyid Ahmad's earlier Sunni friend, Imdād 'Alī, a deputy collector, wrote articles saying that Sayyid Ahmad and his Committee members were neither educationists nor were competent to judge the suitability of curriculum. In religious matters Sayyid Ahmad was a heretic and in other matters he was misinformed. The government and its colleges were more aware of educational needs and were more useful to Muslims than Sayyid Ahmad's proposed new school.⁸⁵ Mawlawī 'Alī Bakhsh also raised doubts about the curriculum, the boys' uniform and the selection of teachers.⁸⁶ The *Agra Akhbār* was not convinced that the College would help the poor. The *MAO Gazette* claimed that the list of contributors comprised the Hindu, Shi'i and Sunni aristocracy, men from middle and lower income groups and the ruling class, but the proposed College, which was likely to evoke envy in Oxford and Cambridge, paid little heed to disadvantaged boys.

84 Muhammad Amīn Zubayrī Mārahawī, *Makātib* (Mohsinu'l-Mulk and Wiqāru'l-Mulk) Agra n.d., pp. 79-80.

85 *Imdādū'l-āfāq*, pp. 2-15.

86 Yūsuf Hussain (ed.), *Selected documents from the Aligarh archives*, Bombay, 1966, p. 213.

Hundreds and thousands of rupees were likely to be spent on boarding houses and equipments but no contributor, trustee or manager of the College had inaugurated schemes to help the boys from poor families. The paper added sarcastically that perhaps all worldly benefits and even the teaching of Qur'ānic exegesis and *hadīs* were meant solely for the upper classes who could afford to pay high fees for their sons to learn riding and shooting.⁸⁷ Sayyid Ahmad's opponent reminded the Muslims of a speech which the Sayyid had recently delivered on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone of Anjuman Islāmiyya school in Bareilly. The founders of the school had wished to teach their boys, who belonged to the poorer classes, English as well as the traditional Islamic subjects. Sayyid Ahmad had observed that it was wrong to teach English at such a school. He claimed that no Muslim was more keen to promote English education than he himself, but there was a place for everything. Seventy-five boys were studying in the courtyard of mosque where the school would be established. Families of their background were devoted to the old type of education which was more useful to them and to the country. Attempts should be made to teach them reading, writing and arithmetic and short treatises on the rules for prayer and fasting. A higher English education was only imperative for the sons of *sardārs* (the aristocracy) and *sharīfs*.⁸⁸

Naturally any agreed curriculum to promote *shurafā* interests was difficult to evolve. Until 1872, Sayyid Ahmad had ardently supported education in vernacular as well as religious training. After his return from England, however, Sayyid Mahmūd submitted a more comprehensive scheme. He suggested, "No controversial point of theology should be included in the course, and strict regard should be paid to choosing books which contain doctrines received in general by the Muslims of India."⁸⁹ In 1874, Sayyid Ahmad promised to create a separate governing body to manage the religious education and invited 'Alī Bakhsh to become its head. He reassured the Muslims that he had no intention of interfering with religious education, the boarding houses or the boys. The opposition did not subside but its steam abated.⁹⁰

A committee was also set up to select a suitable town for the College. Sayyid Ahmad submitted a report from the Aligarh Civil Surgeon saying that the climate there was very healthy. He pleaded that Aligarh in the North-West Provinces was near Delhi, the Panjab, Rohilkhand, Agra and Mathura. Only Aligarh was surrounded by the Muslim aristocracy and

87 *MAO Gazette*, 25 December 1872.

88 Munshī Sirāju'd-Dīn (ed.), *Majmu'a-i lectures* (Sir Sayyid Ahmad), Sidhor, 1892, pp. 128-29.

89 Yūsuf Husain (ed.), *Selected Documents*, p. 229.

90 *Ibid.*, pp. 260-62.

ta'luqdārs, and, although some of these were backward, most of them were enlightened men. Pindrāwal, whose head was a Shi'i, was also near Aligarh and the Sayyid expected considerable support from them. Sayyid Ahmad was successful, although climatically it was very unhealthy and the aristocracy, particularly in Aligarh, never promoted modern education. Appealing to Muslim emotions, he concluded that the Prophet's *hadīs* to the effect, "I am the city of knowledge and 'Alī is its gateway" called for the establishment of the first College for the progress of Muslims in Aligarh.⁹¹

The North-West Provincial government donated seventy-four *bighas*⁹² of land to the Fund Committee. On 24 May 1875, (Queen Victoria's birthday), the school for elementary education (not the primary school earlier established by Mawlawī Sami'u'llāh Khān in 1872), was founded.

On 8 January 1877, Lord Lytton, the Viceroy and Governor-General, of India, laid the foundation stone of the Mohammedan Oriental College, Aligarh. Out of the four school boys who had matriculated in 1877 and joined the College, one was a Hindu. The College was affiliated to the Calcutta University. It was a promising beginning for Sayyid Ahmad's ambition "to form a class of persons, Mohammedans in religion, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, and intellect".

The Fund Committee controlled the College. The Principal of the Government College, Agra, was selected as the President of the Committee of Directors of Instruction in Languages and Secular Education and Sayyid Ahmad was its Vice President. The managing committee of the boarding-houses consisted of some Hindu members too. Mawlawī Sami'u'llāh Khān, who was a student of Mufti Sadru'd-Dīn Āzarda of Delhi College, and had obtained a high position in the British judiciary, was appointed secretary. He enjoyed the confidence of orthodox Sunnis. A sub-committee of the College Fund Committee nominated seven members each for the Committee on Sunni and Shi'i theology. Mawlānā Muhammad Qāsīm Nānawtawī (1833-79), the founder of the Dāru'l-'Ulūm, Deoband, refused to associate himself with the committee. The lesser-known Sunni and Shi'i '*ulamā'* joined the committees; among Sayyid Ahmad's school of religious thought, only Chirāgh 'Alī became a member of the Shi'i committee.

After his retirement in 1876, Sayyid Ahmad moved to Aligarh. At the recommendation of the Agra College Principal, Henry George Impey Siddons, a graduate of Worcester College, Oxford, was appointed headmaster. For the next three years he and the Hindu professor of mathematics taught all subjects except Arabic, Persian and theology. Muhammad

91 *Maqālāt-i Sīr Sayyid*, XVI, pp. 768-70.

92 A *bigha* measures five-eighth of an acre.

Akbar, a Sunni 'ālim from Kandhla, who belonged to Shāh Waliu'llāh's school became professor of Arabic and Sunni theology. Until his death, in 1886, he also acted as manager of the boarding house. In 1893, Maw-lānā Muhammad Qāsim's son-in-law, Mawlawī 'Abdu'llāh, became the professor of Sunni theology. In 1876 Qārī 'Abbās Husayn, son of the celebrated Shi'i 'ālim, Sayyid Ja'far 'Alī, who had been appointed his father's successor at Delhi College, was appointed the Professor of Shi'i theology. He was expert in the rational sciences, taught Persian and Arabic and recited the Qur'ān in a melodious tone. The Sunni students also respected him deeply. His appointment to the College went a long way to fostering the development of Shi'i-Sunni harmony in its early years. He wrote books on logic, the rational sciences, and grammar, in Arabic. His published lecture on the remarriage of widows played an important role in destroying Muslim prejudices against this practice.

Siddons retired in 1884 and, in February 1884, Theodore Beck, a Tripos in mathematics from Cambridge, replaced him. Beck's friends, Harold Cox and Walter Raleigh who joined the College, served for two years. Percy Wallace taught for a short time. T. W. Arnold, who replaced Raleigh in philosophy and stayed until 1898 made a most important contribution. In 1889 Theodore Morrison joined the College as professor of Political Economy and, after Beck's death in 1899, was promoted principal holding the position until 1905.

The nineteenth century M.A.O. College was the creation of Siddons, Beck and Morrison. In 1875 there were 66 boys in the school, all boarders. In 1876 there were 65 boys, out of which 24 Muslims and 6 Hindus were day-scholars. In 1881 there were 11 Muslim and 15 Hindu boys in the College and 175 Muslims and 42 Hindus in school. Out of these, 36 Muslim and 65 Hindu boys were day-scholars. In 1900, there were 160 Muslims and 16 Hindus in the College and 232 Muslims and 48 Hindus in the school. Out of these 41 Muslims and 58 Hindu boys were day-scholars.⁹³

About 60 percent of these boys came from the neighbouring towns of Aligarh and Delhi. Bilgarām and Azamgarh were well-represented. Families in Patiala, Jalandhar, Ludhiana and Lahore sent their boys. There were many students from Patna, Calcutta, Bhopal, Nagpur, Masulipatam, Madras, Berar, Surat and Karachi and from some N.W.P. families living in Hyderabad. The M.A.O. College acquired a real all-India Muslim character fostering the preservation of the *ashraf* culture. Shi'is also sent their sons to the College.

In 1881-82, out of the four boys who took the B. A. examination of

93 Iftikhār 'Ālam, *Mohammedan College history*, pp. 135-36; Lelyveld, D., *Aligarh's first generation*, Princeton, 1978, p. 172.

Calcutta University, only Ishwari Prasād, a Hindu from Khair district of Aligarh, passed. In 1882-83, two students gained their B.A. Mīr Wilāyat Husayn, the son of a poor Shi'i Sayyid family of Riwāri (Haryana), was one of them. He was appointed a teacher in the school in 1886 and four years later was promoted to second master; a position he held until his retirement in 1920. In 1895 he obtained a first-class honours degree in English as well as secured the top position of Allahabad University.⁹⁴ He was one of the few clever students from M.A.O. who served the school for such a long time. He was also a school proctor. His contemporary, Khwāja Sajjād Husayn, son of the great poet, Khwāja Altāf Husayn Hālī, who joined the school as sixth master, left as soon as he was appointed an assistant inspector of schools in the Panjab. There was no dearth of more profitable positions in the government in those days but the Mīr's dedication to educating Muslim boys kept him there. In 1905, Mīr Wilāyat Husayn, in a representation to the Principal, Morrison, regretted what he called his 'foolishness' in staying at the Muslim school on a salary of Rs. 100 p.m. for teaching plus Rs. 50 p.m. for proctorship. In the government schools, the highest salary paid to the headmaster was generally Rs. 400 and the second master received Rs. 200. In M.A.O. the headmaster received Rs. 450 to Rs. 500 but the second master was destined to never rise beyond Rs. 100.⁹⁵ The reasons were obvious. The M.A.O. College recruited British headmasters who were available only when their emoluments were higher than those of the government schools headmasters. Mīr Wilāyat Husayn was a Muslim and a Shi'i. Naturally he was forced to make a heavy sacrifice in the interests of Muslims' education. He served the school until 1920 and died in 1949.

Both the Shi'i and Sunni boys were deeply impressed with Mīr Wilāyat Husayn's learning and his teaching abilities. Men such as Dr. Zakir Husayn, later on the President of India, until he died, treasured their memories of the Mīr with great respect. At the instigation of the Viceroy, Lord Curzon (1899-1904), Mīr Wilāyat Husayn, led an Aligarh delegation to Iran in 1902. The other members were Sayyid Abū Muhammad, who retired as a member of the U.P. Public Service Commission, and Sayyid Jalālu'd-Dīn Haydar, who founded an association to raise funds for the education of Shi'i boys, the 'Shi'a Wazīfa Sādāt Fund'. The delegation visited many Iranian towns and succeeded in persuading some Iranians to send their boys to Aligarh for their higher education.⁹⁶ Throughout his time in the school, Mīr Wilāyat Husayn was a ceaseless advocate of Sunni-Shi'i harmony.

94 S. K. Bhatnāgar, *History of the M.A.O. College*, Aligarh, 1969, pp. 59, 92.

95 Wilāyat Husayn to Morrison, 20 January 1905, Budget Meeting 1906, Aligarh Archives.

96 Rizā 'Alī, Sayyid, *'Āmāl-nāma*, Delhi, 1943, p. 119.

The distinctive feature of the M.A.O. College was its residential life. The school and college uniform consisted of a long black coat (*sherwānī*) and a Turkish fez for Muslims. All boys wore long white trousers down to their heels. In 1910 the sons of Firangī Mahal divine, Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-Bārī, were allowed to put on trousers reaching to above the ankles, as prescribed by the Sunnī *sharī'a*.⁹⁷ From 1876 to 1886, the Arabic professor, Mawlānā Muhammad Akbar, managed the boarding houses efficiently. For about two years from 1879 Mushtāq Husayn lived in the boarding house to help Mawlānā Akbar. Samū'illāh's association with the boarding house assured the maintenance of the Muslim life-style.

Before the permanent structures for the College were erected, the British cantonment buildings on the land donated by the government were converted into classrooms. Near the main hall of the College, named after Lord Strachey, a row of rooms fronted by a verandah was built. It was known as the *pacca* (stone built) barrack and officially opened in 1881. The two of cantonment huts, with mud walls and thatched roofs were known as the *kachcha* (mud wall) barracks. Those who paid Rs. 20 per month were housed in the *pacca* barracks. They were known as 'first-class' boarders. The second and third class boarders lived in the *kachcha* barracks. The third class boarders paid Rs. 10 p.m. and the second class, Rs. 15. The first class boarders were served delicious meals, the second class were given middle-income group meals while the third-class received food of a very poor standard. The number of second class boarders exceeded both the first and third classes. In 1885, the third class was abolished and two years later, the second class went and thereafter all the boys were served the same meals although the barrack system continued. In the beginning the Hindus had lived separately but later they were given rooms in the barracks and were allowed to make their own arrangements for meals.⁹⁸ The boys, however, mixed freely with each other; and rapidly developed a sense of fellow-feeling and sympathy. Generally boys of similar tastes formed small groups of light-hearted comradeship which cut across economic barriers. Hindu-Muslim and Sunnī-Shi'i differences were discouraged. The senior boys were the custodians of the Aligarh traditions. They inculcated communal and sectarian harmony into the new-comers.⁹⁹ Seniority depended upon the number of years spent in the College, not admission to higher classes.

A Union Club was the earliest centre of intellectual activity outside the classroom. To perpetuate Siddon's association with the College, it

97 Wiqāru'l-Mulk to Mawlānā 'Abdul Bārī, 26 May 1910, *Makātib*, pp. 124-25.

98 Report on the progress of education at the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, 1875, p. 4; Bhatnāgar, *M.A.O. College*, pp. 65-66; Wilāyat Husayn, *Āp bitī yā M.A.O. College kī kahānī*, Aligarh, 1970, pp. 30-33.

99 'Amāl-nāma, pp. 143-44.

was named 'Siddons Union Club'. It maintained a library and reading room. The first debate on 15 November 1884 was held on the following subject:

'The spread of female education is to be desired but by home tuition and not through schools and colleges.'

Sayyid Ahmad's efforts to affiliate Aligarh College with Cambridge University failed but the Siddons Union Club was affiliated to the Cambridge University Union. The Cambridge Speaking Prize initiated by the Siddons Union Club was most prestigious. Cricket was played with great enthusiasm. In October 1885, an Urdu newspaper complained that good players were awarded gold and silver medals manufactured in England but no medal was given to encourage theology students. The prestige accorded to Mawlānā Shawkat Alī, later on a prominent Muslim leader, was mainly due to his cricketing prowess although, in 1894, he had secured the Cambridge Speaking Prize.¹⁰⁰

In 1890, Aftāb Ahmad Khān, a prominent student, founded the "Anjuman al-farz" (Duty Society) to collect contributions to help needy boys in the College. The *Ikhwān* (Brotherhood), a student-teachers association, was founded in 1892. Its objectives were to strengthen the sense of brotherhood and unity among the past and present students of the College and to promote the College image.

The intellectuals founded an association of their own, called the "Ikhwānu's-safā'". This is the name under which the authors of the famous *Rasā'il Ikhwānu's-safā' wa khillan al-wafā'*, who flourished in the 3rd/9th century Basra, Baghdād and Cairo, concealed their identity. They influenced the *sūfi*, Shī'i and Mu'tazilī movements. The founder of the Aligarh College Ikhwānu's-safā' was Khwāja Ghulāmu's-Saqalayn, a dedicated Shī'i, who was greatly respected by the Aligarh Sunnī intellectuals.

Arnold and Mawlānā Shibli Nu'mānī, who had joined the College in 1882 as Professors of Arabic, were the principal guides of the movement. The *Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College Magazine* which in 1891 appeared in English and Urdu, came out originally as part of the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* but three years later it became independent and was adopted as its principal organ by the Ikhwānu's-safā'. It contained thoughtful articles by rising intellectuals. In a speech to the Ikhwānu's-safā' in June 1893, Arnold urged the Muslims to spread confidence in "the grandeur of Islam both of the past and present" and stated that without

100 *Ibid.*, 75-76; *Mushtr-i Qaysar*, 13 October, 1885.

“a high national (Islamic) ideal, English education was meaningless”.¹⁰¹ Shibli inspired the desire to serve Islam among all sections of the community. Khwāja Ghulāmu’s-Saqalayn pleaded for the development of Urdu.

In 1890, an Aligarh student Mustafā Khān, published a book in English entitled *An apology for the “New Light”*. It criticized the veiling of women, Urdu poetry, Muslim conquerors and the old etiquette. The products of the “New Light” were praised for their self-confidence and determination to progress, although they might stumble. In his review of Mustafā Khān’s book, however, Ghulāmu’s-Saqalayn wrote that the term “New Light” was a “phrase of meaningless expressiveness”. The English-educated Muslims were devoid of leadership qualities and were no match for the leaders of old and conservative generations, of which Sayyid Ahmad was one.¹⁰²

The M.A.O. College stirred the need to promote English education among Muslims in the North-West Provinces and in other parts of India. In 1886, Sayyid Ahmad founded the Mohammedan Educational Congress to transform the Aligarh Movement into an All India Movement. Four years later its name was changed to the ‘Mohammedan Educational Conference’ and, in 1895, it was called the ‘Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference’. Aligarh was its centre, the College’s secretary acted as its secretary and the Aligarh students took a keen interest in propagating its objectives.

The College and Conference immortalized Sayyid Ahmad. In 1882 he was made a K.C.S.I.; he had reached the peak of glory in the British government. Both his friends and enemies wished him to confine himself solely to temporal matters, education, science and agriculture, but Sayyid Ahmad believed that Islam could not survive without a new *’ilm-i kalām*. The modern *’ilm-i kalām*, he urged, should make the tenets of the new born science appear futile or doubtful or reconcile them with Islamic doctrines.¹⁰³ From the year he wrote the *Tabyīnu’l-kalām* to his own death, Sayyid Ahmad argued that the revealed texts taught the same lessons as reason and the truths of nature; the work of God was identical with Divine revelation.¹⁰⁴ It was irrational and against human nature to believe in matters that were beyond the human intellect. Whatever was within human reason coincided with the realm of nature. Consequently while philosophers rejected miracles as irrational, he regarded them as contrary to the text of the Qur’ān itself.¹⁰⁵ Possibly Sayyid Ahmad

101 *Institute Gazette*, 6 June, 1893.

102 *Ibid.*, 9 June, 1891.

103 Imānu’d-Dīn, *Mukammal majmu’a lectures wa speeches*, Lahore, 1900, pp. 278-98.

104 *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, III, pp. 201, 251-61.

105 *Ibid.*, XII, pp. 83, 89, 90.

had not read the *Kitāb al-ishārāt* by Avicenna, included in the Shi'i higher curriculum, which says that miracles were tangible proofs of the prophetic mission. So long as they belonged to the perfect and determined order that governed the universe, they were not against reason.¹⁰⁶ Perhaps some superficial philosophers were in Sayyid Ahmad's mind. In short, he identified 'Pure Islam or *The Islam*', as revealed in the Qur'ān, with the law of nature.

To Sayyid Ahmad, as to his contemporary scientists, the law of nature was identical with the law of cause and effect and did not admit of any exceptions. Sayyid Ahmad interprets even *du'ā* (invocations to God) in relation to this law. He goes on to say that the Qur'ānic verse saying that God answers these prayers¹⁰⁷ means that He is pleased with the devotee and accepts prayer in the same way as He accepts any other form of devotion.¹⁰⁸ Here again Sayyid Ahmad was far behind Avicenna's interpretations.

Besides the articles in the *Tahzībū'l-Akhhlāq*, on the above themes, Sayyid Ahmad wrote treatises and Qur'ānic exegesis to substantiate his 'naturalist' philosophy. In the *Tafsīr al-samāwāt*¹⁰⁹, written in 1874, he evolved his own method of Qur'ānic exegesis on the principles in the *Fawzu'l-kabīr fi usūlu't tafsīr* by Shāh Waliu'llāh. He suggests that the exegete should discover the real intention of the speaker and should not interpret the metaphorical language of the Qur'ān literally.¹¹⁰ The same criteria was applied by him to the *Tabyīnu'l-kalām*. He lists fifteen basic principles of his exegesis which helped him to identify Divine revelation with natural law and reason.

The Islam, or pure Islam, which he preached after his return, did not depart radically from the orthodox Sunni-ism of the Mujaddid, Shāh Waliu'llāh, Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, Shāh Ismā'il Shāhid, Sayyid Ahmad of Rae Bareilly and Shāh Ghulām 'Alī Naqshband. Science was superimposed on it. The support he received from the eminent Shi'is in the Hyderabad government, Khalifa Sayyid Muhammad Husayn, the Prime Minister of Patiala state, the Shi'i Nawwāb of Rampur, Rāja Bāqar 'Alī of Pindrāwal, the Rājas of Mahmudabad and the Pīrpur in Awadh made him change his Shi'i hostility but he never evolved a realistic formula of Sunni-Shi'i understanding. His own Sunni opponents had made him nervous. As well as this, it was beyond his competence to tackle Shi'i problems. He made self-contradictory observations which were neither acceptable to Sunnis nor to Shi'is. His attempts to evolve what his

106 Ibn Sīnā, *Kitāb al-ishārāt*, Leiden 1892, pp. 220-21.

107 Qur'ān, XL, 60.

108 *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, XII, p. 59.

109 *Ibid.*, II, pp. 1-115.

110 *Maktūbāt-i Sir Sayyid*, Letters to Mohsinu'l-Mulk, pp. 480-511.

admirers called 'modern Islam' failed to satisfy the modernists. It was neither materialism nor Islam. It was alien to both camps but pleased the Christians and the British government.

Reviewing his own *Tuhfa-i Hasan* in 1878, Sayyid Ahmad writes, "No body was entitled to succeed the Prophet Muhammad in his position as a prophet for it was impossible to do so. So far as his vicegerency in matters such as the protection of the interest of the *umma* and the promotion of the pace of civilization were concerned, that position was open to all. The person who can manipulate matters to this end becomes the caliph. After the Prophet, the Khilāfat ceased to be based on *nāss* (an explicit text in the Qur'ān). Nor was the position of caliph a part or a command in Islam. The political framework of those days was more suited to a democratic government. Historical events also took the same course i.e., whoever was accepted by a large number of influential people as caliph, became one. Who can say that from the very beginning 'Ali did not think of becoming the caliph or, in the reign of the first three caliphs, he did not regret their rise to the caliphate and was not sad at being passed over.¹¹¹ 'Ali's wish was based on autocracy which did not suit the civilization of those days. This accounts for his frustrations. When the time arrived for the influential people to approach him, he was appointed caliph. It was immaterial if some one was appointed the first caliph or the last [righteous] caliph. These events took place in a natural sequence. They do not affect Islam. Is it senseless to call someone 'an usurper' or another the 'rightful' immediate caliph of the Prophet?

"The discussions on *afzaliyat* or superiority are even more senseless. For the determination of superiority between two things it is essential that both should belong to the same category. One candidate was the father-in-law and the other was the son-in-law, one was a brother and the other a stranger. They do not belong to the same category. In this situation there was no question of superiority. We have no balance to weigh their achievements and nearness to God which could decide their respective weights. We can make decisions only on historical facts and pass judgements on the reigns of the first four or the first five revered personalities [who succeeded the Prophet]. Abū Bakr's caliphate is not worth counting for it was also the period of 'Umar's rule and he fully controlled the government. 'Umar's reign from all points of view, such as conquest, peace, administration, pomp and ostentation, which were imperative for the welfare of the *umma* and the progress of civilization, was inimitable. [In the early part] of 'Usmān's reign, all events were influenced by 'Umar's caliphate. The real part of his reign commenced in the last years of his rule when the principles of politics and democratic

111 *Isnā 'Asharī Shi'īs in India*, I, pp. 33-34

government, on which the superstructure of the caliphate was founded, had been shaken and were disintegrating. The anarchy which was the necessary result of this state of affairs then occurred. When 'Alī assumed the reins of state, it had become so rotten and topsy-turvy that, if it was not absolutely impossible, it was nearly impossible to repair it. All possible reforms were made. Countries were redistributed, other governments were accepted but no reconstruction was successful and matters went from bad to worse. When Imām Hasan was appointed as caliph, after taking stock of the situation, he reached the conclusion that reform was impossible. The only alternative left to him was to put an end to the dual system of government in order to stop bloodshed and to promote the welfare of the *umma*. Because of his own wisdom and piety and in the best interests of the *umma*, he took an unprecedented step. He relinquished the caliphate. In fact only a pious man of Imām Hasan's stature could have done this. For the sake of peace for the *umma*, he abandoned an empire so vast that, in comparison, the empires of Caesar and Chosroes were nothing.

“To discredit the Prophet's companions is such a nonsensical, foolish and false act that nothing more absurd in the world can be conceived. We do not possess the true facts which can be believed with certainty. Even if we did, the circumstances that led to the differences between the Prophet's companions are not present before our eyes. Consequently those who discuss the points libelling the Prophet's companions, deliver judgement on insufficient evidence and in the absence of full factual knowledge. Besides it is impossible to rule over such a vast empire as the Prophet's companions possessed, without making mistakes. It is human to err. The Prophet's companions were not impeccable. If, for argument's sake, it is admitted that they made mistakes, what calamity occurred? Why should they be considered culpable? If all the criticism is based on the available evidence, neither was 'Alī nor were the first three caliphs free from error. After accepting all such criticisms as the Khārijī Nawāsib and Shi'as made against those revered personalities, we still find nothing wrong with them. These things just happen in this world. They are normal occurrences. Neither their truth nor their falsehood undermines the respect due to the first four caliphs, nor does it concern or affect Islam.

“Of course, *tabarra*, which the uncultured Shi'is recite, is very wrong. It generates bad feelings, bad manners and malevolence. All these violate the lofty objectives of Islam. I believe matters which are connected with Islam finished with the Prophet. Events which took place after the Prophet's death do not affect Islam, nor are they part of Islam. It is not imperative for us to add to 'I bear witness that there is no god but Allāh, and that Muhammad is His Messenger' the testimony, 'Alī is Allāh's friend, the testator of His Prophet and *khalifa* of His Prophet without

interruption'. The first two testifications are sufficient."¹¹²

Sayyid Ahmad devalued the caliphate, which Shāh Walīu'llāh and his school had glorified, to an office based on manipulation (*jiskī chal gā'i wahī khalīfa ho gayā*).¹¹³ He was aware of the fact that the Shi'ī believed that the Imām was *ma'sūm* (impeccable), appointed by Allāh (*mansūb min Allāh*) and that obedience to his orders was imperative for Shi'īs (*mafrūzu't-tā'at*). He was also aware of the Shi'ī belief that the twelfth Imām went into occultation and, until his reappearance, the orders of worldly rulers had no religious significance for them. Obviously Sayyid Ahmad's comments on the first three successors to the Prophet Muhammad were not palatable to the Sunnis. The Shi'īs could not change their doctrine on the impeccability (*ismā'*) of the Imāms.

It was impossible to ignore *tabarra* in the review of the Urdu translation of the twelfth chapter of the *Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya*, dealing with *tawalla* (defined as love by Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz) and *tabarra* (defined as enmity by the Shāh). Sayyid Ahmad of course accused uncultured Shi'īs of reciting *tabarra* but all Shi'īs, in obedience to the Qur'ānic verses, cursed tyrants, liars, sinners and infidels. It was not imperative to specify which tyrants or liars. Sayyid Ahmad could offer no excuse for abuses heaped by Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz on the twelfth Imām and eminent Shi'ī scholars.

In 1890, Sayyid Ahmad published a review of a book entitled the *I'jāzu't-tanzīl* by Khalīfa Sayyid Muhammad Hasan, the Prime Minister of the Sikh state, Patiala. The original book discussed the belief that the Qur'ān is a Divine miracle, both in words and meaning. In his review, Sayyid Ahmad blamed Muslim authors for incorporating unauthentic and superstitious stories, thereby offering Christian and Jewish scholars an opportunity to distort Islam. He goes on to say, "Historical works written both by Sunni and Shi'ī '*ulamā'* are full of nonsensical, false stories and fabricated traditions. Religious zeal and sectarian hostilities have further disfigured them and deprived them of credibility, so much so that the real facts have been so badly distorted that the truth cannot be ascertained. There are various degrees of authenticity in *hadīs* works. As compared with the Shi'a works of *hadīs*, Sunni works are, to some extent in my opinion, more valuable although each sect considers its own *hadīs* works more reliable." Concluding his comments Sayyid Ahmad says, "It is a fact that he [Khalīfa Sayyid Muhammad Hasan] has written a very nice book. Although he is a devoted Shi'ī, he has written impartially. He has not hesitated to select reliable traditions from Sunni works. Whatever virtuous deeds of 'Alī and the Ahl-i Bayt are described, they fall short of their true dignity. Sunnis cannot object to them and should urge the

112 *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, VII, pp. 299-304.

113 *Ibid.*, VII, p. 301.

Shi'is to tell even more episodes. A Sunni is said to have told a Shi'i, "you believe that love for the Ahl-i Bayt is part of your faith, I believe that it is faith personified". The author has argued for Imām Husayn's martyrdom on the basis of the Qur'ānic verse, "Then We ransomed him with a tremendous victim."¹¹⁴ Shi'is, unlike Christians, who believe that Christ sacrificed himself for them, do not assert that Imām Husayn died for them. The fact is that had Imām Husayn made *bay'a* with Yazid and accepted him as the rightful Imām, the Prophet Muhammad's *umma* would have been involved in hundreds of problems. The Imām sacrificed his life to save the *umma* from these calamities. Neither can Sunnis nor Shi'is dispute this. Imām Hasan's peace with Mu'āwiya bin Abū Sufyān and Imām Husayn's refusal to make *bay'a* with Yazid were two different types of decisions but they testified to the respective Imām's far-sightedness [in different situations]."¹¹⁵

Sayyid Ahmad in his review draws mainly on Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz's *Sirrū' sh-Shahādātayn* and is more reasonable than some bigoted Sunnis. His judgement of Shi'i *ahādīs* is seemingly based on the *Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya* for his works do not exhibit a personal acquaintance with them. There was nothing unusual in Khalifa Muhammad Hasan drawing upon Sunni canonical *ahādīs*, for most Shi'i scholars studied them.

In an article on *mut'a* (marriage for a fixed period), Sayyid Ahmad sweepingly condemns Shi'i *ahādīs*. He says that Shi'is quoted many traditions on the authority of 'Alī in favour of *mut'a* that the Sunnis had never heard. In the same breath he quotes the Sunni, Muhammad bin Jarīr at-Tabarī who, in his exegesis uses a statement from 'Alī to the effect, 'Had 'Umar not prohibited *mut'a*, none but a rascal would have indulged in adultery'. Ridiculing the Shi'is, Sayyid Ahmad says, "The protector of the Shi'is is undoubtedly 'Alī. Whatever truth or falsity they choose, they ascribe to the father of the oppressed ones ('Alī)." Sayyid Ahmad does not consider that *ahādīs* that permit *mut'a* and then prohibit it and re-permit it are worthy of attention or acceptance.¹¹⁶ This does not justify Sayyid Ahmad's sweeping condemnation of Shi'i *ahādīs* for he had studied Sunni *ahādīs* and was aware only of their technique. He had no perception of Shi'i *ahādīs* and their sources. In a letter to Sayyid Husayn Bilgarāmi, he wrote in the same sweeping style that the books available on Sunni-ism and Shi'ism would not reinforce a modern educated Muslim's belief in Islam. This had prompted him to write an exegesis of the Qur'ān of which three volumes had been published and the fourth volume was under preparation. Sayyid Ahmad's expectations from his

114 Qur'ān, XXXVII, 107.

115 *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, VII, pp. 314-22.

116 *Ibid.*, XIII, pp. 254-58.

exegesis were unrealistic for they provoked more controversies and convinced none.¹¹⁷ Sayyid Ahmad turned in vain to the dead Mu'tazila traditions but his Sunni prejudices did not allow him to turn to the living rational traditions of the Shi'i imāms, particularly those of Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq. Although the Shi'i and Sunni 'ulamā' adopted the Shi'i Fathu'llāh Shīrāzi's curriculum in the Dars-i Nizāmī, Sayyid Ahmad, who had become *persona non grata* with orthodox Sunnis, could not publish the books on theology, so that the Sunni and Shi'i boys, receiving a modern education at his College and elsewhere, could study them, even as works outside the prescribed curriculum.

In January 1882, Shibli Nu'mānī published his *Sīratu'n-Nu'mān*. In its introduction he announced his decision to write *al-Fārūq* or the life of the second caliph, 'Umar. Sayyid Ahmad believed that this would alienate the Shi'i sympathisers from the College. Before the book could be published, however, Munshī Sirāju'd-Dīn of Rāwalpindī, produced *Sīrat al-Fārūq* comprising 308 pages. Sayyid Ahmad, admiring the published works of Shibli, particularly *al-Jizya* wrote in an article that "it was not proper for his friend Munshī Sirāju'd-Dīn to write a book on 'Umar when a scholar of Shibli's eminence and ability had already announced his intention to do so." He added, "To write the life of 'Umar for the 'Heroes of Islam' series is a very delicate matter. It is possible to write this story in such a manner that it is a blessing to mankind, but it could prove a calamity. It may also be written in such a way that both Sunnis and Shi'is are led astray.

"It is of primary importance that the author of the life of 'Umar should consider himself free from the limitation of the Shi'i and Sunni faiths. Another alternative is to avoid mentioning matters which are in dispute between the two sects and to deal only with those facts and characteristics of 'Umar and his administrative achievements as benefited the entire Islamic world and are indisputable.

"The greatest problem is that all actions in the world have two facets, one good and the other bad. This difficulty is a more formidable obstacle to the author of the life of revered religious persons, such as the righteous caliphs. To write this biography was not so easy as my friend Munshī Sirāju'd-Dīn Ahmad believed. We are grieved, however, when some impute evil motives to him. Munshī Sirāju'd-Dīn Ahmad is a pious man. He is interested in the welfare of the nation. Certainly we can say that he made a mistake and acted incorrectly. It is better to say that the job was beyond his capacity and we believe that it is also difficult for our master, the Phoenix of the Age, Mawlawī Shibli. However, we neither appreciate the evil motives imputed to Munshī, nor do we consider them correct.

117 *Maktūbāt-i Sīr Sayyid*, p. 276.

“Suppose someone intends to write a book on a particular subject but another person forestalls him. There is no harm in that. On the other hand, when both books are available, people will have a good opportunity of judging them on their merits.

“It is wrong to think that Munshī Sirāju'd-Dīn's *al-Fārūq* will discourage Mawlawī Shibli from writing *al-Fārūq* or other books in the 'Heroes of Islam' series. Among our fellow countrymen, those who are aware of the Mawlawī's writings, would have no hesitation in believing that, even if ten authors wrote on a particular subject, Mawlawī Shibli's work on it would be unique. He would not care how many other publications there were on the same subject.”¹¹⁸

Sayyid Ahmad knew that Shibli received a monthly stipend from Hyderabad. He therefore wrote to Sayyid Husayn Bilgarāmī asking him to prevent Shibli from writing *al-Fārūq*. Sayyid Husayn, who was a far-sighted statesman, replied, “From both the religious and worldly points of view, 'Umar is a most comprehensive and perfect personality of Islam. The world has produced only one Fārūq. It would be a pity if his biography was not written. You should not stop Mawlānā Shibli from writing this biography.” Before his death Sir Sayyid wrote that the Prophet's achievements could be divided into two categories, administrative and spiritual. The former were succeeded by 'Umar and the latter by 'Alī and the Imāms of the Prophet's house. No work could do justice with above aspects.¹¹⁹ *Al-Fārūq* was published in December 1898. Sayyid Ahmad had died in March 1898. It contains all the controversial discussions and, despite Shibli's apologies, 'Umar's excesses against the Prophet's daughter Fātima and 'Alī are only too obvious and the book serves to strengthen Shi'i beliefs.

The Bilgarāmī Brothers

Among Sayyid Ahmad's leading Shi'i supporters, the Bilgarāmī brothers, sons of Mawlānā Zaynu'd-Dīn played a very important role in promoting interest in Western learning and English education. Sayyid Husayn Bilgarāmī graduated from Calcutta University in 1866 and started his career as a professor of Arabic at Canning College, Lucknow. He served there from 1866 to 1872. During this time he also edited an English paper for the Awadh landlords called *The Lucknow Times*. He then joined the service of the Nizām of Hyderabad and became secretary to Sir Sālār Jang. From 1887 to 1902, he was the Director of Public Instructions at Hyderabad. In 1896 and 1900 he presided at the session of the Mohammedan Educational Conference. He awarded a number of scho-

118 *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, VII, pp. 325-28.

119 Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī, *Hayāt-i Shibli*, Azamgarh, n.d., pp. 231-33.

larships to M.A.O. College students and contributed liberally to College funds. He was one of the only two Indian members of the Education Commission appointed by the Viceroy, Lord Curzon (1899-1904). The other Indian member was Sir Gurdās Banerjee, a Puisne Judge of the Calcutta High Court and the first Indian Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University. The Secretary of State, Lord Morley, appointed Sayyid Husayn a member of the India Council; the other Indian member was Sir K. G. Gupta. In 1916, he delivered the convocation address at Madras University. He was one of the outstanding scholars of English and wrote papers based on Arabic sources in Urdu.

His *Theoretical and descriptive sketches of His Highness, the Nizam's Dominion*, in English, is a mine of information on the history of the Deccan. His essays and addresses on Muslim educational and social problems were compiled in the *Rasā'il-i 'Imādu'l-Mulk*. Among his innumerable contributions, to the development of the intellectual and social life of the Muslims at Hyderabad, is the establishment of the Dā'iratu'l-Ma'ārif Hyderabad, which published a large number of important Arabic religious and literary classics. One of his sons, Sayyid Hāshim, worked as a barrister in Madras and the other,¹²⁰ Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn, who was educated at Oxford, obtained a senior position in the Nizām of Hyderabad's government at Berar. Sayyid Husayn Bilgarāmī died in 1926.

The Sayyid's younger brother, Major Sayyid Hasan Bilgarāmī, retired from the Indian Medical Service. He spoke Arabic, Persian, French, German and English. He came into prominence in the twentieth century and was secretary to the All-India Muslim League from March 1908 to February 1910. He also played an important role in pressing the British government to grant Muslims a separate electorate in the Act of 1909. He spearheaded the movement to raise M.A.O. College, Aligarh to the status of a university possessing powers of affiliation. He died in 1916.¹²¹

The youngest member of the family, Sayyid 'Alī Bilgarāmī (b. 1268/1851), was educated by his uncle, Sayyid A'zamu'd-Dīn, assisted by his father. After mastering Urdu, Arabic and Persian, Sayyid 'Alī joined an English school and passed B. A. honours from Patna University in 1874, majoring in Sanskrit. He then joined Roorkee College to obtain an engineering degree but, at Sir Sālār Jang's invitation, joined his personal staff at Hyderabad. In 1876, he accompanied Sālār Jang to London. As he had already matriculated from London, he was allowed to enter London University. He obtained a degree in geology. He was fortunate enough to attend lectures by Professors Jendel and Huxley. He studied

120 'Abdu'l-Haqq, *Chand ham 'asr*, Karachi, 1984, reprint, pp. 380-436.

121 *The Times* (London), 4 January, 1909; *Muslim Gazette*, Lucknow, 6 August, 1913; *Comrade*, Delhi, 2 August, 1913.

Latin, German, French and Italian. After his return to Hyderabad, Sayyid 'Alī served as Inspector General Mineralogy, Home Secretary, Director of Public Instruction, Secretary Public Works and finally as the Director of Railways and Mineralogy. His busy public life did not interfere with his dedication to study and research. In 1892, he passed the Bachelor of Law examination of Calcutta University with a gold medal. He was then appointed an external examiner of M. A. students by the University. He translated Le Bon's *La civilisation des arabes* into Urdu under the title, *Tamaddun-i Arab*. A finely illustrated edition was published in 1898. He also translated Le Bon's *La civilisation de l'Inde* into Urdu calling it *Tamaddun-i Hind*. His Urdu translation of Dr. Hert's Medical Jurisprudence was greatly appreciated by the government. He compiled a guide book of the Ellora caves. His treatise on *Kalīla wa Dimna* is a very thoroughly researched work. Under his directorship, a department for writing and translating books was established at Hyderabad. His quarterly Arabic journal, *al-Haqā'iq*, was short-lived but many eminent scholars contributed to it.

Hyderabad court intrigues forced him to retire in 1901. He moved to England and became professor of Marathi at Cambridge in 1903. He also taught Arabic and Sanskrit there. Christ Church College, Cambridge awarded him an honorary M. A. His vast knowledge of manuscripts prompted the India Office Library in London to invite him to compile a catalogue of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts in their Delhi collections. This is a different collection from those catalogued by Loth and Ethé respectively. The history of this Delhi collection is not known but an examination of the manuscripts suggests that they were plundered from houses of the Delhi 'ulamā' in 1857. It is one of the most valuable collections of Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the world. It was, and still is, in a hopelessly neglected condition. Sayyid 'Alī's catalogue reflects the hard work he put into identifying and organizing the manuscripts. The India Office Library, however, did not publish it. His typescript disappeared and was subsequently bought by a British scholar from a London second-hand book shop. The India Office Library obtained a xerox copy of it and it is the only record of Sayyid 'Alī's monumental contribution to knowledge in this area.

In 1907, Sayyid 'Alī returned to India because of heart trouble. Two years later Calcutta University awarded him the *honoris causa* degree of Doctor of Literature. Despite his ill-health he plunged himself wholeheartedly into the scheme to obtain university status for the M.A.O. College, Aligarh but died of a heart attack on 3 May 1911.¹²²

122 *Chand ham 'asr*, pp. 67-108; *Adīb* Allahabad in Khudā Bakhsh Literary Journal, 7-8, 1978-79, pp. 94-101.

Mawlawī Chirāgh 'Alī

Like the Bilgarāmī brothers, Mawlawī Chirāgh 'Alī also rose to a high position in the Nizām's government. He made a more solid contribution, however, towards spreading the humanitarian and rationalistic teachings of Islam through his English works. Chirāgh 'Alī's ancestors were Kashmiris but some of them moved first to the Panjab and from there to Meerut. His father, Mawlawī Muhammad Bakhsh, started his service career at Meerut. In 1849, he became an officer of revenue settlements in the Panjab.

Mawlawī Chirāgh 'Alī was born in 1846 but the death of Muhammad Bakhsh in 1856 interrupted his schooling. He learnt Urdu, Persian, Arabic and English and became a petty clerk in Government service. By 1872, he had risen to a senior position. He was keenly interested in refuting the Christian missionaries' arguments against Islam. In 1872, he published his first Urdu book rebutting the *Tārikh-i Muhammadi* published by a Christian missionary. In October 1875 he wrote the *Tahzibul-kalām fi haqiqatū'l-Islām*. The work is designed to interpret the Islamic laws on marriage, the rights of women and slavery, in an historical and rational perspective. In 1876 he compiled a treatise comprising the traditions from the six Sunnī canonical books and Qur'ānic exegesis dealing with the Prophet Muhammad's efforts to eradicate slavery.

Mawlawī Chirāgh 'Alī's articles deeply impressed Sayyid Ahmad and they began to exchange letters on Islamic teachings. In 1877, Sayyid Ahmad introduced Chirāgh 'Alī to Sir Sālār Jang who soon recognised the value of his services to the revenue department at Hyderabad. He was made a governor of Warangal and Gulbarga provinces. In 1878-79, the founder of the Ahmadiyya movement, Mirzā Ghulām Ahmad Qādiyāni (d. 1908), sought his help in promoting a rationalistic approach to the Qur'ān in his famous work the *Burhān-i Ahmadiyya*. Chirāgh 'Alī died on 15 June 1895. Sayyid Ahmad wrote a touching obituary notice.¹²³ By that time he had published some important English and Urdu works on Islamic teachings. He had also learnt Greek and Latin and presented his arguments with great clarity.

In 1883, Chirāgh 'Alī published a book entitled *The Proposed politico-legal and social reforms in the Ottoman empire and other Mohammedan states*, and, two years later, *A critical exposition of the popular jihād*. Chirāgh 'Alī had read the works of Rifa'a Badawī Rafi' al-Tahtawī (1801-73) who, from 1826 to 1831, studied in Paris and had been impressed with Rousseau's conception of the legislator and Montesquieu's theories regarding the importance of geographical factors in moulding laws.¹²⁴ Chirāgh 'Alī

123 *Chand ham 'asr*, pp. 13-59; *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, XVI, pp. 780-82.

124 Albert Hourani, *Arabic thoughts in the liberal age*, 1798-1939, Oxford, 1962, pp. 69-83.

was also aware of the works of the Tunisian statesman, Khayru'd-Din Pāshā (1810-1889), who had, like Tahtawī, studied in Paris.¹²⁵ A study of Tahtawī's theory identifying Islamic law with the natural law on which modern European codes were based made Chirāgh 'Alī's defence of Sir Sayyid's theories on nature and reason more forceful. Chirāgh 'Alī advocated the need to understand the Qur'ānic verses in the light of the chronological and historical sequence of revelations. He emphasized that the role of the Prophet Muhammad should be examined in an historical perspective and those *ahādīs* which violated modern liberal thought should not be considered authentic. According to him, Islamic *fiqh* (jurisprudence) embodied the ninth and tenth centuries historical conditions and called for a re-interpretation because of the impact of the West on countries such as Algeria, Turkey and India. Between 1839 and 1876, several antiquated and pseudo-Islamic laws in the Ottoman Empire were reformed but according to Chirāgh 'Alī they did not go far enough. Discussing the rights of women in Islam he says,

"The Mosaic law fell short of accomplishing any great good for the moral and social elevation of the Hebrew females, and the New Testament did comparatively nothing towards their worldly preferment. Emancipation of the woman in the West is a heritage of Roman law and primitive Teutonic tolerance rather than a Christian element of culture. The dogma of original sin in Christianity explains the unparalleled degradation of women in the medieval West. Islam, on the other hand, changed the attitude towards women to one of respect, kindness, and courtesy. The Muslim law of inheritance, giving a woman exclusive right to her own property, compares favourably with the British law. Man's superiority is recognized by the Qur'ān only in matters relating to his natural physical attributes."¹²⁶

Chirāgh 'Alī claimed that by making justice imperative in the husband's relations with his wives, the Qur'ān had made polygamy impossible. He points out also that the Prophet's wars were defensive and *jihād* did not allow wars of aggression. Chirāgh 'Alī strongly supported Sayyid Ahmad Khān's writings on slavery and marshalled both linguistic and historical arguments to prove that fresh enslavement was categorically prohibited by the Qur'ān. His Shī'i training enabled him to present a convincing case for Islamic rationalism from Sunnī sources and Sunnī classical interpretations. Only Amir 'Alī, as we shall shortly see, produced a more persuasive case.

125 *Ibid.*, pp. 84-88.

126 *Islamic modernism in India and Pakistan*, p. 84.

Mohsinu'l-Mulk

Although Mohsinu'l-Mulk had embraced the Sunnī faith and finally, like Sayyid Ahmad, took pride in calling himself a follower of *The* Islam, his contributions to the contemporary intellectual movements affecting the Shi'is, call for a note on him. His name was Sayyid Mahdī 'Alī. He was the son of Mīr Zāmin 'Alī, a Bārḥā Sayyid of Etawah in N. W. P. Sayyid Mahdī was born in 1837. He received his education in Etawah from a Sunnī mawlawī of Phaphund and started his career as a petty clerk on a miserable salary. Allan Octavian Hume, the collector and magistrate at Etawah, however, soon recognised his abilities and, in 1861, he was appointed a *tahsildār* (chief officer of a revenue subdivision of the district). He wrote two books on revenue and criminal law respectively. The publication of the *Tabyīn al-kalām* (Commentary on the Holy Bible) by Sir Sayyid in 1862, infuriated Mahdī 'Alī but before long the two became fast friends. In 1864, Mahdī 'Alī joined the Scientific Society. He was appointed a deputy collector for Mirzapur district in 1867. Three years later, he published his *Āyāt-i Bayyanāt*, justifying his renunciation of Shi'ism and acceptance of Sunnī-ism.

In 1874, Sir Sālār Jang gave him a high position in the finance and revenue department of the Nizām of Hyderabad. He obtained rapid promotions and after Sir Sālār Jang's death in 1884, he was appointed financial and political secretary to the Nizām's government. In 1893 he retired because of local intrigues and settled down at Aligarh. He dedicated the rest of his life to the service of the M.A.O. College, and died in October 1907.¹²⁷

Mohsinu'l-Mulk's *Āyāt-i Bayyanāt*, was warmly welcomed by the Sunnīs. The Shi'i journal, *Islāh* of Khajwa (Saran, Bihar) published its confutation in three volumes. Mahdī 'Alī's younger brother, Sayyid Amīr Hasan, also produced a rebuttal, the three-volume *Āyāt-i muhkamāt*.

In the *Āyāt-i bayyanāt*, Mohsinu'l-Mulk wrote that Sunnī-ism and Shi'ism were the most popular of the Muslim sects. Each Muslim considered his own sect to be the true one and believed that the followers of the rival sect were damned to perdition. Although thousands of books and hundreds of treatises had been written, the dispute between the two sects remained unresolved. The members of each adhered to their beliefs. Few people renounced their ancestral faith. Mohsinu'l-Mulk claims that he was one of the minority who had examined the principles of both sects impartially and, finding the Sunnī faith based on the Qur'ān, whereas Shi'ism was contrary to it, he had left his ancestral faith—and had not hesitated to sever relations with his family and tribe. The Imāmiyya faith did not follow the teachings of the holy Imāms so he had embra-

127 See Muhammad Amīn Zubayrī, *Hayāt-i Mohsin*, Aligarh, 1934.

ced the true Sunnī faith. Since his relatives had remained loyal to their ancestral faith and considered him misguided, he thought it essential to describe the rational arguments which had brought about his decision. Mahdī 'Alī continues that the basic difference between the Shī'is and Sunnīs revolved round the Prophet's companions. The Sunnīs considered them pre-eminent and perfect; to the Shī'is they were heretic and apostate. Consequently the truth of Sunnī-ism or Shī'ism could be decided on the truth of this matter. If it were demonstrated that the Prophet's companions remained steadfast to Islam and perfect until they died, then Sunnī-ism would be true and Shī'ism false. If they did not remain loyal to Islam then Sunnī-ism was false. He would therefore initially describe the pre-eminence of the Prophet's companions and then discuss the Righteous Caliphs. Lastly he would refute the Shī'i charges against them.¹²⁸

Sayyid Amīr Hasan in the *Āyāt-i muhkamāt* wrote that Mohsinu'l-Mulk was not concerned with researching and investigating truth but was solely dedicated to his own selfish interests. His principal objective was to bolster the *Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya*, which the Shāh himself agreed was a translation of Khwāja Nasru'llāh Kābulī's *Sawāqī*. It was wrong to blame the Shī'is, Amīr Hasan goes on to say, for criticizing the Prophet's companions, when, in fact, all the six Sunnī canonical books, many authors of Sunnī exegesis and earlier Sunnī scholars had recorded traditions condemning them in their own works. Amīr Hasan gives a list of the Shī'i books refuting the *Tuhfa* and quotes from *al-Fārūq* by his contemporary, Shiblī, describing how 'Umar tried to bully the Prophet's daughter, Fātima, and threatened to burn her house down. Amīr Hasan takes his brother to task for confining Shī'i-Sunnī differences to the judgement of the Prophet's companions when there were vast differences between their respective interpretation of the Divine attributes, justice, prophethood and *imāma*, *khilāfa*, pre-destination and compulsion.¹²⁹

Although Amīr Hasan's allegations against his brother might appear uncharitable, the comments by Sayyid Ahmad, on Mohsinu'l-Mulk's change of faith, could hardly be disputed. In a letter dated 17 August 1892, referring to Mohsinu'l-Mulk's criticism of his exegesis, Sayyid Ahmad writes that Mohsinu'l-Mulk had stated in a letter that, according to him, all the defects in Islam were born out of incorrect beliefs and unquestioning obedience to authority (*taqlid*). The wretched *taqlid* had made Muslims blind, deaf and dumb. Accusing Mohsinu'l-Mulk of following his faith unquestioningly himself, the Sayyid goes on to say, "It is regretted that you yourself are sunk in *taqlid*. It is very difficult to

128 Mohsinu'l-Mulk, *Āyāt-i bayyanāt*, Karachi, 1972, reprint, pp. 7-9.

129 Sayyid Amīr Hasan, *Āyāt-i muhkamāt*, Lucknow, 1926, pp. 9-42.

renounce ancestral beliefs, particularly those which are based on religious traditions. You must not be proud of the fact that you disowned your ancestral Shi'i beliefs to embrace Sunni-ism. First of all you were surrounded by a large number of such factors as prevented Shi'ism taking root in your heart. Besides this you were influenced by some superficial points which did not merit any attention. Your criticisms of my exegesis emanate from deeply rooted prejudices which can only be destroyed with great difficulty and other views, however, true and correct they might be, could not easily take their place."¹³⁰ Sir Sayyid Ahmad's comments go a long-way to corroborating the selfish motives ascribed to Mohsinu'l-Mulk's conversion by his brother, Amir Hasan.

By the time Sayyid Ahmad had finished attacking Mohsinu'l-Mulk's conversion to Sunni-ism, the ex-Shi'i had also chosen to call himself simply a follower of *The* Islam or Muhammadi. Mohsinu'l-Mulk did not give unqualified support to Sayyid Ahmad's religious view but he wholeheartedly approved his efforts to spread Islamic rationalism and the *shari'a* spirit. He took issue with all those who condemned Sayyid Ahmad as an heretic and an atheist and asserted they had no right to condemn him for his mistakes when their real natures were known to God alone. Sayyid Ahmad was bewildered by Mohsinu'l-Mulk's writings. Once he commented, "Bravo, Nawwāb Mohsinu'l-Mulk. What a nice gentleman you are ? Neither your statements supporting me nor those opposing me are correct. Sometimes you elevate me to heaven and sometimes you bury me in dust."¹³¹

By 1 Ramazān 1290/23 October 1873, Mohsinu'l-Mulk and Sayyid Ahmad, despite their differences, could agree only on the following points:

1. There is no alteration (*tahrif*) in the holy Bible except in meaning;
2. Slavery is not permitted by Islam;
3. Heaven has no corporeal existence;
4. Noah's flood was confined to his own people and was not universal;
5. *Ijmā* (concensus of authorities) is not a final proof (*hujjat*);
6. *Taqlid* (blind following) is not imperative;
7. Everyone is entitled to make individual judgements on all such matters on which *nāss* (explicit injunction in the revealed text) does not exist;
8. Whatever has been revealed of the Holy Qur'ān is available in the book between two covers;
9. No reading of any verse of the Qur'ān was abrogated;
10. No verse of the holy Qur'ān has been abrogated;

130 *Maktūbāt-i Sir Sayyid*, pp. 481-82.

131 Mohsinu'l-Mulk, *Maktūbāt al-khullān*, Aligarh, 1915, p. 181.

11. After Prophet (Muhammad) there is no *khilāfat al-nubūwwa* (vicegerency in duties on the Prophet).¹³²

Although Mohsinu'l-Mulk was known as Sayyid Ahmad's *khalīfa* (deputy) in his 'naturiyya' beliefs, Mohsinu'l-Mulk differed widely from him in the interpretation of the Qur'ān and *ahādīs*.

Mawlānā Karāmat Husayn and Female Education

The modern education afforded to Bengālī girls did not arouse in Sayyid Ahmad Khān a need to give Muslim girls an English education. He believed that there was no nation in the world whose women were reformed before their men. Conversely there was no nation in the world whose women did not improve following the reformation of their men. In reply to an address presented to him by the Panjab women on 28 January 1884 at Gurdaspur, during his travels to the Panjab, Sayyid Ahmad assured Muslim women that his efforts to educate boys did not imply that he had forgotten his dear daughters. He urged them to note that his services to male education would, in turn, benefit females. He told the girls that he did not wish them to read the modern books in place of the sacred books that their grandmothers had read. The pressing needs of modern life had forced men, who supported women to learn whatever language they found necessary or to adopt a course of action they found useful but those changes had not affected traditional female education. He advised them to learn the rules of their faith and to understand the advantages of Divine worship. Flattering the women, he told them that they were destined to rule their houses like princesses and it was their duty to train their girls to follow in their footsteps and obtain a true education from the same books which their grandmothers had read.¹³³

Among the Sayyid's friends, however, both Khwāja Altāf Husayn Hālī (1837-1914) and Nazir Ahmad (1831-1912) strongly supported female education. Hālī's "Chup kī Dād" (The reward of silence) reminds Muslim women of their noble qualities and asks men to remember women's rights to education, respect and a place in society. It indirectly criticises Sayyid Ahmad's neglect of these problems. The "Munājāt-i Bewa" (the prayers of a widow) by Hālī describes the pitiable condition of widows in a most touching poetry, and seeks to stir up sympathy for them. Nazir Ahmad's *Mir'ātul-'urūs* (A Bride's mirror), which brought him into prominence as an author, highlights the importance of a general education for women. His *Tawbatun-Nusūh* (Repentance) tends to show that bring-

132 *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, I, pp. 296-97.

133 Mawlawī Sayyid Iqbāl 'Alī, *Sayyid Ahmad Khān kā safar-nāma-i Panjāb* edited by Shaykh Muhammad Ismā'il Pānīpatī, Lahore, 1973, pp. 139-46.

ing up boys and girls calls for careful attention by the parents. *Ayāma* advocates the remarriage of widows, while *Muhsanāt* lays bare the disadvantages of polygamy. Before the end of the nineteenth century, the M.A.O. College boys had begun to call for the education of girls at home, they remained unconvinced of the need for them to go to school.

In Aligarh it was Shaykh 'Abdu'llāh (1878-1965), a prominent lawyer, an active supporter of the M.A.O. College and a Muslim political leader, who, in 1906, started a girls' school. The support of the leaders of the Aligarh Movement and government subventions by the governor, Sir James Scorgie Meston, in 1917 helped Shaykh 'Abdu'llāh succeed. In Lucknow, however, Justice Sayyid Karāmat Husayn, son of Mawlānā Sayyid Sirāj Husayn had to struggle against heavy odds and almost insurmountable obstacles, before he was able to establish a Muslim school for girls on a firm footing.

Sayyid Karāmat Husayn was born on 1 July 1852 in Charkhāri where his father, Mawlānā Sayyid Sirāj Husayn, held a position under the local rāja. His teacher, Hāfiz Sayyid Anwar 'Alī of Bhanw in Muzaffarnagar district, was a fine scholar of traditional Shi'i learning. Mawlānā Sirāj Husayn, however, taught his son Euclid and Physics from his translations of English texts but Karāmat Husayn never developed a taste for either. Early in 1865, he started learning English from his father but the Mawlānā's death a few months later interrupted his studies. Instead he accompanied his uncles, Sayyid I'jāz Husayn and Sayyid Hāmid Husayn, on a pilgrimage to Mecca and to the holy shrines of the Imāms in Iraq and Iran. After his return to Lucknow, Karāmat Husayn studied under eminent Lucknow teachers such as Mumtāzu'l 'Ulamā' Sayyid Muhammad Taqī, Mawlānā Sayyid Ahmad 'Alī, Muftī Mīr Muhammad 'Abbās and Mawlānā Sayyid Hāmid Husayn. Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' Sayyid Muhammad also gave him lessons but it was the scholarship of his uncle, Mawlānā Sayyid Hāmid Husayn which left an indelible mark on him. Besides allowing him to lecture on advanced Arabic texts, Mawlānā Sayyid Hāmid Husayn appointed Karāmat Husayn a tutor to some of his senior students. Karāmat Husayn also helped his uncle in his scholarly writings on *kalām*. Before long, Karāmat Husayn's analytical mind and participation in polemical discussions sharpened his knowledge of *kalām*, the principles of *fiqh* and Arabic literature. Sayyid Karāmat Husayn's first treatise dealt with the topic that food cooked by Jews and Christians was *najis* (unclean from the point of Shi'a *fiqh*). His arguments so impressed Mawlānā Sayyid Sharif Husayn that he offered to award him the status of a *mujtahid* but Karāmat Husayn refused.

Sayyid Karāmat Husayn had inherited three thousand rupees from his father's estate which he invested in a friend's business. The venture failed and Karāmat Husayn only had the income from his father's meagre pro-

perty at Kintūr. After his return from pilgrimage he had married Sul-tānu'l-'Ulamā', Sayyid Muhammad's grand-daughter, and a daughter was born to them. His poverty greatly distressed him. Nawwāb 'Imādu'l-Mulk Sayyid Husayn Bilgarāmi, who was deeply impressed with Karāmat Husayn's mastery of Arabic, offered to have him appointed as a teacher on Rs. 30 p.m. at Kakorī near Lucknow but, at Mawlānā Hāmid Husayn's suggestion, Karāmat Husayn rejected the offer. In 1874, however, to the deep distress of Mawlānā Hāmid Husayn, Karāmat Husayn left Lucknow and went to Charkhārī where his elder brother Sayyid 'Ināyat Husayn worked for the Rāja. Mawlānā Sirāj Husayn's friend Dr. Stratton, the political agent in Bundelkhand, urged him to study English.¹³⁴ Karāmat Husayn's retentive memory and dedication helped him considerably and he made rapid progress. He developed a keen interest in the works of the zoologist Henry Huxley (1825-1895) and the philosopher and biologist Herbert Spencer (1820-1903). In particular he was fascinated by Spencer's works and he read elementary works of physics, chemistry, biology and zoology in order to understand their writings better. He spent his savings on books by Spencer, Huxley and other English thinkers. His inability to establish a science laboratory disappointed him deeply but he and his teacher, Chawbe Parmānand, the headmaster of Prince's College, Bundelkhand, spent considerable time in studying anatomy and the skeletons brought down by the river from the crematorium. They made friends with the local surgeon in order to observe human physiology during his post mortem examinations. Karāmat Husayn also delivered lectures on physiology and on the circulation of the blood.

In 1878, at Karāmat Husayn's request, Stratton appointed him his *mīr munshī* (office superintendent). Karāmat Husayn's hard work and analytical mind brought him success in an entirely new area. Nevertheless, he continued his studies of English philosophy. Stratton was impressed but considered Karāmat Husayn's ambition to pursue further studies in London only a vain dream. In March 1881, Stratton appointed him the Superintendent of Bāwnī state in Bundelkhand. Soon he became involved in organizing the tangled skeins of the administration in other states. Subsequently he was appointed the *dīwān* (finance minister) of Narsingh Garh in Central India. Before long, Rāja Pratāp Singh, the ruler of Narsingh Garh, became friendly with him. In 1886, the Rāja took him to England. The Rāja returned to India in July the same year but allowed Karāmat Husayn to stay and join the law classes at the Middle Temple. Karāmat Husayn passed the tough qualifying admission's examination to join the Middle Temple. His remarkable retentive

134 Hāmid 'Alī Khān, *Hayāt-i Mawlānā Karāmat Husayn*, Lucknow, n.d., pp. 13-52.

memory helped him to master Roman law and the other prescribed examination subjects within a year. He took the final examination and passed it but was not allowed to return to India before completing two years. For about ten months he studied Latin, Hebrew and German, to make his book on Arabic philology, more authentic. In London he developed a considerable interest in social service and in the establishment of a Muslim girls' school.¹³⁵

In July 1889 he left London for India. Before he arrived in Lucknow he was shocked to learn that his elder brother, 'Ināyat Husayn, had died. Karāmat Husayn assumed responsibility for his brother's family and cared for them most affectionately. His own wife had died earlier but he had not remarried. From Lucknow he went to Narsingh Garh but the Rāja rightly believed that Karāmat Husayn could make better use of his talents elsewhere. Karāmat Husayn served for some months as the administrator of Orchha state but, in November 1890, he became a barrister at Allahabad. Justice Sayyid Mahmūd, the son of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān, was a judge of the Allahabad High Court. He usually ignored Muslim barristers but, when he learnt that Karāmat Husayn was the nephew and pupil of Mawlānā Sayyid Hāmid Husayn, he became friendly with him. Karāmat Husayn used his knowledge of Shi'i and Hanafi *fiqh* and their sources in the complex legal disputes which were decided on the Mohammedan law written by Justice Amīr 'Alī. Before long, Karāmat Husayn's original arguments made him a successful barrister. Justice Mahmūd persuaded Karāmat Husayn to become professor of Law at M.A.O. College, Aligarh. Karāmat Husayn was reluctant to accept because of Sir Sayyid Ahmad's known opposition to female education. Justice Mahmūd convinced Karāmat Husayn that his views on the subject would not interfere with his career at the college.

From 1891 to December 1896, Karāmat Husayn acted as a professor of Law at Aligarh. His class lectures on jurisprudence were published later in a book entitled the *Science of Law and Right and Duty*. After 1897 he resumed working as a barrister in Allahabad. In January 1908 he was appointed a Judge of the Allahabad High Court. The press and other judges congratulated him warmly on his appointment. A Lucknow newspaper, however, maliciously commented that Karāmat Husayn's appointment had been made on communal grounds. *The Citizen* Lucknow, refuting the allegations, wrote that India had already seen talented Muslim judges such as Justice Amīr 'Alī, Justice Mahmūd and Justice Badru'd-Din Tayyibī but Karāmat Husayn's knowledge of Arabic and Islamic *fiqh* would place him in the category of such Hindu judges as Justice Dwārkā Nāth Mitter, Justice Omesh Chandra Mitter, Justice

135 *Ibid.*, pp. 73-106.

Tilang and Justice Rānāde whose expertise in Sanskrit added a new dimension to their profession and to Hindu law. Karāmat Husayn would certainly make improvements to Justice Amīr 'Alī's works on "*Mohammedan Law*" for he was a remarkable scholar of Arabic and a *mujtahid*. *The Citizen's* predictions came true and, during his tenure as judge, Karāmat Husayn made original contributions to clarifying the most confusing aspects of Muslim law. In recognition of his services, Allahabad University appointed him a fellow. In June 1912 Karāmat Husayn retired, moved to Lucknow and dedicated the rest of his life to the promotion of female education. He died on 19 April 1917, just after the establishment of a Muslim girls' school in Lucknow.¹³⁶

From a *mujtahid* and an administrator of petty states, Sayyid Karāmat Husayn rose to the position of a barrister and a judge but his success in promoting female education in the midst of hysterical opposition, elevated him to the rank of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān. Karāmat Husayn's interest in this matter was aroused in London. He discussed his plans with his Muslim contemporaries such as Sayyid 'Alī Imām, Mazharu'l-Haqq, Dr. Māshā' Allāh and Dr. 'Abdu'r-Rahīm. Karāmat Husayn drafted a resolution for an association to promote female education in India but 'Alī Imām's opinion, that the establishment of an association concerning India in London was premature, smashed his plans. Back in Allahabad, Karāmat Husayn published a tract on female education and canvassed strenuously for support at the 1891 Muslim Educational Conference in Allahabad but failed to convince the members. Next year the Conference was held at Aligarh. Sayyid Karāmat Husayn moved a resolution to promote female education. Khwāja Ghulāmu's Saqlayn, supported it. Sir Sayyid and Mawlawī Bashīru'd-Dīn, the editor of the influential Urdu paper, *al-Bashīr*, in Etawah, opposed it but the resolution was carried through. The prominent Hindu social worker, Rāja Jai Kishan Dās, who was Sir Sayyid's guest, promised to use his influence with the government to help Karāmat Husayn. Jai Kishan Dās aroused the interest of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Province and Awadh, Sir Charles Hawkes Todd Crosthwaite (1895-1905), in educating Hindu and Muslim girls of the *ashraf* class. A meeting attended by the leading *ta'luqdars* was held at Government House, Lucknow. Rāja Sayyid Amīr Hasan Khān of Mahmūdābād refused to make any contributions because of the opposition from the Lucknow *mujtahids*. Crosthwaite's support silenced them, however, and a girls' school was started at Lucknow. Funds were collected but the lack of response from the local *shurafā'* families prompted the organisers to shift the location to Allahabad. Karāmat Husayn was made secretary but only the Bengālī girls, who had already made consi-

136 *Ibid.*, pp. 111-150.

derable headway in education, took advantage of the school. In 1911, Karāmat Husayn invited a Muslim English lady, Miss Āmina Aythal Pope, to work at the Crosthwaite Girls' School on a petty salary of Rs. 150 per mensem. When she arrived, however, the managing committee refused to confirm her in her position. Karāmat Husayn appointed Miss Pope superintendent of the boarding house for Muslim girls and paid her salary from his personal funds.

By 1911 Mahārāja Muhammad 'Alī Muhammad of Mahmūdābād had become convinced of the value of establishing a Muslim girls' school at Lucknow and promised to contribute Rs. 600 per mensem from his estate. In 1912, after his retirement from the Allahabad High Court, Karāmat Husayn moved to Lucknow. On 21 November 1912 he founded the Muslim girls' school at Lucknow. Miss Pope was appointed principal. The teachers were Muslim and Christian girls. In her inauguration speech, Miss Pope assured the mothers of the school girls that she would follow the rules for veiling carefully and would promote Muslim religious worship and ethical and social ideals. On 28 March 1913, Lady Miston performed the formal opening ceremony. Mawlānā Karāmat Husayn's friend, Hāmid 'Alī, published an article on the school in the *Indian Daily Telegraph*. Karāmat Husayn created a trust fund consisting of his life's savings of Rs. 200,000 for the school. The Muslim Girls' School progressed steadily. At Aligarh Shaykh 'Abdu'llāh took the full advantage of the spade-work done by Karāmat Husayn.¹³⁷

Sayyid Karāmat Husayn wrote books and articles on Muslim law and Arabic philology. He played an active role in defending the cause of Urdu. His name features as a signatory on the address that 35 eminent Indian Muslims presented to the Viceroy at Simla in 1906. He was a member of the provincial Committee of the All India Muslim League elected at Dacca in 1906 and supported the agitation for separate Muslim electorates.

In February 1910, Sayyid Karāmat Husayn published "A scheme for the progress of Mohammedans" in order to promote communal consciousness. He suggested that it should be implemented through mosques, clubs, associations, lectures and papers. He recommended that a body of the Servants of Islam should be formed in order to promote Muslim economic, social and educational interests. The scheme received considerable Muslim support. At the request of an eminent political leader, Mirzā Samī'u'llāh Beg, it was re-published in *The Leader*, Allahabad, on 18 October 1913.¹³⁸

Sayyid Karāmat Husayn also wished to form an Association of 'ulamā'

137 *Ibid.*, pp. 154-94. Sh. M. 'Abdu'llāh, *Mushāhadāt*, Aligarh 1969, pp. 198-266.

138 *The Leader*, Allahabad, 18 October 1913.

to train other 'ulamā' to defend Islam against the onslaught of modern scientific thought. This was an important step in the fulfilment of his father's dream but the cold hands of death put an end to his plans.

Justice Amīr 'Alī

Most of Sir Sayyid's associates, in the North-Western Provinces, were indebted to Hyderabad state for their rise, power and influence. A leader in a different category was Sayyid Amīr 'Alī whose thoughts and methods differed radically from the Sunnis and Shi'is of Sir Sayyid's Aligarh school.

Sayyid Amīr 'Alī's ancestors held high positions under the Safawid kings of Iran. His great-great-grandfather, Ahmad Afzal, commanded the Khurāsān contingents under Nādir Shāh and had marched into Delhi with the army. When Nādir Shāh left Delhi for Iran, Ahmad Afzal and the Khurāsān contingents, comprising some seven thousand horsemen, were, at Emperor Muhammad Shāh's request, permitted to stay and serve the Mughal Emperor. Subsequently, at Shujā'ud-Dawla's invitation, Muhammad Tāhir, son of Ahmad Afzal, entered his service and obtained a *jāgīr* in Mohān, near Lucknow. He is known to have fought in Shujā'ud-Dawla's army.

Muhammad Tāhir's son, Mansūr 'Alī (Amīr 'Alī's grandfather), held an important position in Āsafu'd-Dawla's revenue department and, according to Amīr 'Alī, is mentioned by Sawdā in his *qasida*, the *Shahr āshūb*. In 1820, Mansūr 'Alī was killed fighting a Hindu rāja. Hakīm Sirāju'd-Dīn 'Alī Khān, who had married Mansūr's sister, took charge of his nephew, Sa'ādat 'Alī, the father of Amīr 'Alī. It would seem that Sirāju'd-Dīn 'Alī Khān's knowledge of philosophy, literature and medicine had a deep impact on Sa'ādat 'Alī but he was not interested in medicine as a career.

After his mother's death, Sa'ādat 'Alī sold his share of their joint patrimony to his three brothers and left on his travels. His cousin, Ja'far 'Alī Khān, was a deputy collector and settlement officer with the East India Company at Cuttack in Orissa and Sa'ādat 'Alī visited him. He settled down at Cuttack and married the daughter of Shamsu'd-Dīn Khān, a distinguished Sambalpur resident. At the suggestion of Malet, the Judge of Orissa and Mowāt, the Director of Public Instruction in Bengal, Sa'ādat 'Alī moved to Calcutta and admitted his three eldest sons to the Calcutta Madrasa. On 6 April 1849, Amīr 'Alī was born at Chinsura, a former Dutch settlement. Sa'ādat 'Alī was soon tired of Calcutta life, however, and moved to Hooghly at the invitation of his friend, Sayyid Karāmat 'Alī, the *mutawallī* (administrator) of the Muhsiniyya-Hooghly Trust.¹³⁹

139 K. K. 'Aziz (ed.), *Ameer 'Alī*, Lahore, 1968; 'Memoirs', pp. 528-32.

Amir 'Alī was educated at the Hooghly College and a resident *mawlawī* taught him Arabic and Persian. In 1856, Sa'ādat 'Alī died of cholera, leaving an unfinished history of the Prophet. In 1859, Amir 'Alī's eldest brother was appointed a deputy magistrate and deputy collector in Bihar. He was posted to Shāhābād district in order to restore British control; Shāhābād had achieved independence under the leadership of Bābū Kunwar Singh, the freedom fighter of Bihar. Before long Amir 'Alī's two older brothers joined the eldest brother in Bihar and Amir 'Alī was left at Hooghly to pursue his studies under the care of his mother. Robert Thwaytes, the Principal of the Hooghly College, and Sayyid Karāmat 'Alī played important roles in the formative years of Amir 'Alī's life. Ronald Cockerell, the district collector and Prof. Henry Brailsford, an English-teacher at the College, took a deep interest in his progress. His reading list consisted of all the important works in English literature and history, and the Arabic and Persian classical works. In 1867 he graduated and, a year later, took a Master's degree. He then obtained the degree of Bachelor of Laws and was enrolled as a pleader in Calcutta. There, the Sunday discussions with Mawlawī Karāmat 'Alī widened his perception of Islamic history and philosophy.

In 1868 he was awarded a state scholarship, instituted in the same year by Lord Kimberley, to enable selected Indian students to obtain higher education in England. Before he sailed for England in December 1868, he had translated Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī's *Ma'ākhasū'l-'ulūm* into English in collaboration with Mawlawī Ubaydu'llāh Suhrawardī, the Persian teacher. In England Amir 'Alī met eminent reformers, scholars, the Secretary of State, the Marquess of Salisbury, and other distinguished political leaders. At the end of January 1873 he was called to the Bar. In 1872 he completed his first book *The critical examination of the life and teaching of Muhammad*. The book was published in 1873 before he sailed for India. On his return journey to India he met the famous French orientalist, Garcin de Tassy, in Paris. In India Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī was extremely proud of his young friend's first published work.¹⁴⁰

Amir 'Alī was enrolled as an advocate of the Calcutta High Court. He contributed articles to the Indian journals on Indian and Muslim problems and, before long, was recognized as an expert in Mohammedan Law, as it was called. Calcutta University appointed him the lecturer in Mohammedan Law. His career took off. He was appointed as the Chief Presidency Magistrate and was nominated to the Bengal Legislative Council. In 1883 the Viceroy, Lord Rippon, appointed him to the Imperial Legislative Council to represent Indian Muslim interests. On

140 *Ibid.*, pp. 532-44.

the basis of his lectures, he published an exposition on Mohammedan Law and a handbook of law for students. In 1884 he married the sister of the famous actress, Gertrude Kingston, in London. Seven years later his *Short history of the Saracens* was published. His objective was "to give an entire survey of the rise and fall of the Saracenic power in the three continents, yet within a compass which would enable students to study this absorbing subject".

In 1890, Amīr 'Alī was appointed a judge of the Bengal High Court, the second Muslim to attain such a position, the first being Justice Mahmūd, son of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān. In 1891, Amīr 'Alī's famous work, *The Spirit of Islām*, was published in London. The title of the work was suggested by his wife and Amīr 'Alī dedicated it to her as a token of his love and gratitude.¹⁴¹ In 1904, he retired from the Calcutta Bench and moved to London. From 1904 to his death on 3 August 1928 of a heart attack, he remained actively involved in improving the condition of Indian Muslims.

Amīr 'Alī exerted a great influence on twentieth century Muslim thought. Between 1889 and 1961, his *Short History of the Saracens* was reprinted thirteen times while *The Spirit of Islām*, republished by Christophers in 1922 after several reprints, was reprinted nine more times and in 1965, was again printed by Methuen in London. It was translated into Arabic, Persian, Urdu and Bahasa Indonesia and several reprints were produced in each language. *The Spirit of Islām* examines Islam's contributions to civilization in the context of world history. Amīr 'Alī used both his Western legal training and expertise in techniques of historiography in this synthesis of Western, Arabic and Persian studies of history, literature and philosophy and presented Islam in a way that is acceptable to both Sunnis and Shi'is.

The introduction to *The Spirit of Islām* starts with a discussion of religious developments in the pre-Muhammad ancient world in order to explain the Prophet's advent. He concludes:

"Before the Advent of Mohammed, all these traditions, based on fact though tinged by the colourings of imagination, must have become firmly imbedded in the convictions of the people, and formed essential parts of the folklore of the country. Mohammed, when promulgating his faith and his laws, found these traditions current among his people; he took them up and adopted them as the lever for raising the Arabs and the surrounding nations from the depths of social and moral degradation into which they had fallen.

141 *Ibid.*, p. 588.

The light that shone on Sinai, the light that brightened the lives of the peasants and fishermen of Galilee, is now aflame on the heights of Faran!"¹⁴²

Part II of *The Spirit of Islām* deals with the life and "ministry of the Prophet". His life and contributions take eight chapters and the ninth chapter discusses the fulfilment of the Prophet's works. He comments:

"The Mission of Mohammed was now accomplished. And in this fact—the fact of the whole work being achieved in his lifetime—lies his distinctive superiority over the prophets, sages, and philosophers of other times and other countries. Jesus, Moses, Zoroaster, Sakya-Muni, Plato, all had their notions of realms of God, their republics, their ideas, through which degraded humanity was to be elevated into a new moral life; all had departed from this world with their aspirations unfulfilled, their bright visions unrealised; or had bequeathed the task of elevating their fellow-men to sanguinary disciples or monarch pupils. It was reserved for Mohammed to fulfil his mission, and that of his predecessors. It was reserved for him alone to see accomplished the work of amelioration—no royal disciple came to his assistance with edicts to enforce the new teachings. May not the Moslems justly say, the entire work was the work of God?"¹⁴³

The tenth chapter, dealing with the apostolic succession, is most important and was extremely difficult to write for a Shi'i whose principal aim was to offer the world an objective study of monolithic Islam. Both a lawyer and a judge, Amīr 'Alī coined the terms 'apostolic *imāmate*' and invented for the caliphate of the first three successors to the Prophet the term 'pontifical caliphate'. Looking back to the history after the first three successors to the Prophet, he came to the conclusion that *Imāmate* and caliphate could satisfactorily co-exist. He gives the Shi'i viewpoint as under:

"The adherents of the Apostolical Imāms have a development and philosophy of their own quite distinct from "the followers of the traditions". According to them the spiritual heritage bequeathed by the Prophet devolved on Ali and his descendants by Fātima, the Prophet's daughter. They hold that the Imāmate descends by Divine appointment in the apostolic line. They do not regard the Pontificate of Abū Bakr, Omar and Osman as rightful; they consider that Ali,

142 Syed Ameer 'Alī, *The Spirit of Islām*, Methuen : London, 1965, p. LXII.

143 *Ibid.*, p. 111.

who was indicated by the Prophet as his successor, was the first rightful Caliph and Imām of the Faithful, and that after his assassination the spiritual headship descended in succession to his and Fātima's posterity in "the direct male line" until it came to Imām Hasan al-'Askari, eleventh in descent from Ali, who died in the year 874 A.C. or 260 of the Hegira in the reign of the Abbaside Caliph Mu'tamid. Upon his death the Imāmate devolved upon his son Mohammed, surnamed *al-Mahdi* (the "Guide"), the last Imām."¹⁴⁴

In his account of the first three caliphs, both in *A Short history of the Saracens* and *The Spirit of Islām*, he presents the political conquests and the administrative achievements of the first three Islamic caliphs from the sunni point of view. He says that tribal custom was followed in the choice of a successor to the Prophet, for the urgency of the times admitted of no delay. In *The Spirit of Islām*, he writes:

"Most of the divisions in the Church of Mohammed owe their origin primarily to political and dynastic causes,—to the old tribal quarrels, and the strong feeling of jealousy which animated the other Koreishites against the family of Hāshim. It is generally supposed that the Prophet had not expressly designated any one as his successor in the spiritual and temporal Government of Islām; but this notion is founded on a mistaken apprehension of facts, for there is abundant evidence that many a time the Prophet had indicated Ali for the vicegerency. Notably on the occasion of the return journey from the performance of "the Farewell pilgrimage," during a halt at a place called Khumm, he had convoked an assembly of the people accompanying him, and used words which could leave little doubt as to his intention regarding a successor. "Ali," said he, "is to me what Aaron was to Moses. Almighty God! be a friend to his friends and a foe to his foes; help those who help him, and frustrate the hopes of those who betray him!" On the other hand, the nomination of Abū Bakr to lead prayers during the Prophet's illness might point to a different choice. The question came up for discussion and settlement on his decease, when it became necessary to elect a leader for Islām. The Hāshimites maintained that the office had devolved by appointment as well as by succession upon Ali. The other Koreishites insisted upon proceeding by election. Whilst the kinsmen of Mohammed were engaged in his obsequies, Abū Bakr was elected to the caliphate by the votes of the Koreish and some of the Medinite Ansār. The urgency of an immediate selection for the headship of the State might explain the haste. With his usual

magnanimity and devotion to the Faith, scrupulously anxious to avoid the least discord among the disciples of the Master, Ali at once gave in his adhesion to Abū Bakr. Three times was he set aside, and on every occasion he accepted the choice of the electors without demur."¹⁴⁵

Amir 'Ali compared the atrocities of the Umayyad in Medina with 'those committed by the soldiers of the constable of France and the equally ferocious Lutherans of George Frundsberg at the sack of Rome'. The only exception among the Umayyads, he says, was 'Umar bin 'Abdu'l-'Aziz, the rest were 'unabashed pagans and revelled in the disregard of the rules and discipline of the religion they professed'. He concludes:

"But for the Ommeyyades, the difference between the followers of the *Ahl-ul-Bait*, the upholders of Ali's right to the apostolical succession, and those who maintained the right of the people to elect their own *spiritual* as well as temporal chiefs, would never have grown into a schism; it would have ended in a compromise or coalition after the accession of Ali to the caliphate. The violence and treachery of the children of Ommeyya rendered this impossible. They had waded to the throne through manifold crimes and oceans of blood; it was necessary for them to impart a semblance of validity to their tenure of the office of caliph. They claimed to have the title of *Ameer-ul-Mominin* by right of election—election by their own mercenaries and pagan partisans."¹⁴⁶

The second part of the work discusses the spirit of Islam in eleven chapters. Amir 'Ali marshals evidence from contemporary Arabic sources both to meet the objections of Western critics of Islam and to present the correct perspective of Islam. Introducing 'the grand and noble conceptions expressed in the Koran of the power and love of the Deity', he says that 'Even modern idealistic Christianity has not been able yet to shake itself free from the old legacy bequeathed by the anthropomorphism of bygone ages'. In his discussions on Islamic prayer, fasting, almsgiving, pilgrimage and the conception of future life in Islam, he compares them with the early Hindu worship in the *Rig Veda* and *Bhagavad Gitā*, the Mago-Zoroastrian and the Sabeian rituals and belief and the Mosaic law and Jesus' teachings. He comments:

"It is not 'a mere creed; it is a life to be lived in the present'—a religion of right-doing, right-thinking, and right-speaking, founded on

145 *Ibid.*, pp. 292-93.

146 *Ibid.*, pp. 303-4.

divine love, universal charity, and the equality of man in the sight of the Lord. However much the modern professors of Islam may have dimmed the glory of their Prophet (and a volume might also be written on the defects of modern Mohammedanism), the religion which enshrines righteousness and 'justification by work' deserves the recognition of the lovers of humanity."¹⁴⁷

He discusses the Islamic concept of war under the heading: 'The church militant of Islam'. He says that, "Islam seized the sword in self-defence, and held it in self-defence, as it will ever do. But Islam never interfered with the dogmas of any moral faith, never persecuted, never established an Inquisition." He reminds the Christians thus,

"Whilst orthodox Christianity persecuted with equal ferocity the Jews and Nestorians,—the descendants of the men who were supposed to have crucified its Incarnate God, and the men who refused to adore his mother,—Islam afforded them both shelter and protection. Whilst Christian Europe was burning witches and heretics, and massacring Jews and 'infidels', the Moslem sovereigns were treating their non-Moslem subjects with consideration and tolerance. They were the trusted subjects of the State, councillors of the empire. Every secular office was open to them along with the Moslems. The Teacher himself had declared it lawful for a Moslem to intermarry with a Christian, Hebrew, or Zoroastrian."¹⁴⁸

He deals with the Prophet Muhammad's marriages at some length. He compares the pre-Islamic condition of women among Arabs, Syrians, Persians and Romans and takes issues with the church-fathers, who had 'written upon the enormities of women, their evil tendencies, their inconceivable malignity'. He goes on to say,

"Until very recently, even in England, a married woman possessed no rights independently of her husband. If the Moslem woman does not attain in another hundred years, the social position of her European sister, there will be time enough to declaim against Islam as a system and a dispensation. But the Teacher who in an age when no country, no system, no community gave any right to woman, maiden or married, mother or wife, who, in a country where the birth of a daughter was considered a calamity, secured to the sex rights which are only unwillingly and under pressure being conceded to them by

147 *Ibid.*, p. 178.

148 *Ibid.*, pp. 219-20.

the civilised nations in the twentieth century, deserves the gratitude of humanity."¹⁴⁹

The chapter on slavery in Islam opens with the saying of the Prophet, 'And, as to your slaves, see that ye feed them as ye feed yourselves and clothe them as ye clothe yourselves'. The persistence of slavery in Islam is regarded by Amīr 'Alī as the 'dark page from their history' and he calls upon Muslims to efface that page for the honour of their great Prophet. He reminds Muslims that 'During the reigns of the early 'Abbāsids, Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq preached against slavery.'¹⁵⁰

The chapter on the political spirit of Islam says, "If we separate the political necessity which has often spoken and acted in the name of religion, no faith is more tolerant than Islam to the followers of other creeds."¹⁵¹ He mentions with pride the measures 'Umar took to promote equality among Muslims, to secure the agricultural prosperity of the people and the equitable and moderate basis of taxation. He laments 'Usmān's reversal of the policy and administration of his two predecessors. He quotes Oelsner who says, 'Had 'Alī been allowed to reign in peace his virtues, his firmness, and his ascendancy of character would have perpetuated the old republic and its simple manners.'¹⁵²

The chapter on the political divisions and schism in Islam starts with a deep sense of anguish,

"To every philosophical student of the history of religion the heading of this chapter must cause surprise, if not pain; to every Islamist devoted to the Founder of his Faith it must cause sorrow and shame. Alas ! that the religion of humanity and universal brotherhood should not have escaped the curse of internecine strife and discord; that the Faith which was to bring peace and rest to the distracted world should itself be torn to pieces by angry passions and the lust of power. The evils, which we deplored in Christianity arose from the incompleteness of the system, and its incompatibility with human needs; in Islam, the evils that we shall have to describe arose from the greed of earthly advancement, and the revolutionary instincts of individuals and classes impatient of moral law and order."¹⁵³

The chapters on 'The literary and scientific spirit of Islam' and 'The rationalistic and philosophical spirit of Islam' give the author an oppor-

149 *Ibid.*, p. 256.

150 *Ibid.*, p. 267.

151 *Ibid.*, p. 272.

152 *Ibid.*, p. 283; Oelsner, *Des Effets de la religion de Mohammad*.

153 *The Spirit of Islām*, p. 290.

tunity to compare the scientific and rationalistic achievements of the 'Abbāsids with contemporary Christendom. He states:

“What was the condition of learning and science in Christendom at this epoch? Under Constantine and his orthodox successors the *Æclepsions* were closed for ever; the public libraries established by the liberality of the pagan emperors were dispersed or destroyed; learning was ‘branded as magic or punished as treason’; and philosophy and science were exterminated. The ecclesiastical hatred against human learning had found expression in the patristic maxim, ‘Ignorance is the mother of devotion’; and Pope Gregory the Great, the founder of ecclesiastical supremacy, gave effect to this obscurantist dogma by expelling from Rome all scientific studies, and burning the Palatine Library founded by Augustus Caesar. He forbade the study of the ancient writers of Greece and Rome. He introduced and sanctified the mythologic Christianity which continued for centuries the predominant creed of Europe, with its worship of relics and the remains of saints. Science and literature were placed under the ban by orthodox Christianity, and they succeeded in emancipating themselves only when Free Thought had broken down the barriers raised by orthodoxy against the progress of the human mind.”¹⁵⁴

Amīr 'Alī quotes the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad and 'Alī to explain their teachings on free-will and predestination. Once Caliph 'Alī, when asked the meaning of *qazā* (predestination) and *qadr* (free-will), he replied:

“The first means obedience to the commandments of God and avoidance of sin; the latter, the ability to live a holy life, and to do that which brings one nearer to God and to shun that which throws him away from His perfection. . . . Say not that man is *compelled*, for that is attribution of tyranny to God; nor say that man has absolute discretion,—rather that we are furthered by His help and grace in our endeavours to act righteously, and we transgress because of our neglect (of His commands). One of his interlocutors, 'Utba ibn Rabi'a Asadi, asked him once as to the meaning of the words ‘there is no power nor help but from God’, *Lā hawl wa lā qūwata illā bi'llāh*. ‘It means,’ said the Caliph, ‘that I am not afraid of God’s anger, but I am afraid of his purity; nor have I the power to observe His commandment, but my strength is in His assistance.’ . . . God has placed us on earth to try each according to his endowments.”¹⁵⁵

154 *Ibid.*, pp. 372-73.

155 *Ibid.*, pp. 409-10.

Referring to the reinvigoration of rationalistic and philosophic discussion by Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq, Amīr 'Alī says:

“The butchery of Kerbela and the sack of Medina had led to the closing of the lecture-room of the Imāms. With the appearance of Jaafar as-Sādik as the head of Mohammed's descendants, it acquired a new life. Extremely liberal and rationalistic in his views,—a scholar, a poet, and a philosopher, apparently well read in some of the foreign languages,—in constant contact with cultured Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians, with whom metaphysical disputations were frequent,—he impressed a distinct philosophical character on the Medinite school. Some of his views respecting predestination deserve to be mentioned. Speaking of the doctrine of *Jabr* (*compulsion* or predestinarianism), which had about this period made its appearance in Damascus, he expressed the following opinion: ‘Those who uphold *Jabr* make out God to be a participator in every sin they commit, and a tyrant for punishing those sins which they are impelled to commit by the compulsion of their being: this is infidelity.’ Then (giving the analogy of a servant sent by his master to the market to purchase something which he, the master, knows well that he cannot bring, not possessing the wherewithal to buy it, and, nevertheless, the master punishes him) the Imām adds, ‘the doctrine of *Jabr* converts God into an unjust Master’.”¹⁵⁶

Amīr 'Alī ascribes the Umayyad's predestinarianism to their paganistic legacy, which persisted even after Islamization. Like Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq, he says, Imām 'Alī ar-Rizā' also strengthened the rationalistic traditions of his ancestors. He accuses the advocates of *jabr* and *tashbih* (anthropomorphism) of tailoring traditions to suit their order. He lays down in broad terms:

“God has pointed out to you the two paths, one of which leads you to Him, the other takes you far away from His perfection; you are at liberty to take the one or the other; pain or joy, reward or punishment, depend upon your own conduct. But man has not the capacity of turning evil into good, or sin into virtue.”¹⁵⁷

Amīr 'Alī defends the efforts of the mu'tazila and *hukamā'* (scientists or philosophers), whose method of reasoning was to him, analogous to that of modern science and says that they did not ‘advance any theory

156 *Ibid.*, p. 411.

157 *Ibid.*, p. 412.

for which they were unable to find a warrant in the sayings of the Founder of the Faith or his immediate descendants'.

Amīr 'Alī admires al-Ghazālī's 'undoubted talents and purity of character', but regrets that from his time there started an 'unceasing struggle between rationalism and patristicism'. He says that it was under the Safawis that rationalism and philosophy came to life once more. He says:

"Avicennism came to life again, and, in spite of the political vicissitudes of Iran, the destruction of lives during the Afghan domination, and the establishment of the Kajars on the throne of Persia, has persistently maintained its hold over many of the cultivated class. One of the best epitomes of Avicennistic philosophy was published in the reign of Shah Abbas II, by Abdur Razzāk bin Ali bin al-Hassan al-Lāhijī, under the name of *Gouhar-i-Murād*, 'The Pearl of Desire'. It contains a summary of Ibn-Sīna's views, explained and illustrated by references to the opinions of the Caliph Ali and his descendants, and philosophers and physicists like Imām Fakhr ud-din Rāzi, Nasir ud-din Tūsi, Imām Taftazāni, and others."¹⁵⁸

Muslim Political Awakening and the Shi'is

Muslim political awakening in India took different forms in the three geographical regions. In Calcutta, Amīr 'Alī pleaded with Muslims to assert their separate political identity and needs. In Bombay, the Shi'i, Sulaymānī Bohra Badru'd-Dīn Tyabji co-operated with the Indian National Congress, believing that political rights and improvements for Indians as a whole were not harmful to the Muslim cause. In Upper India, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān was convinced that safeguards for Muslim rights depended upon their loyalty to the British and dissociation from confrontational politics. He thought that the British were destined to rule India permanently although the Bombay Parsees and Hindu Bengālis were hostile to them.

Sayyid Ahmad Khān's *Causes of Indian revolt*, written mainly for the British public, gives evidence of his farsighted political acumen. In it he stated that people's misunderstanding of the views and intentions of Government and their exclusion from the Legislative Council were principal causes of the rebellion. He did not think it proper to discuss "how the ignorant and uneducated natives of Hindustan could be allowed a share in the deliberations of the Legislative Council, or as to how they should be selected to form an Assembly like the English parliament."¹⁵⁹ It seems he was clear in his mind that Indian aristocrats, and

158 *Ibid.*, pp. 451-52.

159 Graham, *Syed Ahmed Khan*, pp. 38-39.

not the English educated élite, would be nominated members. He was not an enemy of the masses, but, like all conservative English thinkers, he believed that progress should first be made by the upper classes and then diffused by them among the common people.

His membership of the Viceregal Council of Lord Lytton in 1878 and of Ripon in 1880, and the political developments in the post-1857-58 India convinced him that representation by election was absolutely unsuitable to the country.

As a member of the Viceroy's Council, Sayyid Ahmad promoted the interests of both Hindus and Muslims. The growth of English education, and the press, railways and other means of communication in India, however, stepped up interest in the formation of associations and societies to voice political demands. In Awadh a British India Association was formed and Sayyid Ahmad established a similar Association in the North-Western Provinces. The Associations presented petitions to the government to demand reforms in Council and in public services but did nothing to impair the landlords' interests. By 1884 the Indian Association, under the leadership of Surendranāth Banerjee (1848-1925), dismissed from the coveted position as an I.C.S. in 1874, had established forty-four branches. It extended even to the North-Western Provinces and the Panjab, which Banerjee had toured in 1876 and 1878. From 1881, the British India Association began to take up the cause of peasants, and had some influence in drafting the Tenancy Act of 1885, which gave concessions to cultivators. Associations were formed in Bombay, Poona and Madras. In 1885, the impending election of the British Parliament filled all the associations with increasing political activity and hope. The need for a national body became imperative. The lead was given by a retired British civilian, Allan Octavian Hume (1829-1912), who channelled the provincial Associations into the Indian National Congress with the co-operation of the English educated élite, who looked forward eagerly to forming an All India body. It was not intended to be disloyal to Britain and acknowledged the blessings of British rule. Badru'd-Din Tyabji, President of the third annual session of Congress at Madras in December 1887, stated:

"I must honestly confess to you that one great motive which has induced me in the present state of my health to undertake the grave responsibilities of presiding over your deliberations has been an earnest desire, on my part, to prove as far as in my power lies, that I at least not merely in my individual capacity, but as representing the Anjuman-i Islam, do not consider that there is anything whatever in the position or the relations of the different communities of India—be they Hindus, Mussalmans, Parsees or Christians—which should induce

the leaders of any one community to stand aloof from the others in their efforts to obtain those great general reforms, those great general rights which are for the common benefit of us all, and which I feel assured have only to be earnestly and unanimously pressed upon the Government to be granted to us." As to the slur upon its loyalty and its narrow appeal to the 'educated natives', he said: "Now if it is intended to be conveyed that we are merely a crowd of people with nothing but our education to commend us, if it is intended to be conveyed that the gentry, the nobility and the aristocracy of the land have kept aloof from us, I can only meet that assertion by the most direct and the most absolute denial. To any person who made that assertion I should feel inclined to say, come with me into this hall and look around you, and tell me where you could wish to see a better representation of the aristocracy not only of birth and of wealth, but of intellect, education and position, than you see gathered within the walls of this Hall. But gentlemen, if no such insinuation is intended to be made, I should only say, that I am happy to think that this Congress does consist of the educated natives of India."¹⁶⁰

Auckland Colvin, Lieutenant-Governor of N. W. P. and Awadh from 1887 to 1892, was upset by the growing popularity of Congress. Through its vernacular tracts, Congress tried to reach the urban masses but it remained a movement of the English educated élite. More than one-third of its delegates used to be lawyers, the rest were doctors, journalists and teachers. The native princes kept themselves aloof, as did the Hindu and Muslim landlords and property owners. Sayyid Ahmad applied the analogy of the 1857 revolt to the aims and objectives of the Congress. He thought that the political agitation was likely to take a violent turn and to give rise to the second phase in the ruin of the Muslims if they joined the Congress. For him the success of the Congress amounted to the domination of the Bengālis throughout India. In his speeches delivered at Lucknow on 28 December 1887, and at Meerut on 14 March 1888, he intensely opposed the policies and programmes of the Congress and advocated the need of strengthening the British Government for the peace and prosperity of the country. As far as the Muslims were concerned, their betterment, according to him, lay in the acquisition of higher English education and dependance upon the good sense of the Government for the safeguarding of their rights. He earnestly desired that, 'The Crescent and the Cross being united should shed their light over India.' He formed the Indian Patriotic Association and, later on, the United Indian Patriotic Association to mobilise the opinion

160 Husain B. Tyabji, *Badru'd-Din Tyabji*, Bombay, 1952.

of the Hindu and Muslim landlords and the influential sections of Indian society against the Congress. He issued circular letters to Muslim associations all over the country which confined their activities merely to the social uplift of Muslims. Before long he formed a separate Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association of Upper India to mobilise Muslim public opinion there, to his point of view.

One of Sayyid Ahmad's Shi'i supporters, Sayyid Husayn Bilgarāmi congratulating his friend on founding the Indian Patriotic Association, made some very helpful suggestions. He wrote:

"I hope you will pardon my saying that I do not think Mohammedans have anything especial to dread from the so-called National Congress Movement that is not shared by their Hindu fellow-subjects. The danger, is a common danger, and if I am able to read it rightly, it consists not so much in what the Congress might do, as in what it tends to undo. We, orientals, are a restful people, our movements are sluggish, our progress in civilisation has followed a slow process of development. This characteristic is an element of our nature, perhaps the outcome of our climate and environment; it is at any rate a valuable characteristic, seeing that it preserves us from the sudden and furious social and political cyclones which have every now and again swept over the more warmblooded nationalities. Now, the Congress movement is an engine for turning rest into unrest, and inciting men to seek change for the sake of change. It teaches people to be dissatisfied with their present lot and hanker after something indefinite, the real nature of which the Missionaries and Apostles of the new creed have themselves hardly realised. Our self-constituted teachers are in this, if they but knew it, merely paying a compliment to their English rulers, namely, the compliment of imitation, and nothing more. Just as some of us love to rig ourselves out in ill-fitting tailcoats and trousers of doubtful tailoring, and go into sulks if we are not afterwards asked to participate in the social amenities of our European neighbours, so we pick up the cry of Irish Home rulers and English Radicals, and are surprised that we are not invited over, there and then, to sit in the House of Commons and help to convert the strong and beneficent Government of our country into a haphazard rule of platform and party."¹⁶¹

Voicing his objections to the Elective Councils, he wrote:

"Representation in the true sense of the word there will be none, for our B.A.'s and M.A.'s who will manage to get elected are not repre-

161 *The Aligarh movement*, III, p. 998.

sentative men. They only represent a certain class (the English educated) who hold a very infinitesimal place in the census of the country. They are, moreover, poor men ordinarily, though energetic and pushing—hardly the sort of men, for example, whom the Maharaja before-mentioned would care to hobnob with (in the metaphorical, Heaven fore-fend, not the literal sense of the word). It is also said of these graduates (of whom I am proud to call myself one, these strictures notwithstanding) that they begin to grind at the mill of competition from so early a stage that they actually know less of their own country than English officials who make a business and a study of it in the course of their duty—that they are more at home in the geography, folk-lore, and history of Great Britain or China than of their own country. I am afraid the indictment is not without a certain amount of truth. That English educated youths manage to alienate feeling of their less exotically literate fellow-countrymen is to a certain extent also true. I am afraid we have not yet solved that problem of imparting English education to our youths without impairing their usefulness. This will come with a national system of education, based on religion and morality, but we have no time for such trifles now with our hands full of urgent political reforms.”¹⁶²

Amīr 'Alī had founded the National Mohammedan Association in 1877. Before long, thirty-four branches were formed extending from Madras to the Panjab and from Chittagong to Karachi. The name of the Association was changed to the 'Central National Mohammedan Association'. According to Amīr 'Alī, it became the *de facto* and *de jure* representative organization. His objectives were “primarily to promote good feeling and fellowship between the Indian races and creeds, at the same time to protect and safeguard Mohammedan interests and help their political training. He felt that great changes were impending in the system of Government and that, unless the followers of Islam prepared themselves, they would soon be outstripped in the political race by their Hindu fellow-countrymen.” Nawwāb Amīr 'Alī, the vizier of Nawwāb Wājīd 'Alī Shāh was the president of the Association. Some eminent Irānī Shi'is in Calcutta also joined. Amīr 'Alī made strenuous efforts to persuade Sayyid Ahmad Khān to promote political consciousness among the Muslims but Sayyid Ahmad refused. Amīr 'Alī says:

“Both in England and in India I had frequent opportunities of discussing with Sir Syed Ahmad the position of the Moslems in the political economy of British India, and of their prospects in the future. Syed Ahmad Khan pinned his faith on English education and academical

training. I admitted their importance but urged that unless as a community, their political training ran on parallel lines with that of their Hindu compatriots they were certain to be submerged in the rising tide of the new nationalism. He would at first not admit the correctness of my forecast, but I believe the birth of the National Congress opened his eyes. In 1877 when I founded the Central National Mohammedan Association we respectfully invited him to give us his valuable support, but he declined. Twelve years later, however, he established the 'Muhammadan Defence Association', which I looked upon as rather an unfortunate move, and likely to be considered provocative. But I am anticipating."¹⁶³

The Indian Congress successfully aroused interest among the English educated Muslims, both Shi'is and Sunnis, in the upper provinces. The Shi'i Hāmid 'Alī Khān was the most prominent of the Muslim educated class. His father, Hakīm Amjad 'Alī Khān, had held position in various government departments for more than thirty-five years and retired as a deputy collector in 1887. Hāmid 'Alī was born in 1859 and received an adequate education in Persian, Arabic and English. In 1880 he set off for England and joined the Middle Temple. He was called to the bar in 1886. In London he joined the National Indian Association, the East Indian Association and the Reform Association. In 1883, he was elected Vice-Chairman of the National Indian Representative Society which (merged into) the British Committee of the Indian National Congress. In 1885 he published a book in London called *The Bulwark for India* to promote friendly relations between the British and Indians. His poems 'Farewell to London' and 'The Story of the slave and the nosering' were favourably reviewed by the English press.

Until the end of the nineteenth century he was a prominent Congressman. At the seventh Indian National Congress, held at Nagpur in December 1891, he stated "I conclude, let me say, apart from the question we are discussing, that my co-religionists must bear in mind that they are Indian first and Mohammedans next."¹⁶⁴ For the Legislative Council elections of 1893 and 1895, the Congress nominated him as their candidate against the Hindu landlord Bābū Sri Rām.

The political upheaval in the country, plague, famine, communal riots, movement of cow-protection, the Ārya Samāj movement, the Sārvaajanik Ganpati festival and the rising cult of Shīvāji drove Muslims closer and closer to the British Government. The language question, however, shook the faith of a large section of the Aligarh youth on the advisability

163 *Memoirs*, pp. 556-57.

164 C. L. Parekh, *Eminent Indians*, Bombay, 1892, pp. 503-4, 510.

of a blind reliance on British support. Hindi was already introduced as the court language in Bihar. Its supporters in N. W. P. had been pressing for its adoption there. Sir Sayyid strongly opposed Hindi at every stage. After the appointment of Sir Antony MacDonnel, as Lieutenant-Governor of N. W. P. in 1895, the supporters of Hindi again submitted a memorial asking for its acceptance as a court language. Sir Sayyid opposed it again and wrote a spirited defence of Urdu, nine days before his death.

In 1898, an Urdu Defence Association was formed by English and Muslim barristers under the leadership of Mawlānā Karāmat Husayn. Following him, Hāmid 'Alī established an association in Lucknow to protect the prestige of Urdu. In 1900, MacDonnel passed the Nāgrī resolution. It allowed the presentation of petitions to the government in either script and ordered that government summonses and proclamations should be issued in both.¹⁶⁵ Hāmid 'Alī Khān sent protest telegrams to the Lieutenant-Governor N. W. P. and wrote a pamphlet, *The Vernacular Controversy*, dealing with the development of agitation from May to August 1900; the appendix comprised newspaper reports of protest meetings and protest committees. In the Panjab, the Shi'i Nawwāb, Fath 'Alī Khān Qizilbāsh, mobilized even Hindu Kāyastha and Kashmirī Brahmin support for the agitation. In August 1900, 400 delegates from the Panjab, Bombay, Central Province and North-West Provinces assembled at Lucknow to protest against the government's decision.¹⁶⁶ MacDonnel's threat to Mohsinu'l-Mulk to choose between the secretaryship of the College and the Urdu Defence Association, resulted in his resignation from the Association, but other Shi'i and Sunnī leaders remained firm.¹⁶⁷

Ghulāmu's-Saqalayn published an 'Open Letter to Lord Curzon' in the *Panjab Observer*, Lahore, dated 16 May, 1900. Commenting upon MacDonnel's order, he wrote "It shows that even a small minority, if it be aggressive and energetic enough, can by sheer persistence succeed in getting such important, indeed revolutionary administrative mandates issued by the Government. . . . This is a ready reward to political agitation, a call upon the people to rise and do the same."¹⁶⁸

MacDonnel's decision to fix the Muslim proportion in Government service in the ratio of three to five¹⁶⁹ was also a severe blow to Muslims

165 *The Pioneer*, 10 June 1900.

166 MacDonnel to Curzon, 31 August 1900, Curzon Papers (202), India Office Library, London; *Oudh Akhbār*, Lucknow 18 September 1900.

167 *Al-Bashīr*, Etawah, 1 April 1901.

168 Hāmid 'Alī Khān, *The Vernacular controversy*, Lucknow, 1900, p. 45.

169 Selections from the speeches of Sir A. P. MacDonnel, G. C. S. I., Lieutenant-Governor, N.W.P. and Chief Commissioner of Oudh from 1895 to 1901, Naini Tal, 1901, p. 64.

and disillusioned Sir Sayyid's supporters who had depended upon the British for the protection of their rights. MacDonnel wrote to the Viceroy complaining that the Muslims were corrupt, disloyal and fanatical.¹⁷⁰ The MacDonnel's policies convinced younger generation of English educated Muslims of the need to form a political association of their own.

In September 1901, Muslim leaders assembled at the house of Hāmid 'Alī in Lucknow to form a Muslim organization. Wiqāru'l-Mulk, Munshi Ehtishām 'Alī and Hāmid 'Alī signed a letter to Rāja Amīr Hasan Khān of Mahmūdābād inviting him to join the movement but he did not attend. In 1903, Wiqāru'l-Mulk toured the important districts of U. P., which were dominated by the Muslim aristocracy, in order to prepare the ground for the formation of a political association. Khwāja Ghulāmu's-Saqalayn founded a newspaper, the *'Asr-i Jadīd* at Meerut to help mobilize Muslim opinion for the setting up of a Muslim Political Association. He gave the following reasons:

“Intelligent Musalmans will readily admit the necessity for the establishment of a Mohammedan political association. Owing to the want of such an association the interests of the Mohammedan community have already suffered in a variety of ways and are still being trampled under foot; some of the instances being the Hindu-Urdu controversy, the exclusion of Persian from the Allahabad University and the paucity of Musalman members in the Municipal and Local Boards.”¹⁷¹

The *'Asr-i Jadīd* pleaded with the Muslims ‘to give up the policy of hostility against the Hindus and to support the Congress on demand like a reduction in salt duty, raising the minimum limit of taxable income from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1000 and increased employment of educated Indians in the commissioned ranks of the army, which were as beneficial to the Muslims as they were to the Hindus’.

In August 1906, the Secretary of State, Morley, made a budget speech in the British Parliament embodying broad indications of the introduction of reforms, which evoked considerable interest on the part of Mohsinu'l-Mulk, who was finding it extremely difficult to follow Sir Sayyid's policies. The factors leading to the presentation of the famous Muslim address to the Viceroy, drafted by Sayyid Husayn Bilgarāmi, the formation of the Muslim League and the acceptance of the principle of a separate Muslim electorate have been examined on the basis of the Minto and Morley papers by Wasti and Dās. An evaluation of the entire correspondence and the contemporary literature shows that the

170 MacDonnel to Curzon, 18 May 1900, Curzon Papers (201), India Office Library, London.

171 *'Asr-i Jadīd* (Meerut) May 1903, *Native Newspaper Report of the North-West Provinces* 1903.

importance given to Mohsinu'l-Mulk's letter by the Viceroy and the manner in which the suggestions for the Muslim deputation were worked out demonstrate that such an opportunity had been eagerly awaited. No time was lost in exploiting the situation to the fullest advantage. Among the signatories, Khalifa Sayyid Muhammad Husayn and Sayyid Karāmat Husayn were Shī'is. All the rest were Sunnis. In December 1906 the Muslim League was established at Dacca. Hāmid 'Alī Khān, Sayyid Husayn Bilgarāmi, Sayyid Karāmat Husayn and Ghulāmu's-Saqalayn were among the Shī'is who played a leading role. The battle for reform was fought mainly in London, however, by Amir 'Alī who founded the London branch of the All-India Muslim League. The Āga Khān, the *imām* of the Ismā'ilis, who was born in 1877 and had come in contact with Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān and Mohsinu'l-Mulk as only in 1896, was appointed its Permanent President. The Āga Khān's appointment to the Legislative Council by Lord Curzon at the end of 1902 immensely enhanced his prestige among the Muslims. Among the younger generation Mawlānā Muhammad 'Alī and Khwāja Ghulāmu's-Saqalayn were in close touch with the youth in Aligarh.

In 1907 the younger educated Shī'is formed an All India Shī'a Conference. Its objectives were social and economic. The Nawwāb of Rāmpur, the Rāja of Mahmūdābād, Wazir Hasan, 'Alī Riza, Āl-i Nabi, Khwāja Ghulāmu's-Saqalayn, Hāmid 'Alī and Karāmat Husayn spearheaded the movement. In its 1908 session, the All-India Shī'a Conference passed a resolution calling for Muslim interest in 'the pursuits of arts, industries, agriculture and commerce'. By 1910, the Shī'i 'ulamā', who now dominated the organization, were stressing the need to incorporate Shī'i theology into English education in India. In 1914, Sayyid 'Alī Hāyirī, the Lahore *mujtahid*, in his presidential address called for special efforts to teach Shī'i ideas to their English-educated youth. A movement to start a separate Shī'a College began. Nawwāb Fath 'Alī Khān Qizilbāsh, Hāmid 'Alī and Nawwāb Rampur played important roles. The orthodox Sunni group in Aligarh had stifled Shī'ism on the College premises. Nawwāb Fath 'Alī Khān Qizilbāsh toured the United Provinces of Agra and Awadh during March and April 1914. In his journal he wrote that a new moderate Muslim political association should be formed to support the Shī'is 'to secure their rights in the M.A.O. College Aligarh' and suggested that the Governor, Sir James S. Meston, should preside over the inauguration of a Shī'a College and grant liberal funds for its maintenance.¹⁷² Mawlānā Nāsir Husayn, the leading

172 Resolutions of the All India Shia Conference, Lucknow, 1908, 1909; Nawwāb Fath 'Alī Khān Qizilbāsh, *Journal of a tour in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, March and April 1914, Meston Papers (6), India Office Library, London.

Lucknow *mujtahid*, and the Shi'i orator, Sayyid Sibṭ-i Hasan, supported him.

The influence of Nawwāb Hāmid 'Alī Khān of Rampur, Fath 'Alī Khān Qizilbāsh, the Rāja of Mahmūdābād and the Rāja of Pīrpur brought the scheme to success and, in 1918, the Shi'a College was established.

The Āga Khān and his associates had planned that 'the League should be a conservative institution designed to further the Mohammedan cause and also to strengthen the hands of Government, but with no animosity towards the Hindus'. At the suggestion of the Lieutenant-Governor of U. P., he transferred its headquarters from Aligarh to Lucknow. Indeed, the Lieutenant-Governor feared that 'the lawyer party, consisting of young and irresponsible persons, would attain a predominant position in the League, and that they might at some time coalesce with the advanced Hindu politicians against the Government on one or more questions, and later on rue the fact that they have done so.'¹⁷³

The Muslim League's achievements did not satisfy the educated Muslim youth. The League invited Amīr 'Alī to preside over the third annual session at Delhi in January 1910. As he had been appointed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London he could not attend personally but his written address was read by Miān Muhammad Shafi, a prominent member of the League from Lahore. Amīr 'Alī reminded delegates that 'a steady process of disintegration and demoralization, partly induced by circumstances and forces beyond our control, has been going on in our midst'. Muslims were urged to make plans 'to prevent the impoverishment of Musalmāns and the passing of Musalmān estates into other hands' and 'to foster industries among them to encourage trade and commerce and a better and more practical use of academic learning.'¹⁷⁴

The Āga Khān and his associates, hurriedly launched the scheme to raise the M.A.O. College to university status with a view to diverting Muslim attention from politics to education. The funds exceeded two million rupees. Credit for this was generally taken by the Āga Khān but Muhammad 'Alī considered it was due to his brother's (Shawkat 'Alī's) personal tours.¹⁷⁵ Muhammad 'Alī Muhammad Khān, the Rāja of Mahmūdābād, the Nawwāb of Dacca and Dr. Sayyid 'Alī Bilgarāmi tried to work in close co-operation with Sir Harcourt Butler, a member of the Governor-General's Council, but the younger generation did not

173 Letter of Hewett to Minto, 3 February 1910, Minto Papers, National Library, Edinburgh.

174 Pīrzāda Sharīfu'd-Din, Syed, *Foundations of Pakistan*, Karachi, 1969, I, p. 112.

175 Letter of Harcourt Butler to Hardinge, 4 April 1911, Hardinge Papers, Cambridge University, Mawlānā Muhammad 'Alī, *My life*, a fragment, p. 53.

favour Government control of the proposed University. They also wanted to make it a central institution for Indian Muslims with the power to affiliate Muslim institutions all over India.¹⁷⁶

The Secretary of State refused to grant the power of affiliation, however, and the scheme petered out. Butler wrote to Hardinge, "The young Mohommedans all over India are talking big and bitterly. I don't think that many of them know what affiliation means. There was a pan-Islamic flavour about the idea of a Central University with branches over India."¹⁷⁷ Mawlānā Shibli complained bitterly about the attitude of the Government in his poems. The reversal of the partition of Bengal at the end of 1911 shocked a section of the Bengālā Muslims who had benefited from Lord Curzon's Muslim eastern Bengal Province. These events would not have proved more than short-lived ripples on the waters of Muslim politics, if the situation had not been aggravated by the successive Muslim misfortunes in Turkey, Iran and Morocco.

The Balkan War of 1912 inflamed Muslim feelings against the Western powers to its highest intensity. Funds were raised and a medical team was dispatched to Turkey under the leadership of Dr. M. A. Ansārī. After the bombardment of Mashhad and the threatened air attack on the Ka'ba by Italy, all the holy places were believed to be in danger. Their protection aroused more concern in the Indian Muslims than the question of Turkey or Iran. Fath 'Alī Khān Qizilbāsh's attempts to form a moderate Muslim senate in order to fight the growing radicalism among youthful Muslim League members were, therefore, initially unsuccessful. The assurances by British statesmen that the holy cities in Arabia and the sacred shrines in Iraq would not be attacked by Britain and her allies, however, pacified Muslim passions. The Āga Khān, who could not adjust himself to the policies and programmes of the pan-Islamists, resigned from his presidentship. A Congress-League rapprochement was extremely helpful for satisfactory recruitment and the prosecution of war. No one else was better suited for this purpose than the Rāja of Mahmūdābād and Sayyid Wazīr Hasan (later on Sir), the Secretary of the All India Muslim League from 1912 to 1919, who sincerely treasured the traditional Hindu-Muslim amity fostered by the court of the Nawwābs of Awadh. Fath 'Alī Khān Qizilbāsh attempted to replace Wazīr Hasan with Karāmat Husayn but was unsuccessful.¹⁷⁸ Muhammad 'Alī Jinnāh (1876-1948, who founded Pākistān) was invited to join the Muslim League by Mawlānā Muhammad 'Alī and Wazīr Hasan in

176 Letter of Harcourt Butler to Hardinge, 9 April 1911, Hardinge Papers, Cambridge.

177 Letter of Harcourt Butler to Hardinge, 12 November 1912, Hardinge Papers.

178 Enclosures to Nawwāb Fath 'Alī Khān Qizilbāsh's letters to Meston, 3 January 1914, Meston Papers (6), India Office Library, London.

London in 1913, where they had gone for discussions in connection with the Kanpur mosque agitation. Jinnāh became a trusted leader of the Congress and League. The Shi'i Wazir Hasan came to considerable prominence.

The declaration of the armistice posed a major crisis for the supporters of the Turkish *khilāfat*. Lloyd George had declared on January 5 1918, 'Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital, or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace, which are predominantly Turkish in race'.¹⁷⁹ The proposed peace suggesting the dismemberment of the Turkish empire upset the Muslims.

Pan-Islamism

Pan-Islamic sentiments developed in India mainly because of the Imperialistic European threat to the independence of the Muslim kingdoms in West Asia, Africa and South East Asia. Sir Sayyid Ahmad was impressed by the reform of Sultan Mahmūd II of Turkey (1808-39) and his statesmen. He had adopted modern Turkish dress and sneeringly reminded the Muslims that both Sultan 'Abdu'l Hamid II (1876-1909) and the Shaykhu'l-Islām of Turkey lived according to European style. The Sultan's dismissal of the Shaykhu'l-Islām in August 1877, gave Sayyid Ahmad an opportunity to claim that the Shaykhu'l-Islām was only a state servant whose *fatwas* had no effect on Indian Muslims.¹⁸⁰ According to him, Indian Muslim's sympathy for the Turks was natural but it could not undermine the Muslim loyalty due to their British rulers, who had guaranteed them peace and prosperity. He assured his European friends that it was incorrect to believe that Muslims considered the Sultan of Turkey their religious head and were sympathetic to him. They felt akin to their co-religionist Turks because of the improvements in communication and the growing contacts between Indian Muslims and Turks.¹⁸¹

In Algeria, Egypt, India and South-East Asia, Sultan 'Abdu'l-Hamid's emissaries, however, inspired Muslim youth with pan-Islamic ideals. Muslims enthusiastically welcomed the events that shaped modern Turkey without having any first-hand knowledge of the situation. During the Russo-Turkish wars of 1877-78, the British government encouraged pan-Islamic movements in order to strengthen the Anglo-Islamic front against Russia. Sayyid Ahmad, however, repeatedly wrote that Indian Muslims were neither Sultan 'Abdul Hamid's subjects nor was he an Indian ruler. He exercised no control over Indians. He was a Muslim

179 *The Times*, 7 January 1918.

180 'Turkey ka Shaykhu'l-Islam', *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, XIII, pp. 436-41.

181 'Sultan Rum awr Hindustan ke Musalman' and 'Turkon ke sath Musalmanon ki hamdardi', *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, XIII, pp. 425-29, 430-32.

ruler and, as a co-religionist, the Indian Muslims wished him well. His rights as caliph were confined to his own territory and neither from the *sharī'a*, nor from a general religious point of view, was he the *khalīfa* of Indian Muslims.¹⁸²

In 1879, Jamālu'd-Dīn Afghānī¹⁸³ (1839-97), the famous pan-Islamist and a redoubtable enemy of European colonialism, arrived at Hyderabad. Many followers of Sayyid Ahmad's school of thought in Hyderabad were deeply impressed by him. Sayyid Husayn Bilgarāmī, who also met him, wrote in a letter dated 20 June 1883:

“About three years ago a man came here from Egypt who alleged that he had been turned out of the country by the orders of H. H. the new Khedive Towfik Pasha for preaching doctrines distasteful to the authorities. I gathered from his conversations that he was a free-thinker of the French type, and a socialist, and that he had been got rid of by the authorities in Egypt for preaching the doctrine of 'liberte, fraternite, equalite' to the students, and the masses in that country. I found him to be a well informed man for a Herati (he is a Herati by birth) though rather shallow in his acquirements. He c[oul]d 'hold forth' in Persian and Arabic with great easiness and purity of idiom. He talked a little French and used to say that it was his purpose to go and make Paris his headquarters for some time in order to get justice out of Towfik through the French.

“... [In Hyderabad Afghānī spent] his time in teaching and in philosophical discussions. When, however, the imbroglio in Egypt made a stir in the papers, the Sheikh, Jamal-ud-din (for such was his name) suddenly disappeared from Hyderabad, I... felt quite sure... that either Cairo or Paris was his destination.

“Some months ago I was startled by having an Arabic periodical sent to me from Paris, and on opening it I found that it was conducted by no other than the quondam philosopher of Hyderabad....”¹⁸⁴

Jamālu'd-Dīn does not seem to have come into direct contact with Sayyid Ahmad but he was informed of his naturalistic philosophy and

182 “‘Rūs awr Turk’, Inglishtān, Rus awr Turkey kā mu'āmila”, Turkon ke yatīmon awr zakhmiyon ke liye chanda, *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, XVII, pp. 450-463.

183 Jamālu'd-Dīn Afghānī was a Husaynī Sayyid. The Persian documents published by Iranians suggest that he belonged to Asadābād near Hamadān in Iran and had obtained higher education at Shī'i seminaries in Iraq but for political reasons he called himself an Afghānī. S. A. A. Rizvi, *Iran: royalty, religion and revolution*, Canberra, 1980, Appendix.

184 F.O. 60/594, Syed Husein (Bilgarāmī) to Cordery, June 20, 1883, enclosed in Cordery to Grant, June 25 1883, Quoted in N.R. Keddie, *An Islamic response to imperialism*, Berkley, 1968, p. 23, f.n. 34.

efforts to promote British-Muslim friendship. In December 1880, a Muslim teacher in Hyderabad asked him to write a note on the *naturiyya* sect. Jamālu'd-Dīn enclosed a tract that he had written with his letter. In it he observed, that the *naturiyya* school had first emerged in Greece in the fourth and third centuries B.C. Their basic objective was to abolish religion and lay the foundations of licence and communism among all peoples. Its modern form was introduced by Darwin. He concludes:

“The Islamic religion is the only religion that censures belief without proof and the following of conjectures; reproves blind submission; seeks to show proof of things to its followers; everywhere addresses itself to reason; considers all happiness the result of wisdom and clear-sightedness; attributes perdition to stupidity and lack of insight; and sets up proofs for each fundamental belief in such a way that it will be useful to all people. It even, when it mentions most of its rules, states their purposes and benefits. (Refer to the Holy Koran.)”¹⁸⁵

In 1885 Afghānī was forced to leave Hyderabad and was kept under government surveillance in Calcutta. He left India for Europe in late 1892. The English-educated Muslims, including Amīr 'Alī, were deeply impressed by him.

In November 1882, Jamālu'd-Dīn delivered a lecture in the Albert Hall, Calcutta on education. In it he observed,

“The Greeks were the pupils of the Indians in literary ideas, limpid poetry, and lofty thoughts. One of these pupils, Pythagoras, spread sciences and wisdom in Greece and reached such a height that his word was accepted without proof as an inspiration from heaven.

[The Indians] reached the highest level in philosophic thought. The soil of India is the same soil; the air of India is the same air; and these youths who are present here are fruits of the same earth and climate. So I am very happy that they, having awakened after a long sleep, are reclaiming their inheritance and gathering the fruits of their own tree.”¹⁸⁶

Referring to the prejudices of a section of the 'ulamā' to modern sciences, Jamālu'd-Dīn affirmed,

185 Jamālu'd-Dīn al-Husaynī, 'The truth about the Naturi (Neichera) sect and an explanation of the Naturis', in *An Islamic response to imperialism*, p. 172.

186 Jamālu'd-Dīn al-Husaynī, 'Lecture on teaching and learning' delivered at the Albert Hall, Calcutta on 8 November 1882 in *Islamic response to imperialism*, pp. 101-2.

“The strangest thing of all is that our ulama these days have divided science into two parts. One they call Muslim science, and one European science. Because of this they forbid others to teach some of the useful sciences. They have not understood that science is that noble thing that has no connection with any nation, and is not distinguished by anything but itself. Rather, everything that is known is known by science, and every nation that becomes renowned becomes renowned through science. Men must be related to science, not science to men.

“How very strange it is that the Muslims study those sciences that are ascribed to Aristotle with the greatest delight, as if Aristotle were one of the pillars of the Muslims. However, if the discussion relates to Galileo, Newton, and Kepler, they consider them infidels. The father and mother of science is proof, and proof is neither Aristotle nor Galileo. The truth is where there is proof, and those who forbid science and knowledge in the belief that they are safeguarding the Islamic religion are really the enemies of that religion. The Islamic religion is the closest of religions to science and knowledge, and there is no incompatibility between science and knowledge and the foundation of the Islamic faith.”¹⁸⁷

A journal entitled the *Mu'allim-i Shafiq* published in Hyderabad, which seems to have been inspired by Afghānī, printed six articles written by him in India. In 1884 they were re-printed in a book called the *Maqālāt-i Jamāliyya*. They emphasized that Hindu-Muslim unity was essential for a successful war against the British. The promotion of rational and scientific thought was imperative for Muslim interests. He pleaded for unity at the linguistic level. Afghānī saw Sayyid Ahmad as a potent threat to Indian freedom. In his journal *al-'Urwa al-Wusqa* in Paris, on 28 August 1884, reiterating the main themes of Sayyid Ahmad's works, he concluded:

“Those materialists are not like the materialists of Europe; for whoever abandons religion in Western countries retains love for his country, and his zeal to guard his country from the attacks of foreigners is not diminished. He gives freely of his most precious possessions for its advancement, and will sacrifice his life for its sake. But Ahmad Khān and his companions, just as they invited people to reject religion, [also] disparaged to them the interests of their fatherland, and made people consider foreign domination over them a slight thing, and strove to erase the traces of religious and patriotic zeal. They breach those national resources that perhaps the English have neg-

lected to plunder, in order to call the government's attention to them, so that they should not neglect them. They do this not for a considerable reward or an exalted honor, but for a vile piece of bread, a paltry gain. Oriental materialist is distinguished from the Western materialist by baseness and vileness in addition to unbelief and impiety."¹⁸⁸

Sayyid Ahmad, however, ignored Afghānī. Meanwhile, the Greco-Turkish war of 1897 disturbed Indian Muslims. The subsequent Turkish victory sent them into transports of joy. They believed that Islam was victorious. Sayyid Ahmad was alarmed. He wrote that Muslim celebrations of the Turkish victory had overstepped the bounds of moderation. It was wrong to identify it with an Islamic victory. Worldly victories and defeats should not be given any religious colour.

Mohsinu'l-Mulk also pursued Sayyid Ahmad's policies on pan-Islamic questions but the younger groups of Muslim League leaders had different views. Sayyid Amir 'Alī was a pan-Islamist of Afghānī's school. While Sir Sayyid condemned pan-Islamism for political reasons, the Shi'i, Amir 'Alī, glorified the pan-Islamism and caliphate. To him they were symbols of Islamic unity throughout the world. He wrote articles to clarify the Muslim position in the Turco-Italian war of 1911-12, and founded the British Red Crescent Society to collect funds and send medical aid to the Turkish sector and wounded in the Balkan Wars. In an article entitled 'The Caliphate: An Historical and Juridical Sketch' in *The Contemporary Review*, June 1915, he outlined the Shi'i and Sunni theory of caliphate and concluded with the remark:

"Speaking as one outside the Sunni sect, but to some extent cognizant of its recognized doctrines and living sentiments, I believe it would be far more conducive to the well-being of the great communities in whose pacific development England, France, and Russia are interested, to preserve intact the prestige and influence of this sacred institution than to allow it to be thrown into the melting-pot of intestinal discord and schismatic strife."¹⁸⁹

Amir 'Alī fought indefatigably for the preservation of the caliphate and wrote several articles both during, and after the first world-war, urging the British government to refrain from destroying it. He persuaded even the Āga Khān to join the cause of maintaining the caliphate. On 24 November 1923, three of the major Istanbul daily papers pub-

188 Jamālu'd-Dīn al-Husaynī, 'The materialists in India', in *Islamic response to imperialism*, p. 178.

189 *Ameer Ali*, p. 403.

lished the text of a letter signed by the Āga Khān and Amir 'Alī. It asked the Turkish government to place the caliphate 'on a basis which would command the confidence and esteem of the Muslim nations, and thus import to the Turkish state unique strength and dignity'. In March 1924, Mustafa Kemāl stabilized the Republic to 'cleanse and elevate the Islamic faith, by rescuing it from the position of a political instrument, to which it has been accustomed for centuries.'¹⁹⁰

In India, the Muslims (both Sunnis and Shi'is) and the Hindus fought for the *khilāfat* (caliphate) under the leadership of Mahātmā Gāndhī. The twentieth century is, however, beyond the scope of the present book. We have summed up some important facts for the sake of the continuation of the story and to demonstrate the Shi'i concern for the Muslim community and the motherland.

Until the end of the nineteenth century, the Shi'is took advantage of the opportunities which British rule made available to Indians but, to them, modernism neither amounted to violating the *shari'a* nor departing from Islamic and Indian social and ethical traditions. Like other Indians, they made changes to their dwellings and furniture in order to enjoy a more comfortable life and for hygienic reasons. They were not merely imitating the West.

190 Bernard Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, Oxford, 1968, p. 264.

Conclusion

The history of 'Ali and his successors is full of tragic events, martyrdom and sufferings for the cause of Islam. For centuries their followers were hunted out and persecuted. Even their libraries and books were not spared. The survival of the existing corpus of Shi'i literature is nothing short of a miracle. In India, Shi'i survival was an uphill task. Even 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Khalji whose knowledge of Islam was confined to memorising a couple of short chapters of the Qur'ān for prayers, 'sawed the Shi'is up like logs.¹ Only *taqiyya* (prudent concealment or dispensation from religious duties under compulsion of threat or injury) saved them from annihilation. During Akbar's reign, Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustari, who lived in an era of respite from earlier slaughter and persecution, did not hesitate to urge Shi'is to give up *taqiyya* for it converted their children and grandchildren permanently to Sunni-ism. At the end of Akbar's reign, Mullā 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badā'ūnī observed that unless Shi'is whose number was not large were annihilated immediately, the future of the Mughal empire was bleak.² Early in Jahāngīr's reign, Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustari was martyred because of Sunni hostility.

Mujaddid Alf-i Sāni urged the Sunni dignitaries at Jahāngīr's court to completely dissociate themselves from the Shi'is. In a letter to an eminent nobleman, Shaykh Farīd Bukhāri, who played a leading role in stabilizing the Naqshbandiyya order of his *pīr*, Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh, wrote the following, "Although he [the Mujaddid] was separated by a long distance from him [Shaykh Farīd] and did not know who his companions were, he should warn him that the injuries caused by the company of *bid'atis* (innovators) were far more harmful than those caused by infidels. The worst group of innovators were those hated the Prophet Muhammad's companions and whom the Qur'ān referred to as *kuffār* (infidels). The verse reads 'He may enrage the disbelievers with (the sight of) them'.³ The Qur'ān and the *shari'a* were preached by the Prophet's companions. Were they libelled, the Qur'ān

1 *Isnā 'Ashari Shi'is in India* I, p. 132.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 235.

3 Qur'ān, XLVIII, 29.

and *shari'a* were libelled. The Qur'ān was compiled by 'Usmān. If he were libelled, the Qur'ān was libelled. The Mujaddid asked God to protect Sunnis from the evil beliefs of those *zindiqs* (heretics). The conflicts and disputes between the Prophet's companions did not emanate from selfish motives for they had been purified by the Prophet's company. There was no doubt that 'Ali was right and his opponents were wrong but their errors were based on mistakes in *ijtihād* (individual judgement) and did not make them sinners. Those who acted mistakenly could not be condemned for they were awarded one degree of reward (*sawāb*), according to *fiqh*. The accursed Yazid was not one of the Prophet's companions. His wickedness could not be doubted. The atrocities he perpetrated were inconceivable—even to a Frankish infidel. The Sunni 'ulamā' who hesitated to curse Yazid, did not approve of his atrocities but thought that his repentance might have been accepted by God. It was essential that at Shaykh [Farid's] assemblies some extracts from Makhdūm Jahāniyān's⁴ books should be recited so that his encomiums on the Prophet's companions should be known. Makhdūm Jahāniyān's encomiums would fill any one who hated and denigrated the Prophet's companions (at his meetings) with shame. The Mujaddid concluded that he had been forced to draw Shaykh Farid's attention to above facts because the members of that malicious group (Shi'is), were found all around the country. His objective was to make sure that Shaykh Farid's doors were closed against them."⁵

This letter is a specimen of those sent by the Mujaddid and his disciples spreading hatred of the Shi'is. They did not even hesitate to apply the Qur'ānic verses on infidels to the Shi'is. The Sunni *fatāwa* literature, which was compiled in predominantly Sunni countries, condemned the Shi'is as heretics for cursing Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Ā'isha. The *Fatāwa-'Ālam-giriyya*, compiled in Awrangzib's reign, also included these *fatwas* and called on Muslims to treat the Shi'is as apostates (*murtadd*).⁶ The puritanical Sunnis glossed over Ghazālī's statement that, "as far as possible, *ahl al-qibla* (people who prayed facing Ka'ba) should not be called apostates. As long as some one pronounced, 'There is no God but Allāh and Muhammad is His Prophet without hypocrisy' he should not be called a heretic." According to Ghazālī, hypocrisy meant making a confession of faith falsely or with some ulterior motive.⁷

Throughout his life Shāh Wali'ullāh, the author of *Izālatu'l-khafā' 'an khilāfatul-khulafā'* and *Qurratu'l-aynayn fi tafzili'sh-Shaykhayn*, waged a

4 Ancestor of Shaykh Farid Bukhārī, *A history of Sūfism in India*, I, pp. 277-82; *Supra*, pp.

5 *Maktūbāt-i Imām-i Rabbāni*, I, letter No. 54.

6 *Fatāwa-i Shāh 'Abdul-'Azīz*, I, pp. 191-92.

7 *Ibid.*, II, p. 116.

battle royal against the Shi'is. In his *wasīyat-nāma* (last testament), he wrote, "The Shi'i doctrine of the infallibility of the imāms (*imām-i m'asūm* or *isma'*) amounts to a denial of the doctrine that the Prophet Muhammad was the seal of the prophets. This makes their faith false (*bātil*).⁸

His son, Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, wrote the *Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya* to stem the tide of conversions to Shi'ism. He lists the following facts as evidence for Sunnī superiority:

1. In Ka'ba only the Sunnī faith was followed;
2. In Medina too the Sunnī faith was dominant;
3. Only the Sunnis could memorize the Qur'ān. The Shi'is could only learn a few lines and their labours were always wasted, for they could not retain what they had memorized;
4. Only the Sunnis believed that *wilāyat* (sainthood) followed the prophethood;
5. Only the Sunnis performed Friday and 'id congregational prayers;
6. Only the Sunnis introduced *jihād* into India. Sultan Mahmūd (388/998-421/1030) and Shihābu'd-Dīn Ghūri (d. 602/1206) were Sunnis.⁹

Shāh Waliu'llāh says that after the first two successors of the Prophet Muhammad (the *Khilāfat-i Khāssa*), Mahmūd of Ghazna was Islam's greatest ruler as he launched and sustained the first real conquest of northern India. The Shāh, who was the expert on Sunnī *tafsīr*, *hadīs*, *fiqh* and *kalām*, resorted to astrology, of which he knew or approved very little, in order to glorify Mahmūd of Ghazna. He argued that the historians had failed to recognize that Mahmūd's horoscope had been identical with the Prophet Muhammad's and that this was the reason he had won significant victories in the wars fought for the propagation of Islam.¹⁰ It was only the nineteenth century political decline of the Ottoman caliphate and the influence of the Western liberal traditions that prompted Muslim scholars to spread the theory of peaceful Islamization. Islam, which they identified with political dominance stooped down to apologies. Shāh Waliu'llāh took issue with the Shi'i interpretation of the following Qur'ānic verse:

"Allāh hath promised such of you as believe and do good works that He will surely make them to succeed (the present rulers) in the earth even as He caused those who were before them to succeed (others) and that He will surely establish for them their religion which He hath approved

8 Shāh Waliu'llāh, *Wasīyat-nāma*, Lucknow, 1894; *Tafhīmāt-i Ilāhiyya*, Hyderabad Sind, 1970, I pp. 278-82.

9 *Malfūzāt-i Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz*, p. 10.

10 *Qurratū'l-'aynayn fī tafzīli'sh-Shaykhayn*, Delhi, 1892, p. 324; *Tafhīmāt*, I, p. 323.

for them, and will give them in exchange safety after their fear. They serve Me. They ascribe nothing as partner unto Me. Those who disbelieve henceforth, they are the miscreants."¹¹

Shāh Wali'ullāh continues that the caliphs, forecast in the above verse, were neither the Umayyads nor the 'Abbāsids. The fulfilment of the promise refers to events after Prophet Muhammad's death. According to the Shāh the assassins of the third caliph and the Imāmiyya (Isnā 'Ashari Shi'is) who believed that the caliphate had been usurped from its rightful owners, were guilty of ingratitude to God, Who had appointed such wonderful successors to the Prophet Muhammad. The Shi'is were misled to believe that the promise—"He will surely make them to succeed"—would be fulfilled at the appearance of Imām Mahdī. This had occurred under the first two caliphs, because of Islam's world-dominance. The first two caliphs had waged *jihād* against Qaysar (the Emperor of Byzantine) and Kisra (the Emperor of Iran) who together ruled the entire world, said the Shāh, and had annihilated them both. The neighbouring rulers, who had paid tribute to Kisra and Qaysar, had also been uprooted and Islam took over the conquered territories. In each town mosques were built and *qāzis* (*shari'a* judges) were appointed. *Hadis* scholars and the *muftis* (who gave *fatwa* or judicial sentences based on the *shari'a*) settled in these regions. Describing the greatness of Kisra and Qaysar, the Shāh states that they had divided their respective areas into religious zones. Rome, Russia, Frank, Germany, Ifriqiya, Syria, Egypt and Abyssinia, as well as towns in the West, followed Christianity and supported Qaysar. In Khurāsān, Tūrān, Turkistān, Zābulistān and Bactria were the Zoroastrians who were ruled by Kisra. Other religions such as Judaism, Hinduism and various types of polytheism and paganism were controlled by either and were generally weak and in a state of disintegration. The Shāh claims that the annihilation of these two emperors was followed by the crushing defeat of all other religions and resulted in Islam's ascendancy over the whole world (because of the pious efforts of the first two caliphs).¹²

No comment is necessary on Shāh Wali'ullāh's insight into seventh and eighth century world history. But what does emerge is that to him successful military campaigns and subsequent colonization affirmed the innate truth of Islam. The Shi'i Imāms' failure to achieve political power implied to him that they were not given Divine help. Moreover, as the Shi'is claimed their Imāms were always persecuted by other Muslims (the Sunnis), they were excluded from the hopes and promises given in

¹¹ Qur'ān, XXIV, 55.

¹² *Izālatu'l-khafā'*, Karachi, n.d., p. I, pp. 33-35, 170-74.

the above verse to the Muslim people generally. Shi'ism was therefore a misguided sect.¹³

This is not the occasion to refute Shāh Waliū'llāh's political philosophy but there is no doubt in the fact that the corpus of Sunni *tafsir*, *hadīs* and *fiqh*, developed under the patronage of Muslim ruling dynasties, glorified them. To Imām 'Alī the objective of State was to protect the interests of weak and down-trodden sections of the society. These objectives were re-invigorated by Shi'i 'ulamā' and pious *sūfis* who completely dissociated themselves with ruling dynasties.

Both the Sunnis and Shi'is believed, on the basis of their own traditions, in the appearance of a *mujaddid*¹⁴ (renewer) of the faith. In the Sunni list of *mujaddids* even worldly conquerors such as Tīmūr are included. The Shi'i lists, down to the thirteenth century, however, consist of two Imāms and eleven eminent scholars. No Safawid rulers are included.

- I century, Imām Muhammad al-Bāqir (d. 114/733)
- II century, Imām 'Alī ibn Mūsa ar-Rizā' (d. 203/818)
- III century, Abū Ja'far Muhammad ibn Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī (d. 329/940)
- IV century, 'Alam al-Hudā' al-Sayyid al-Sharif al-Murtazā' (d. 436/1044)
- V century, 'Allāma Muhammad bin Shahr Āshūb (d. 588/1192)
- VI century, Khwāja Nasirū'd-Din Tūsi (d. 672/1273)
- VII century, 'Allāma Hasan ibn Yūsuf (d. 726/1325-26)
- VIII century, Ahmad ibn Muhammad Fahd al-Hillī (d. 841/1437-8)
- IX century, al-Muhaqqiq al-Kurki, Nūru'd-Din Shaykh 'Alī (d. 949/1445)
- X century, Shaykh Muhammad ibn Husayn al-'Āmili al-Bahā'i (d. 1031/1621-22)
- XI century, 'Allāma Muhammad Bāqir al-Majlisi (d. 1111/1699-1700)
- XII century, Wahid al-Bihbihāni, ustādu'l-kull Āqā Bāqir (d. 1206/1791-921)
- XIII century, Āyatu'llāh al-'Uzmā' Mirzā Muhammad Hasan al-Shīrāzi (d. 1206/1894-95).¹⁵

Besides the *mujaddids*, other Shi'i scholars also made important contributions to knowledge. Because of sectarian prejudices Sunni scholars paid hardly any attention to Shi'i works. Shi'is nevertheless studied the Mu'tazila and 'Ashari *kalām*, while the later Sunni scholars generally

13 *Ibid.*, I, p. 80.

14 Mawlānā Muhammad 'Alī, *The holy Qur'ān*, Lahore, 1965, p. 693.

15 Shaykh 'Abbās al-Qummī, *Jāmi' dar jihat-i shināsā-i 'ulamā'-i Islām*, Tehran n.d., pp. 31-32.

confined themselves to the 'Asharī *kalām*. In Shi'i seminaries religious studies and 'irfān (spiritual achievements) were combined with philosophy, science and mechanics. The study of the law of causality and its corollaries, to which all scientific laws owe their generality and certainty, enabled the Shi'i scholars to broaden their religious perspectives. In India Fath-u'llāh Shirāzi's Sunni disciples developed the Shāh's curriculum into the *dars-i Nizāmi*, credited to Mullā Nizāmu'd-Din Sihālawī.

Until the nineteenth century Sunni students did not hesitate to learn from Shi'i intellectuals, whose contributions to philosophy and science enriched Islam as the Shi'i dignitaries and statesmen strengthened the Sunni governments. Sunni revivalist movements could not undermine personal friendship and social contacts between Sunnis and Shi'is. Shi'is and Sunnis intermarried, it was discouraged, mainly by the Sunni revivalists.

In a letter to the ruler of Bukhāra, Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz wrote that since the Shi'is, according to *fiqh* works were heretics, the Sunnis should treat them like other apostates. They should not greet the Shi'is first unless it might cause them great loss; when they could initiate the greeting. Should the Shi'i acknowledge the Sunni first, their response should be very formal. Should the Shi'is show respect exceeding *shari'a* rules, the Sunni should adhere to the *shari'a*. These principles should be used in all dealings with Shi'is, such as visiting them when sick, extending condolences and congratulations and accepting their invitations.¹⁶

In a *fatwa* Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz wrote that, irrespective of the fact that the Shi'is were apostates or heretics, Sunnis should not marry a Shi'i girl. Mixed marriages destroyed the purity of the family faith and prevented lasting family unity.¹⁷ He also urged Sunnis to avoid eating in Shi'i houses and consuming animals slaughtered by them.¹⁸ The Shāh said that once a Sunni, who earned his livelihood by keeping a brothel, insisted on sending him some food. The Shāh was worried about its disposal. He could not eat it himself and he did not wish to give it to another Sunni. When some of his close relatives, who according to the Shāh were fanatical Shi'is, arrived, the Shāh offered them the food and they ate it happily.¹⁹ Possibly his decision was compatible to his moral standards.

Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz was not, however, very successful at converting Shi'is to Sunni-ism. In a conversation, he remarked that he had converted hundreds of Hindus to Islam but only three or four members of the

16 *Fatāwa*, I, p. 192.

17 *Fatāwa*, I, p. 12; *Malfūzāt-i Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz*, p. 8.

18 *Fatāwa*, II, p. 96.

19 *Malfūzāt-i Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz*, p. 37.

'bigoted Shi'i sect' had embraced Sunni-ism. He hoped that two or three more would follow.²⁰ The most tragic event for the Shāh was the conversion of his relative, Sayyid Qamaru'd-Dīn Husaynī of Sonipat, to Shi'ism.²¹ The Sayyid had studied under Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz's two brothers, Shāh 'Abdu'l-Qādir and Shāh Rafī'u'd-Dīn. He had learned *hādīs* from Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz himself for whom he wrote the '*Ujāla-i nāfi'a*'.²²

Among the eighteenth century Sunni noblemen Muhammad Amin Khān did not tolerate the celebration of Muharram and the Shi'is. Conversely Khwāja Muhammad Ja'far, a brother of Khān-i Dawrān was deeply devoted to the twelve Imāms. According to Khāfi Khān in each street and bazaar people recited the eulogies of twelve Imāms but in the reign of Muhammad Shāh, a Sunni-Shi'i riot made the Sunnis hostile to Shi'is.²³ The enmity was, however, short-lived. Chishtiyya and Qādiriyya *sūfis* participated in Muharram mourning ceremonies. The Shi'i population increased steadily. According to Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz's estimate of the Muslim population, two-third were Sunnis and one-third Shi'is.²⁴ The Shi'i number seems to have been over-estimated but by the end of eighteenth century Shi'is were found in almost all Indian towns. Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn bin Iskandar Shirwāni Ni'matu'llāhi (b. 1194/1786), an Iranian Shi'a, who visited Delhi, Bengal and the Deccan sometime after 1216/1801 reports that, although the Shi'is were only in a minority in the towns he visited, they occupied many distinguished positions.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the traditional hostility to the Shi'is, championed by Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, Shaykh Sanā'u'llāh Pānīpati and their disciples, was revived by Mawlānā Muhammad Qāsim Nānawtawī, the founder of the Deoband seminary. He summarized Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz's *Tulfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya* in Urdu and called it the *Hidāyatu'sh-Shi'a*. His disciple, Mawlānā Sayyid Manāzir Ahsan Gilāni, who wrote Mawlānā Muhammad Qāsim's biography, considers the eighteenth century Mughal emperors responsible for promoting Shi'ism and the general veneration of *ta'ziyas* and Muharram ceremonies. He does not, however, over-estimate Mawlānā Muhammad Qāsim Nānawtawī's success in converting Shi'is to Sunni-ism but takes pride in the fact that the Mawlānā restored many lukewarm Sunnis to orthodoxy and puritanism.²⁵ Possibly Gilāni was correct (for the Sunni revivalists) hardened their attitude towards the Shi'is in the Deoband and Saharanpur region.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 22.

21 *Nuzhatu'l-khawātir*, VII, p. 390.

22 Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, '*Ujāla-i nāfi'a* with commentary by Mawlānā 'Abdu'l Halim Chishtī, Karachi, 1964, p. 1.

23 *Muntakhabu'l-lubāb*, II, pp. 757-60.

24 *Malfūzāt-i Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz*, p. 116.

25 Sayyid Manāzir Ahsan Gilāni, *Sawānih Qāsimi*, Lahore, n.d. I., pp. 59-72.

The Shī'i population developed in the Deccan largely because of the Shī'i scholars and statesmen who moved from Iran. During Akbar's reign, the Mughal policy of replacing the Sunni Afghān nobility with the Mughal aristocracy, composed of heterogeneous racial and religious groups, opened careers to talented outsiders. Naturally the Iranians obtained many prominent positions. Although they did not outnumber the Tūrāni and other Sunni groups, they set the norms for Mughal cultural traditions embodying refined literary, scientific and philosophical values. They were instrumental in promoting tolerance. There is no justification for the myth spread by uncritical Sunni scholars that Shī'ism flourished in India because of the Sayyid brothers or owing to the decline of the Mughal empire. The Shī'i intellectual and cultural traditions were firmly planted by the Gilāni brothers, Hakim Fathu'llāh Shirāzi, the Shī'i poets, philosopher and nobles, and it was irrigated by the blood of Mullā Ahmad Thattawī and Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustari.

During the reign of Awrangzib, who was notorious for his Sunni orthodoxy, Shī'i intellectuals achieved predominance in all fields of life. There is no conclusive evidence that the Sayyid brothers were Shī'is. The Shī'i population in Delhi increased considerably because of the political refugees from Iran and the members of Nādir Shāh's contingents who had settled in India. Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz tells us that Ahmad Shāh Durrāni annihilated all the Shī'is in Delhi²⁶ but this is obviously an exaggeration. Under Najaf Khān's domination of Delhi, the Shī'is obtained a new lease of life. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, when the *Sayf-i maslūl* and the *Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya* were written, the conversion of Sunni families to Shī'ism had upset Sunni puritanists such as Shaykh Sanā'u'llāh Pānpatī and Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz. Shī'i expansion was a piecemeal and irreversible process without organized missionary endeavour or forcible conversion.

The British also opened places to talented, efficient and hard-working people. The Shī'is learnt English and obtained many of the positions available to Indians. They made their mark in the Sunni Āsaf-Jāhi state of Hyderabad. The professions which depended upon traditional knowledge, such as those of physicians and teachers, were filled with Shī'is. The Iranian businessmen in Calcutta, the Khojas in Bombay and Gujarat were Isnā 'Asharis while the Bohras were Ismā'ilis. In the nineteenth century, Shī'is acted as a counter weight to ignorance and backwardness. They preached sectarian harmony and communal understanding. Karāmat 'Alī, Mawlānā Sirāj Husayn and Amir 'Alī were not frightened by the postulates of the experimental sciences but urged Muslims to acquire Western techniques and to re-examine them in the light of Mullā

26 *Fatāwa-i Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz*.

Sadra's philosophy. To them Islam was monolithic and the Muslim world was a single unit. They preached that the way was always open for those who believed in Allāh, the Qur'ān and the Prophet to sink their differences and to open a new chapter in the history of Islam.

Even the nineteenth century Shi'i *mujtahids* were not hostile to the study of the English language and literature. Mawlānā Sirāj Husayn, who learnt English at an advanced age, was the brother of the *mujtahid* Mawlānā Hāmid Husayn and a son of Mawlānā Muftī Muhammad Qulī. Mawlānā Hāmid Husayn's nephew, Justice Karāmat Husayn, studied at the Middle Temple in England. Hāmid 'Alī, the barrister had shaved off his beard while in England, but an indirect criticism from Mawlānā Hāmid Husayn sufficed to make him let it grow again. The Western educated Shi'is, who were not under the influence of the '*ulamā*' did not forsake the *shari'a* because of the Muharram lectures on the intellectual contributions of the Imāms and their sacrifices for truth and justice. Even the spiritual sensitivity of the Sunnis who attended them was sharpened. The threat of modern science, which had scared Sir Sayyid, did not upset the Shi'i intellectuals. Like Jamālu'd-Dīn Husayni (Afhāni), they believed that 'science is that noble thing that has no connection with any nation, and is not distinguished by anything but itself'.

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